

CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE

Part I. Ancient and Mediæval Times

Part II. Modern Times in Europe

BY

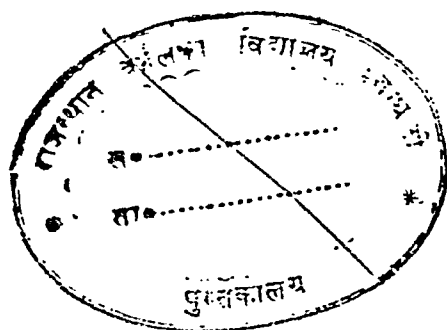
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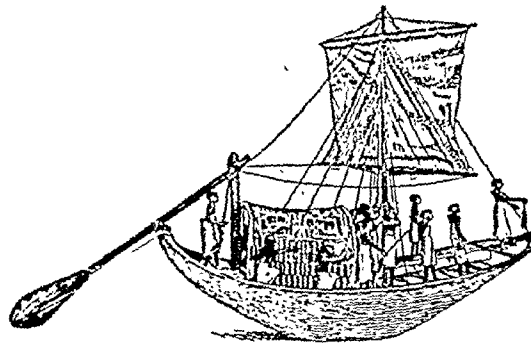
SYDNEY

was thrilled to learn of the hidden wonders within that tomb. It was a great moment when, by the feeble light of a candle, Howard Carter, the leader of the party, peered through a hole in the doorway, and made out, in the age-old darkness, "strange animals, statues, and gold — everywhere the glint of gold." "Can you see anything?" he was asked. "Yes," answered Carter, "wonderful things!"

Egypt's early story. Wonderful things, indeed, came from this valley of the Nile. Hymns were dedicated to the great river:

Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifestest thyself over this land,
And comest to give life to Egypt!

The region, enriched by an annual overflow of the river, is very fertile. At its mouth the Nile has deposited a layer of earth called the Delta. For five hundred miles into the Upper Nile region a narrow strip of fertile land extends. Food was plentiful and cheap, and people came and thrived. For several thousand years the dwellers along the Nile passed through the stages of tribe rule and local government; finally they formed the united kingdom of Egypt.

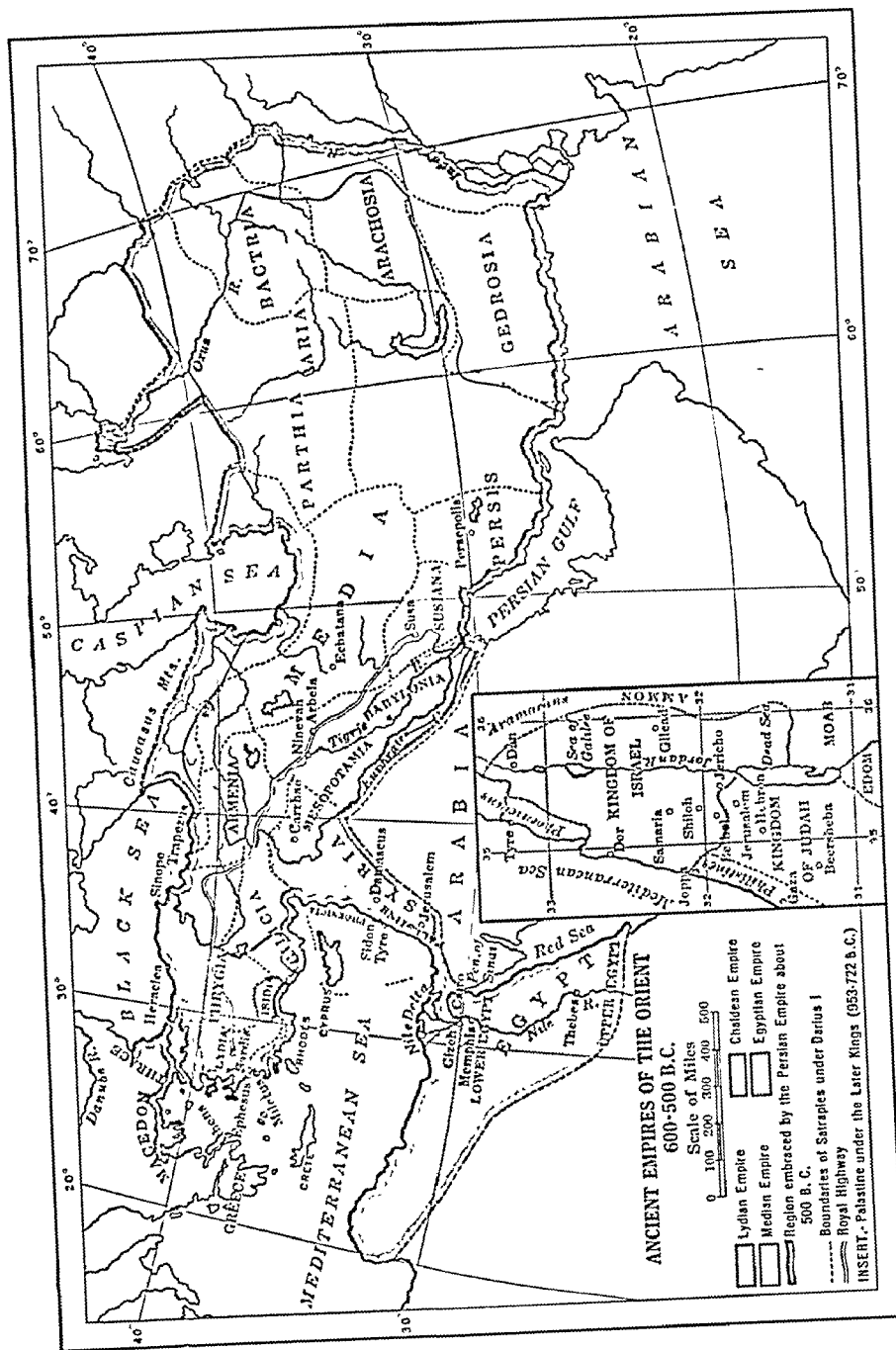


EGYPTIAN LIFE IN THE TIME OF THE
ELEVENTH DYNASTY

A Nile River boat. From a model in Metropolitan
Museum, New York

Egypt a world power. The history of Egypt begins about 3400 B.C. with the union of Upper and Lower Egypt. During the thousand years that followed, the land rose in wealth and power; it is the period when the pyramids and other public works were built. Subsequently Egypt had been conquered by barbarian tribes from western Asia, known as the Hyksos, whose leaders were called the Shepherd Kings. After several centuries the Hyksos were driven out. The Egyptians now developed an imperial spirit, and extended their sway as far east as Babylonia.

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PREFACE

A MODERN text in history no longer contents itself with a mere recital of campaigns, military and political; it aims to give to pupils a view of the various aspects of human life that go to make up the history of a nation. As ideas are more important than dates, cultural achievements more stimulating than dynastic rivalries, and business conditions more vital than the detail of battles, traditional political and military incidents are often supplanted in this volume by less familiar material relating to economic, social, and cultural conditions. In order to emphasize the unity of European history the leading characteristics of each period are first described; then follows the separate treatment of the various nations during that period. An attempt is made to harmonize, as far as possible, the topical and chronological orders.

Part I, largely the work of Richard B. Morris, presents a narrative history of mankind in Europe down to the seventeenth century. While *traditional personages of secondary importance* are neglected, the common man, his work, ideals, and political achievements, are stressed, together with the position of woman and her social and intellectual status in ancient and medieval times. Many topics in this early period, such as the Punic Wars and the feudal land system, have strikingly modern implications.

Part II, largely the work of J. Salwyn Schapiro, treats of the history of Europe from the seventeenth century to the present. It describes, within the limits of space, the political, social, economic, and cultural events. The World War has changed the perspective of modern history. The issues that arose in that great struggle were the outcome, not of the feverish days of July 23–August 4, 1914, but of the political and social movements that had agitated the world since 1789. In the light of the World War and of its aftermath, a clearer view is now possible of many phases of European history.

Special attention is given to teaching equipment. The questions, map studies, and special topics in many instances were tried out in high-school classrooms before they were included in this book. The questions at the end of each chapter are not

The city-state. The Greek city-state was not like a modern city and still less like a modern state. In the city proper dwelt the merchants and the artisans. Beyond its walls was a suburban region where the majority of the inhabitants lived. The entire area averaged no more than a typical county in one of the New England States. At the zenith of its power, Athens, largest of the Greek cities, had a population of perhaps a third of a million. A fairly large town was one of fifty thousand.

Unifying influences. Notwithstanding the intense local patriotism of the Greeks and the bitter rivalries which existed between the city-states, the Greeks did have a sense of being one people. Certain common institutions and ideas made for a feeling of close kinship among all the Hellenes from the shores of Asia Minor to Sicily. The most important bond of union was language. They spoke and wrote a common language, hence they were able to share a common literature, which set them off from the "barbarians" (babblers), the men of other speech. They improved upon the ingenious alphabet of the Phœnicians and transmitted it to the modern civilized world. The word "alphabet," from the first two letters (alpha, beta), is a tribute to their efforts. A common faith bound them in ceremonial enterprises. Every fourth year, at Olympia, athletic games were held in honor of Zeus. Wrestlers, boxers, runners, and other athletes from all "Hellas," as the Greek-speaking world was called, shared the "olive wreath," the sacred crown of victory, with poets, orators, and playwrights. The revival of the Olympic Games in recent times has been a step in the direction of international good will. The "oracles" were another strong bond of union. Pilgrims from every Greek community came to visit the religious shrines, most noted of which was the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and to consult the oracle, or soothsayer. It was believed that the oracle revealed the will of the gods and foretold the future of men. Oracles were looked upon as the religious and political advisers of all the Greek people, and were sustained and protected, not by single states, but by leagues, called "Amphictyonies" which, as in the case of the Delphic League, constituted powerful political alliances.

Citizenship. The control of government was confined to a small class. Half of the population were slaves who, together with foreigners, were barred from participating in political life.

merely questions of simple fact, but thought questions framed with the object of stimulating discussion. Both text and questions seek to stimulate the student to compare the life about him with that of former times, to think more than to memorize.

The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness, among many others, to Mr. Norman Shaw McKendrick, of Phillips Exeter Academy, whose exact and careful scholarship was enlisted in revising the manuscript; to Mr. Walter Rowlands, formerly of the Art Department in the Boston Public Library, who aided in securing some of the illustrations; to Mr. W. H. J. Kennedy, President of Teachers' College, Boston, who read the manuscript and revised parts of it; to Miss Kathrine Kerestes of Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, who aided greatly in organizing the material; and to Dr. Clarence E. W. Miner, Chairman, History Department, Theodore Roosevelt High School, New York, for many excellent suggestions.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO
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CHAPTER IV

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

VERGIL, *Æneid*

So great an undertaking was it to found the Roman state.

Problem of Mediterranean unity. A map of the Hellenistic empire after Alexander's death shows loose political divisions. But the population scattered throughout this area enjoyed a more or less common civilization. Political unity seemed a logical necessity. Under whom was this political unity to be achieved? Bidding was high among three competitors. On one side were the cities of Greece, their power on the wane, but still presenting a threat to any possible rival. In North Africa loomed Carthage, a great trading and colonizing city. On the Italian Peninsula was Rome, situated in the center of the great Mediterranean highway.

ROME CONQUERS ITALY

Rôle of geography. For centuries Italy was to be the hub around which Western political life was to revolve. The snow-crowned Alps form a barrier to the rest of the continent, and compel her to be associated with the Mediterranean family of peoples. The course of the Apennines, branching off from the Alps at the Gulf of Genoa, follows the line of a bent bow, swerving to the Adriatic in central Italy and pushing its toe into the Sicilian Sea. Northern Italy forms a broad plain, watered by the Po. While the Alps hindered commerce, they did not keep out invaders. Enclosed on three sides by water and on the fourth by this mountain range, Italy throughout her history has been strangely accessible. Gallic people from beyond the Alps settled in the north. The south early attracted Greek settlers by its warm climate and good harbors. The southwest is exposed to invaders from Africa. Invasion, an age-old threat against the security of the Italians, seriously affected the course of their history.

Italian ports faced the West and a world just emerging from the Stone Age. The lack of ports on the eastern coast for long kept

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Two chief officers, called "consuls," who supervised executive and judicial affairs, were chosen from among the patricians; one acted as a check upon the other. The consuls were elected for one year only and their power was limited. In times of great danger the Romans would forego their strong dislike of one-man rule, and for a brief period of time vest unlimited power in one person. This person was called a "dictator." From among the influential families the consuls picked a select group of members who composed the "Senate." The Senate was the real governing body which decided the important business of state. The whole system of finance was under its control. The voice of the people at large was heard in several assemblies: in one, admission was given to members of the ancient Roman tribes; in another, to soldiers in the Roman army.

Rights of citizens. Citizenship was shared by both patricians and the plebeians. But the latter enjoyed merely civil rights; such as the right to trade and the right to marry. In addition to civil rights, the patrician possessed the privilege of voting, of serving as a fully equipped soldier in the legions, and of holding office. Gradually the plebeians gained the right of voting in the popular assembly.

The tribunes. The plebeians determined upon an effective way of breaking down class rule. After the Latin war they deserted the city and went away in a body to a place farther up the Tiber. The patricians were forced to make concessions to induce them to return. The plebeians were now granted the right to elect officials, called "tribunes," whose duties were to protect them against unjust decrees of the consuls, who, in their capacity as chief officers of the state, acted as judges. The tribunes sat outside the Senate door, and shouted "Veto" (I forbid) when the Senate tried to pass a law contrary to the interests of the plebeians. No law could pass over the veto of the tribunes.

Law reform. In early times law was regarded as a "mystery." It was not written down, but handed on by tradition from one generation to another. The judges, who were patricians, alone had authority to decide what the law was in any particular case, and they were likely to declare the law in favor of their own class. In response to a demand of the plebeians for a written code, the laws were collected in the famous Twelve Tables (451 B.C.). The rights of rich creditors and of heads of families were strongly pro-

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spectators. The bull fights in Spain are a survival of these entertainments.

Reforms of the Gracchi (133-121 B.C.). Poverty of the masses increased corruption in politics, and patriotic Romans were deeply concerned over the welfare of their country. Among those who advocated drastic reforms, the most notable were the Gracchi brothers, members of the highest nobility of Rome. They believed that only by solving the land question could Rome be saved. The elder, Tiberius, as tribune of the people, proposed that the public lands be distributed among the poor. The land-owning Senators bitterly resented this "robbery," as they termed it; and, in the strife that ensued, Tiberius was slain. His younger brother, Gaius, continued the agitation. As tribune he fixed a public price for grain, less than half the normal price, which was to be maintained at state cost. In addition Gaius proposed to give full political rights to the inhabitants of the Latin colonies. The Roman masses were infuriated at the idea of sharing political power with others. They turned against their benefactor, who met his brother's fate.

Political decay. In this struggle the Senate was showing itself to be a body of rich men who put their class interests above those of the nation. There was no hope that they would inaugurate great reforms. Neither was there any hope from the Roman masses, who were swayed by "bread and the circus." They lived chiefly on food doled out to them by the government, and were amused by the spectacles in the arena provided for them free by ambitious politicians seeking votes. Conditions were ripe for the coming of a "tyrant" in the Greek sense, a popular leader who would overthrow the government in the interest of the masses. But in Rome such a person would have to be a general with an army devoted to him, and to him only. The mob was too lazy and too corrupt to rise in revolution against evil conditions.

RISE OF THE POPULAR GENERAL

Marius. A war with Jugurtha, a North-African ruler, had been prolonged disgracefully under Senate mismanagement. A consul had been bribed and a Roman army had been defeated. A popular soldier, Marius, was elected consul in 107 B.C. He brought Jugurtha in chains to Rome. He decisively defeated Germanic barbarians who were threatening northern Italy.

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only military glory would win him permanent popularity among his fellow Romans. He was given command of an army to subdue the Gauls, Celtic barbarians who lived in what is now France. His campaigns in Gaul, lasting eight years, were marked by such extraordinary strategy that they put Cæsar in the same rank with Alexander and Hannibal. He conquered all Gaul, from the Channel to the Rhine, thereby adding another large province to Rome. He also invaded Britain as far as the Thames. Cæsar took care that the story of his achievements should be preserved. In lucid and moving Latin he wrote the history of the Gallic campaigns.

Cæsar versus Pompey. All Rome was now talking of Cæsar's great triumphs. Would he be satisfied to remain a general, or was he ambitious to become the ruler of Rome? It became evident that Cæsar as leader of the democratic party would oppose the Senate, the tool of the aristocrats. When Crassus lost his life in the East in a battle with the Parthians, Cæsar and Pompey became deadly rivals. The latter viewed Cæsar's success with genuine alarm and joined forces with the frightened Senate. Cæsar was returning from Gaul. When he reached Italy, the Senate ordered him to disband his forces. Cæsar refused and crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that was the boundary line of Italy. Civil war followed, which was fought throughout the Mediterranean world. At Pharsalus, in Thessaly, Pompey's legions were crushed by Cæsar (48 B.C.). Pompey himself fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered. *Veni, vidi, vici* (I came, I saw, I conquered) was the brief but pithily worded news that Cæsar sent to Rome after another of his victories.

"Great Cæsar." When he returned to Rome, Cæsar was loaded with honors by a Senate of his own choosing. He was given all the important offices of state and was made dictator for life. He chose, however, to be designated as *Imperator* or general. Rome was now a republic in form, but a monarchy in fact. A conspiracy was organized against Cæsar by some who were envious of his success and by others who feared that he would set himself up as king. The conspirators succeeded, and Cæsar was assassinated in 44 B.C.

The work of Cæsar. Cæsar's place in history is that of a great conqueror-statesman. The changes that he made and the policies that he advocated foreshadowed the future Roman Empire. As dictator he appointed able and honest governors for

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW WEST, THE OLD EAST, AND MOHAMMED

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Frankish Kingdom. Of all the barbarian kingdoms only that of the Franks was permanent. An important fact in their history is that they were the first Germanic tribe that was converted to the orthodox Roman faith.¹ This meant that they received the powerful support of the Bishop of Rome. The Franks were noted warriors, and they soon began making war on their neighbors. They conquered the Alemanni, a German tribe living in what is now Alsace, and extended their possessions in Gaul as far as the Pyrenees.

Mayors of the Palace. The descendants of Clovis, the first King of the Franks, were known as the "Merovingians," and proved to be weak and incompetent. An official, known as the "Mayor of the Palace," controlled the actual administration of the kingdom. By the side of the vigorous leadership of the mayors the "do-nothing kings" faded into the shadow of obscurity. One mayor, Pepin the Short, determined to assume the royal power openly. In 751 he overthrew the Merovingian dynasty, and was crowned King of the Franks. His action received the support of the Pope, who declared that "he who possesses the royal power ought also to enjoy its dignity." Pepin, in return, attacked the Lombards who were threatening Rome. He presented to the Pope a district in Italy between Ravenna and Rome, which the Lombards had ceded. This territory, known as the "Donation of Pepin," considerably enlarged the lands of the Church; it formed a wedge in the very heart of Italy, and was later known as the "Papal States."

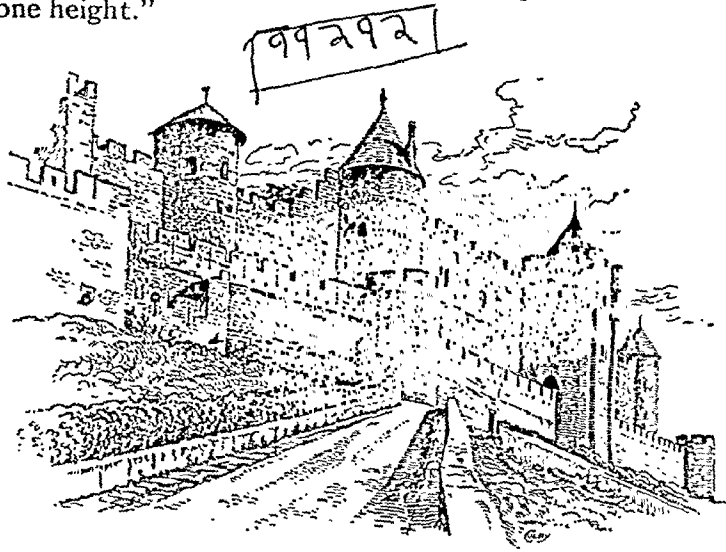
Charlemagne (742-814). The son of Pepin, known as Charles the Great (French, Charlemagne), succeeded him as king. No name in medieval history is more famous than that of Charlemagne, soldier, statesman, and educator. His claim to rank as a

¹ The Goths, before them, had been christianized; but they were Arians, believers in the heretical doctrines of Arius, who had refused to accept the Creed of Nicæa.

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The knight of old was a curious combination of honor, gentleness, and brutality. Ready to risk his life for a lock of his lady's hair, and to defend the weak and helpless against the terrors of a violent age, he was, nevertheless, a hireling who sold his prowess to the highest bidder. Not infrequently was he a bandit, way-laying merchants whose goods he took with a clear conscience because they were not "men of honor" but commoners. As a military element the knight ceased to be important with the invention of gunpowder at the end of the Middle Ages. Armor, sword, lance, and bow were now ineffective against the arquebus and the cannon. As Carlyle says, "Gunpowder made all men of one height."



THE WALLS OF CARCASSONNE

A medieval city in the south of France

The castle. "The castle makes the feudal ages possible." It was a fortress, palace, village, and military school. It was built of heavy stone, generally on a hill; on level ground, it was surrounded by a "moat," a canal spanned by a drawbridge. An attacking party would have to break down the outer palisades, climb the hill, or cross the moat, and finally break through the heavy doors of the donjon or great tower in which the defenders sought shelter. Narrow, tortuous, passageways ex-

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GROWTH OF THE LAW

The common law. The development of a uniform system of royal law was one of the most important factors in the growth of the nation. In England the King's law was called the "common law," and it spread with the development of the king's courts. During the twelfth century the King sent traveling justices throughout the land to hear cases. When a poor man had a claim against a powerful baron, he found it difficult to get justice in a feudal court, controlled by the baron; he therefore sought the King's judge. At first, only criminal cases came under the jurisdiction of the royal courts because the King was interested in keeping peace within the country; later, civil cases for injuries to person and to property were added. The right of appeal was allowed from a feudal to a royal court; hence the latter became distinctly superior.

The writ. The expansion of the common law to meet the varied needs of a commercial people was due to the development of the royal "writ," which gave a party the right to have his case tried in the King's Court. As time went on, writs were granted for an increasingly large number of cases. In this way commercial law developed, which enforced oral contracts between parties and secured for the merchants more adequate protection.

Equity. The common law, however, gradually grew rigid and conservative. When a man was denied justice in a court, he would appeal to the King. These appeals were referred by the King to his secretary, the Chancellor, who dispensed a more liberal sort of justice, known as "equity." It protected those who had been defrauded or coerced, and compelled individuals to carry out their promised word or go to prison; whereas the common law merely fined them. By the seventeenth century equity, the law enforced by the Chancellor's Court, had become a serious rival of the common law. During the nineteenth there took place a consolidation of the courts of law and of equity.

The jury. Trial by jury marks off the common law from other systems. During the twelfth century certain persons were called upon to make a report of crimes committed in their locality. This procedure was called the "inquest," and it was similar to the grand jury of the present day. Jurors (from the French, meaning "sworn persons") of neighbors were increasingly employed by the King's Courts to decide disputes about property and con-

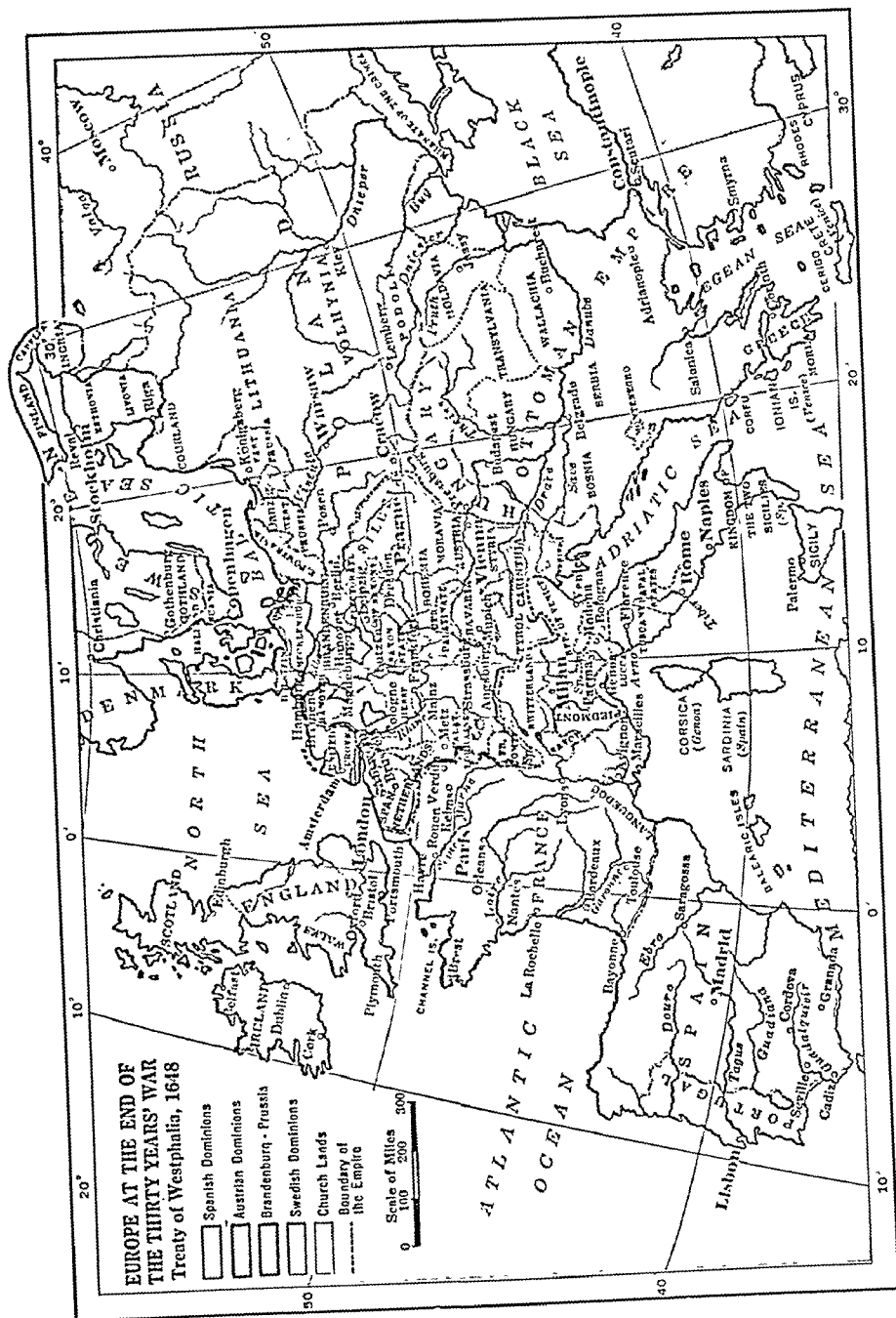
PART I
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

the cost of books, the output of which now increased enormously. Writers were inspired and encouraged by the thought that their works would be placed in the hands of a vastly larger reading public.

The humanists versus the moderns. In the battle between the scholastics and the humanists, the latter won a sweeping victory in the universities and the secondary schools. The teaching monopoly of the priests was at an end. Classical languages, classical literature, and classical philosophy formed the basis of the curriculum down to modern times. Even as early as the Renaissance there were some who felt that the humanist education was too "bookish," too artificial, and too impractical. In England, Sir Humphrey Gilbert suggested a more practical education. He would have "no gentleman within the realm but good for something, whereas now the most part of them are good for nothing." Foremost among the educators of the seventeenth century was Comenius, a native of Moravia, who advocated the study of modern languages, geography, manual arts, world history, and government. Humanist education was restricted to wealthy children who could afford tutors or attend private schools. No national free systems of education were founded, hence the common people continued to be illiterate.

THE NEW ART

Italian painting. The fine arts, particularly painting, developed greatly, especially in Italy, where form and color were highly appreciated by the public at large. The discovery of the process of mixing oils with the colors marked a great step in painting, as it was now possible to paint on canvas, a better medium than plastered walls which had been commonly used. Among many great Italian painters three stand out as the luminaries of the High Renaissance: Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Raphael (1483-1520), and Michelangelo (1475-1564). Artist, scientist, and philosopher, Leonardo comprehended more fully than his contemporaries the spirit of the Renaissance. Some of his portraits, such as the Last Supper, are full of life, sympathy, and sublime emotion. The work of Raphael breathes a spirit of grace, purity, and loftiness. While he drew his subjects from religion and myth, he treated them with calmness and moderation. With Raphael was developed the threefold artistic standard of unity, symmetry,



ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES



CHAPTER I

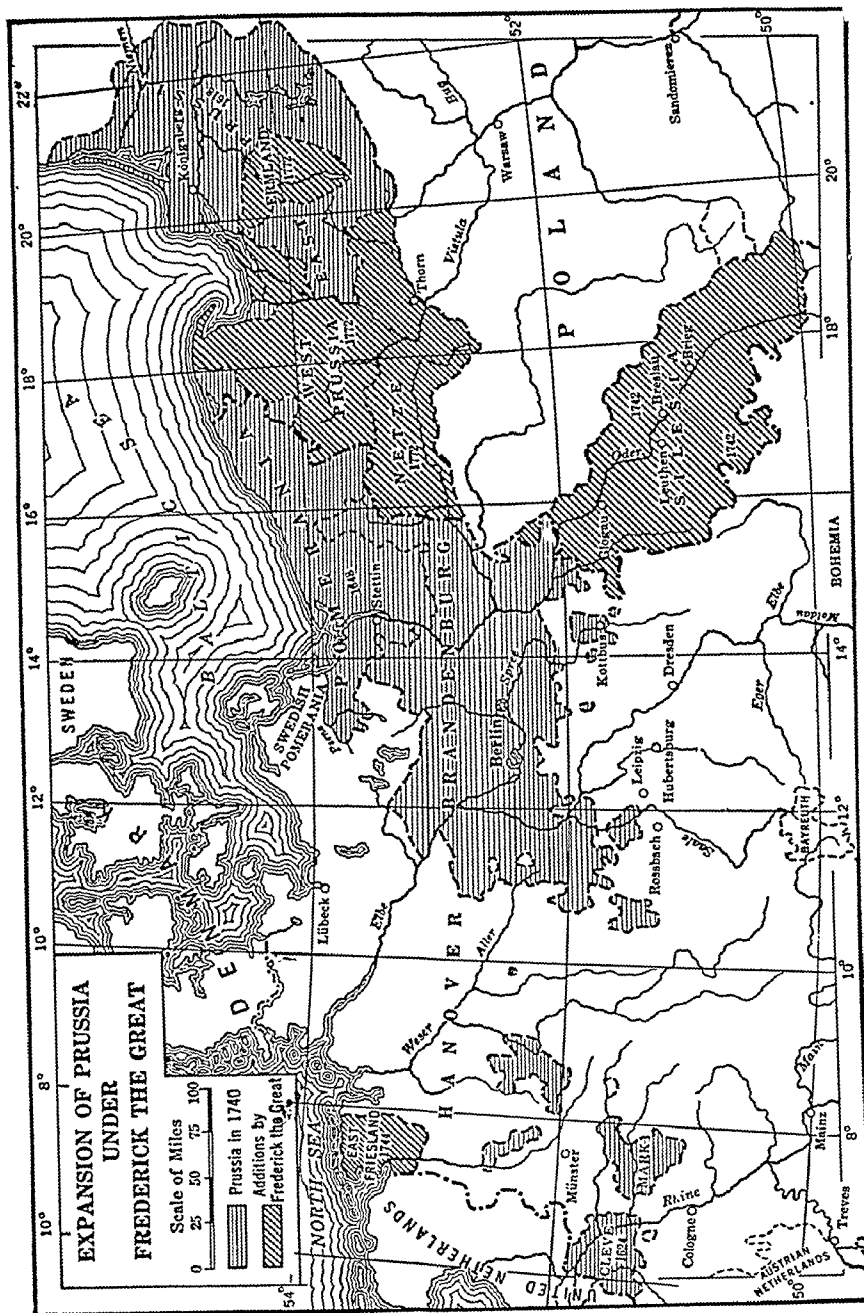
MAN BEFORE HISTORY

And man became a living soul.
GENESIS II, 7.

Coming of man. The shadows of the deep past hide the story of the coming of man. He came a long time ago. Various estimates place the length of his existence at from two hundred thousand to over a half-million years. Skulls recently unearthed reveal that man of fifty thousand years ago was little different in physical structure from man of to-day. But his brain was as undeveloped as that of a very young child. The brain, in fact, is the secret of mankind's story; each addition to its size and each fold represent centuries of experience. The hand and speech have been the instruments of its progress.

Progress of man. Late in the evening of May 21, 1927, a flying-machine descended upon Le Bourget Flying-Field at Paris, and Captain Charles Lindbergh alighted from his airplane after a non-stop flight from New York in less than thirty-four hours. Within a few moments after his arrival the news had been transmitted by radio to every corner of the globe.

Early in the morning of October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus, after a tedious journey from Spain lasting two months and ten days, reached the Bahamas. And the news of his discovery did not drift into northern Europe for years. The means of transportation and communication which the people of Columbus's day enjoyed were practically the same as had existed for thousands of years, and remained the same until the beginning of the last century. Indeed, the spectacular feats of aviators are but recent instances of the rapid progress of man in this age of achievement; for, while the telephone, airplane, radio, and tele-



vision have all come within a period of a half-century, it took man many thousands of years to discover fire, and it was not until the sunset of the prehistoric era that he learned the use of metals.

Imagine a man fifty years old who did not settle down and pursue a peaceful life of productive work until he was forty-nine; did not learn the art of writing until the sixth month of his fiftieth year; and did not have the advantages of speedy travel and communication until a few days ago. It is not, therefore, surprising that he has not yet rid himself entirely of the fears and superstitions characteristic of the forty-nine years of his untamed and undirected life. And that man's life is, in brief, the story of mankind.

Early records of man. Until a hundred years ago the story of early man was regarded as Nature's lost secret. Since that time excavations in river beds and in the silt of caverns have revealed human and animal remains of very ancient times. In addition, the "Record of the Rocks" describes the sort of world in which early man lived. So now, in part, the story can be told.

Man of the late Ice Age. The rocks tell us that very slowly, owing to natural causes, the winters grew gradually colder and longer and the ice came and spread over North America, Europe, and Asia. Four times it advanced, with long intervals of warmth; the world to-day is still coming slowly out of the last cold era. The advance of the ice caused some of the animals, such as the lion and the hippopotamus, to retreat to warmer climates. Man gradually accustomed himself to the change. This long space of time, known as the Ice Age, has been divided according to the kind of material used by man in making weapons and implements. The late third and early fourth warm interval is designated as the Stone Age; it was followed in turn by the Bronze Age, and then by the Iron Age.

Fire. At the beginning of the Stone Age man knew how to make fire. A spark kindled by the chance rubbing together of two branches by the wind, or the striking together of two stones, led to the greatest of all discoveries. Soon man learned how to preserve fire, and also how to make it artificially by placing a whirlstick in a cavity and twirling it rapidly between the two hands. Fire cooked man's food, warmed his body, and hardened his implements and weapons.

CHAPTER XVIII

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

THE STUARTS

England, the scene of the first revolution. The first revolution in modern times occurred in England. A century before the French Revolution the English people rose against their king, destroyed absolute monarchy and established a system of parliamentary government which, in time, became the model for the other nations of Europe.

James I. The prelude to the English Revolution took place during the reign of James I. In 1603 Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, was succeeded by James of Scotland, the first of the Stuarts. England and Scotland were now in a "personal union" through having a common king; they were not united because each country maintained its separate parliament and followed its own domestic policies. James I was a strong believer in the theory of divine right, but he did not impress one as being a king by the grace of God. He was awkward, ill-mannered, querulous, and pedantic. "The wisest fool in Christendom" was the satiric comment on James by the French King Henry IV.

England ruled by King and Parliament. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the government of England was carried on by King and Parliament. The King had full control of foreign affairs; he also had full executive authority. In legislation he had the coöperation of Parliament; it was an old tradition in England that the King could not lay new taxes or pass laws without the consent of Parliament. On the other hand Parliament must always give its consent; it might indeed petition him to do certain things, but it could not oppose him. Moreover, the King held the whip hand over Parliament because he could call it whenever he pleased and dissolve it whenever he pleased.

Comparison of the Catholic, Anglican, and Puritan faiths. During the reign of the Stuarts a spirit of opposition to the King arose which came primarily from a new religious movement called Puritanism. So closely related were Puritanism and opposition to the king that the English Revolution has been called the Puri-

Early story of the hand. In the development of skill and power in the hand lies the early story of man's achievement. The earliest uses of the hand were making weapons of rough stone, such as almond-shaped flints. In the very late Stone Age man turned his attention to the making of harpoons and spearheads out of ivory and bone, deer and reindeer horn. As his hand became more skillful, he gave rein to his primitive imagination. Pottery and the art of modeling were developed, and human figures were reproduced in sculpture and attractively colored. The bison, the horse, and the mammoth were favorite subjects of early art.

A revolution took place in the life of man when he became acquainted with the use of metals. This change introduced the Age of Bronze. Man began to make tools out of copper. Later, he added a small portion of tin or zinc to the copper to harden it; the new metal which resulted was called bronze. Iron, superior in hardness and durability, gradually displaced these earlier metals.

Farming and cattle-raising. Man of the early Stone Age lived by hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild plants. By means of rude flint weapons, snares, and traps he conquered the great beasts of those days. Much later he learned that certain animals, such as the horse, the dog, and the cow, could be tamed. Cattle-raising became common as supplying an important source of food. Farming was advanced by the invention of the plough drawn by oxen. Likewise the invention of the wheel was of great significance in the history of transportation and of primitive industry. The development of agriculture produced a class of farmers who were sharply marked off from the wandering tribes engaged in herding and hunting.

Numbers and races of man. During the greater part of this period before history, epidemics, cold, and other natural causes prevented the growth of population and limited man in his wanderings. He is known to have gone as far as central Europe and the Nile Valley. But with the last retreat of the ice, man began to preserve a surplus of births over deaths, and from this time begins the peopling of the earth. According to some, man spread from western and central Europe (1) eastward to southern Russia and Siberia into central and eastern Asia; (2) southeastward through the Balkan Peninsula to southwest Asia and India

1685. His accession gave rise to a new problem. Could a Catholic be head of a nation that was overwhelmingly Protestant? Had James let well enough alone, it is unlikely that serious efforts would have been made to oust him, for England was weary of revolution. But like his father, he was a man of despotic disposition and endeavored to disregard laws and parliaments; like his brother he was in the pay of Louis XIV, a fact which was now an "open" secret. James issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending the operation of the laws against Catholics and Dissenters. He included the latter in order to favor the former; he cared nothing for the Dissenters, and they little for him.

William of Orange proclaimed King. Other acts of the King, which made plain that he intended to reestablish the Catholic faith, greatly alarmed both Anglicans and Dissenters. A plan was adopted to oust James without an uprising. The King had a Protestant daughter, Mary, who was the wife of William of Orange, also a Protestant. William was secretly encouraged to invade England by those who opposed James. When William landed at the head of a Dutch army the English army promptly deserted to his side. James, seeing himself without any supporters, fled the country (1688). Parliament declared the throne "vacant," and in 1689 proclaimed William and Mary as joint sovereigns. This was a revolution by an act of Parliament.

Revolution of 1688 not democratic. The Revolution of 1688 ended the struggle between King and Parliament begun in the reign of James I. Parliament was now supreme, and the king merely an hereditary executive. It must not be supposed, however, that the Glorious Revolution, as it was called, was a triumph of democracy, as Parliament in those days represented not the people but the property owners, aristocrats in the country and merchants in the city. The suffrage was not extended, and there was no confiscation of property as in the French Revolution. Nevertheless it was the first revolution in modern times, and Englishmen could well boast that they had overthrown absolute monarchy without bloodshed.

Revolution brings many reforms. A series of important laws were passed as a consequence of the Revolution. The most famous is the Bill of Rights (1689) which declared (1) that laws could not be suspended by the King; (2) that no taxes could be levied without consent of Parliament; (3) that no army could be

and to Northeast Africa.¹ The eastward migration developed into the yellow-brown race; the southeastern into groups that spoke the Hamitic and Semitic languages. The Hamites comprised the ancient Egyptians and the Libyans. The Semites comprised the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, and other peoples of southwestern Asia. The southward migration resulted in various branches of the Negro race. In Europe the dominant languages constitute a related family commonly called Indo-European, and these include the Greeks, Latins, Germans, Celts, and Slavs; and in Asia, the Persian and Hindu (ancient Sanskrit). The distinction between the two great white peoples, the Indo-European and the Semitic, is not based essentially on physical or on mental differences, but upon language. The Indo-European peoples speak languages which have sprung from a common parent language, distinct from the parent language of the Semitic peoples.²

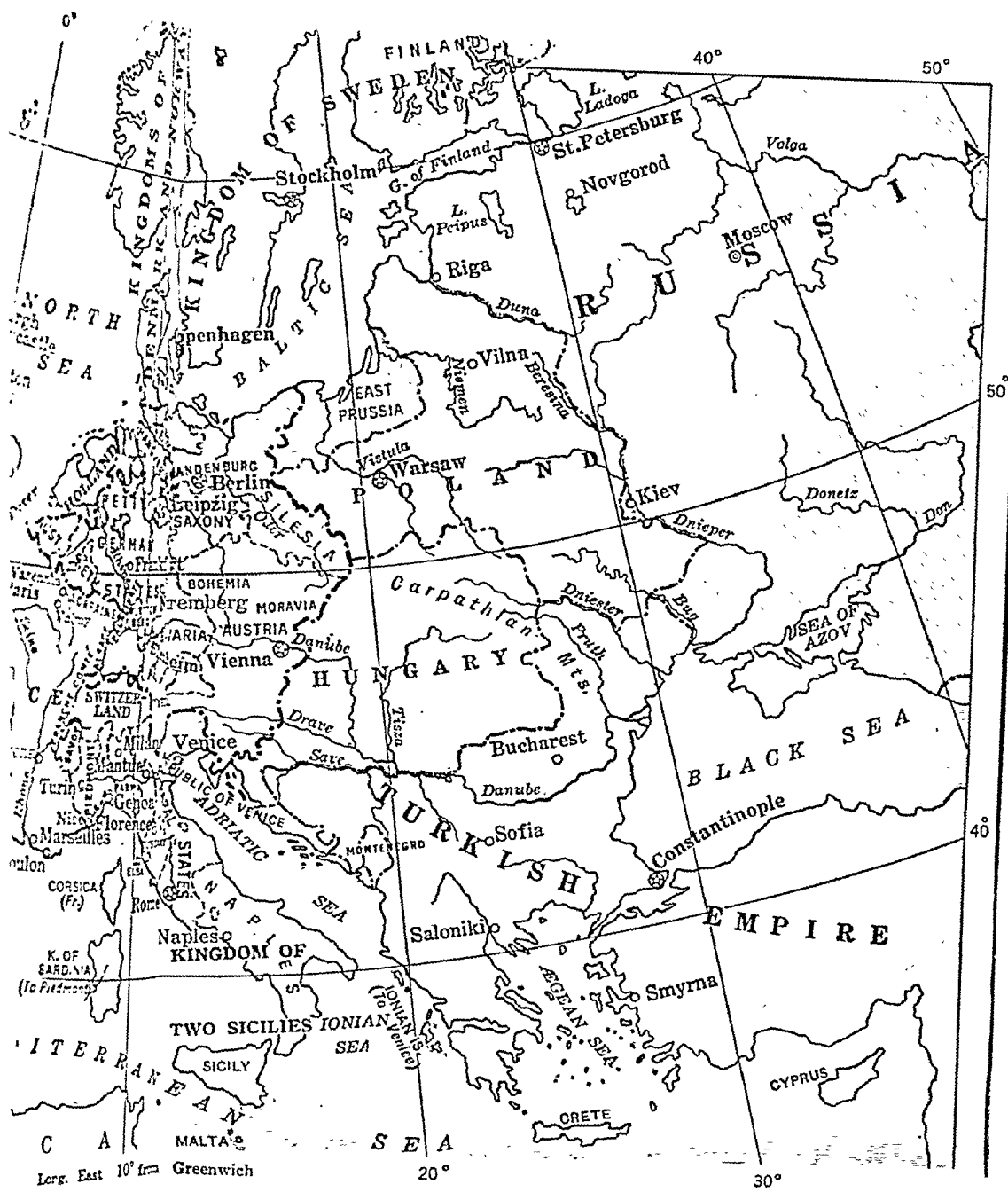
The coming of ideas. Many disordered and terrifying notions enslaved man's mind and kept him from thinking too deeply about the why and the wherefore of his life. He knew fear; he believed that certain objects must not be touched, certain expressions must not be uttered. He thought that disease was an evil spirit which could be scared away by beating a drum. In his desire to gain mysterious power which he could not understand, he sought the aid of magic. Gradually men began to group together for common worship, and with common worship were linked certain ideals of good conduct for the well-being of the community. These rules of conduct gradually became formulated into laws which were enforced by the group as a whole. The group was responsible for the acts of its individual members.

The written word. Probably in the Stone Age man expressed his ideas by picture-writing and also by various memory aids. Few thoughts could be communicated, and these but slowly. In the Age of Bronze picture-writing developed into "hieroglyphics," which are found in Egypt, Crete, China, and Mexico. The alphabet, with every letter representing a definite sound, marked the greatest advance in the history of writing. It made possible the communication of ideas with much greater ease than previously.

History. History deals with the record of the past of mankind. The facts in this past are not treated as solitary, unrelated events.

¹ Other scientists believe Asia to have been the first home of man.

² Racial differences, on the other hand, are based upon distinctive physical features, such as the color of the skin, the length of the head, and the texture of the hair.



He was a good example of an enlightened French noble of those days who favored reforms but who was opposed to extremes and to mob violence. On his suggestion, the Assembly, in imitation of the American Declaration of Independence, resolved to issue a declaration of principles in order to justify their acts before the world. On August 26 there appeared the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which ranks with Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. It is a philosophic document setting forth "the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man," and lays down for all time the principles of democratic government. The rights of man are declared to be liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Some of the articles are:

Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.

Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else . . . limits can only be determined by law.

Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate, personally or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes.

The principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.

No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except for specific offenses and in accordance with procedure prescribed by law.

The free communication of ideas and opinion is one of the most precious of the rights of man.

These ideas are now common, but when the Declaration appeared it caused a great sensation in the world. In those days such ideas were startlingly new and revolutionary, for they were proclaimed in a world of privilege, of tyranny, of repression, and of discrimination. The Declaration had an enormous influence in Europe, where it was regarded as an infallible guide to human welfare.

CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY

The march to Versailles. What was the attitude of Louis toward these great changes? He had signed the decrees and declarations of the Assembly but he had done so unwillingly. Being weak and irresolute, he would not have taken any steps to undo them; but the courtiers, led by the Queen, were continually urging

On the contrary, they are treated as part of the story of the development of the human race with regard to stages in time. History does not deal with the life of an individual completely cut off from society. The historian is interested in "the common adventure of mankind," and the individual is considered in relation to that common adventure. The historian treats religion, law, art, industry, commerce, and the state as institutions and ideas which reveal the story of what is called civilization.

History as science. The word "history" comes from the Greek word meaning, not the telling of a tale, but the search for knowledge and the truth. The writer of history must base his statements on truthful records of past events. This form of evidence is commonly found in records, such as books, manuscripts, and stone inscriptions. The era before written records has been called the prehistoric period. History is thus distinguishable from a novel or a poem, in which the writer can depend upon his imagination to create the events. The art of history is the ability to see the facts and to separate them from a mass of faulty and inaccurate statements and to present them clearly, impartially, and effectively.

Periods in history. Just as there is no clear dividing line in the life of the individual between childhood, youth, and old age, so there is no clear line which marks a break in time between one period of civilization and another. For convenience, history is divided into periods: ancient history, which covers the period from the time of written records down to the dissolution of the Roman Empire; medieval history, which continues the story to the sixteenth century; and modern history, which covers the remaining period.

The message of history. A schoolboy to-day has more truthful information at his disposal than a learned sage of ancient times. This information in the form of discoveries, inventions, and experiences has been handed down from generation to generation. In tracing the development of these ideas and experiences, history reveals that they are not the property of one people or race, but are the common heritage of mankind. Prejudices, fear, and oppression have needlessly resisted the progress of the human mind; history, therefore, carries the message of peace, tolerance, and human brotherhood.

Conquest of Hungary. The Austrians responded by invading the country. At the same time the Croats rose in rebellion against the Hungarians because the latter had refused to grant them autonomy. The Hungarians were now desperately fighting the Austrians in front and the Croats in the rear. Whatever doubt there was of the outcome was settled by the invasion of a Russian army on the side of the Austrians. Tsar Nicholas I went with alacrity to the aid of a fellow monarch in distress, and the Hungarians were vanquished. All concessions were declared null and void, and the country was annexed to Austria as a province.

The Hapsburgs emerged from the Revolution of 1848 more than ever convinced that their safety lay in the racial jealousies of their subjects. Their most powerful opponents, the Hungarians, were now completely discredited in the eyes of the other subject races and were therefore no longer to be feared. Austria continued to be a "citadel of reaction."

PRUSSIA

Uprising in Berlin. The Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, was not one whit behind the Austrian Emperor in his opposition to popular government. "A sheet of paper," as he called a constitution, would not be permitted to limit his power if he could help it. But the news of the February Revolution in Paris roused even the conservative Prussians. A great mob assembled in the royal courtyard in Berlin and threatened rebellion if a constitution were not granted. The King was intimidated. He appeared on the balcony and promised a constitution and the immediate summoning of a parliament. The mob, while dispersing, came into conflict with the soldiers, with the result that several persons were killed. This so enraged the people that barricades went up in the streets, and for several days Berlin experienced the excitement of revolutionary warfare. It was only by withdrawing the troops that the King managed to quiet the city.

Suppression of the Revolution. In Prussia, as elsewhere, the tide turned in favor of reaction. The King recovered his courage when he realized that the mass of peasants had no sympathy with the city mobs. Moreover the army, ever the faithful tool of Hohenzollern autocracy, was hostile to the revolutionary movement. Berlin was declared in a state of siege and the revolutionaries were vigorously suppressed. Many were imprisoned or

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What progressive uses did man make of his hand in early times? Of his speech?
2. Name ten notable inventions of the last twenty-five years.
3. In what way did the domestication of animals affect the occupations and interests of man?
4. Why was fire a revolutionary discovery?
5. What was the most important metal used in ancient times? To-day?
6. Why was the growth of population materially restricted in the age before history?
7. What do we mean by the Indo-European people? How does it differ from the Semitic?
8. Name the chief steps in the development of writing.
9. "History is past politics, and politics present history," said one writer. Discuss.
10. Would a newspaper account of a political convention be history? A world series baseball game broadcast play by play over the radio? An historical play acted upon the stage? A biography of the private life of a statesman?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

Titles marked () are intended as references for teachers and other mature readers.*

GEOGRAPHY IN ITS RELATION TO EARLY LIFE. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, pp. 92-98.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOOLS. *Tylor, *Anthropology*, pp. 182-205; Thomas (ed.), *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 335-72; Schmucker, *Man's Life on Earth*, pp. 55-92.

STONE AGE LIFE. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*; Mosso, *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, pp. 244-50; Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, pp. 142-48; Clodd, *Primitive Man*, pp. 48-60; *Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, pp. 244-60.

STONE AGE ART. Sollas, pp. 222-64; *De Morgan, *Prehistoric Man*, pp. 185-230.

FIRE. *Tylor, pp. 260-64.

PREHISTORIC THOUGHT AND CULTURE. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1 vol. ed.); Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 22-33.

PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT HISTORY. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, I, pp. 1-11.

THE ARYANS. *Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 94-182; Schmucker, pp. 250-68.

tion as a daring guerrilla chief. When he heard of the uprising in 1848 he returned to Italy and organized a volunteer corps of daredevil patriots who followed him wherever he cared to lead. Garibaldi was the military arm of Mazzini in the Roman insurrection. Pope Pius was compelled to flee, and the city was organized as the Republic of Rome.

Sardinia wars against Austria. No democratic uprising could take place in Italy without attempts at unification being made at the same time. Piedmont¹ declared war against Austria in order to free Italy from her domination. Volunteers from all parts of the country flocked to the banner of Savoy, for the patriots believed that, once Austria was driven out, unification would be an easy task. At first the Italians were successful against the Austrians because the latter were hard pressed by the uprising in Vienna. But, as has already been told, the tide turned. King Charles Albert was so despondent over his defeat that, in 1849, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel II, and went into voluntary exile. Austria offered the new King favorable terms of peace, provided he would abrogate the constitution granted by his father. But he stoutly refused, saying that "his family knew the road to exile but not the road to dishonor." The loyalty of Victor Emanuel to constitutional government won the enthusiastic admiration of all Italians, who now turned to the House of Savoy for help and guidance in solving the problem of unification.

Suppression of the revolutionary movement. The success of the revolutionists was short-lived. Reaction swept the peninsula. The revolutionary governments were overthrown and the constitutions abrogated. In Naples King Ferdinand's ferocity in suppressing the revolutionists caused great indignation throughout Europe. Gladstone denounced the Neapolitan government as a "negation of God created into a system." The Roman Republic was overthrown with the help of a French army sent by President Louis Napoleon. Pope Pius came back an unswerving opponent of unification. Garibaldi, after a brave defense of the Roman Republic, was compelled to flee. He escaped to America, where he lived in obscurity for several years.

Sardinia the hope of Italian patriots. The outcome for Italy of the revolutionary movement of 1848 was sad indeed. So much

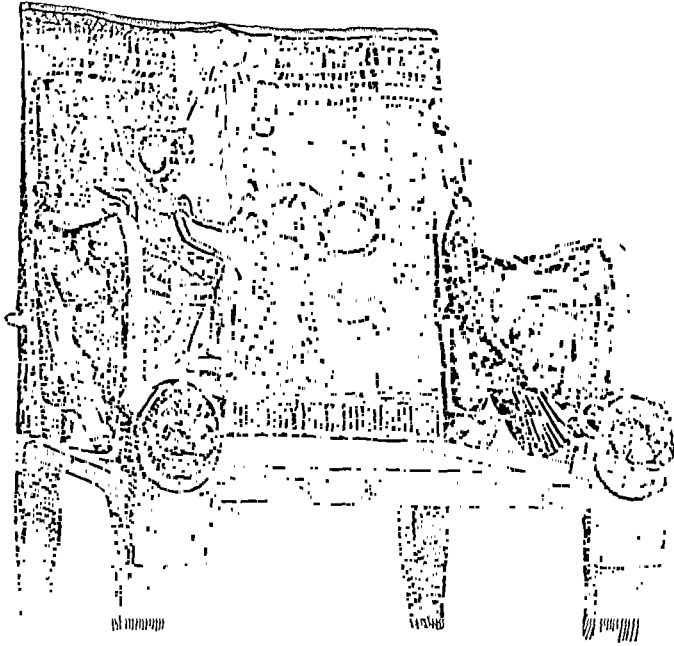
¹ The terms "Piedmont," "Sardinia," and "Savoy" are used synonymously for the territory ruled by the House of Savoy.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT TIMES IN THE EAST

EGYPT

The dawn of Western civilization. The early civilizations which spread by degrees over the Western world first developed in the region of the eastern Mediterranean. In Egypt and Mesopotamia man first discovered and made use of metals and developed the art of writing. It is for this reason that the history of ancient times begins with the story of these lands.



TUT-ANKH-AMEN AND HIS WIFE

From a richly decorated armchair in the Cairo Museum

The message of Tut-ankh-amen. News went forth a few years ago from the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings in Egypt that a party digging amongst the ruins had come upon the sealed doorway of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen. Day by day the world

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

DOMESTIC POLICIES

How Napoleon controlled the government. The Second Empire, like the First, was in fact an absolute monarchy. All-powerful as he was, Napoleon III could not establish a naked autocracy because democratic sentiments were far more widespread in the France of 1852 than in the France of 1804; hence he had to veil his power with democratic forms. It is true that during the Second Empire parliaments were regularly elected by universal manhood suffrage, but the manipulation of the elections and the restricted powers of Parliament made the representatives of the people merely the tools of the Emperor. A powerful political machine was created, backed by government funds and influence. In every district this machine nominated "official candidates" whose election it secured by means of bribery, patronage, government contracts, favoritism, gerrymandering, and often by plain cheating. Very seldom were republicans elected, therefore Parliament consisted almost wholly of the creatures of the emperor-boss, who always voted as they were ordered. Freedom of the press was established, but with so many restrictions that a censorship practically existed. Journals, for example, had to deposit heavy sums with the government as a guarantee of good behavior. If a paper was not considered sufficiently loyal the government would suppress it and confiscate the money deposited. Exile was the portion of those who would not bow the knee to the emperor. Victor Hugo was driven out of France, and from his exile he poured withering sarcasm upon "Napoleon le petit" as he called the nephew of the great Napoleon.

Napoleon promotes business. Napoleon was shrewd enough to realize that the Empire must bring prosperity if it was to endure. He therefore did all in his power to encourage business enterprise. Foreign commerce increased rapidly. Railway systems were reorganized and extended through government action so that railway mileage more than quintupled during his reign. Business enterprise was at a fever heat, and an era of industrial develop-

UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100 125 150

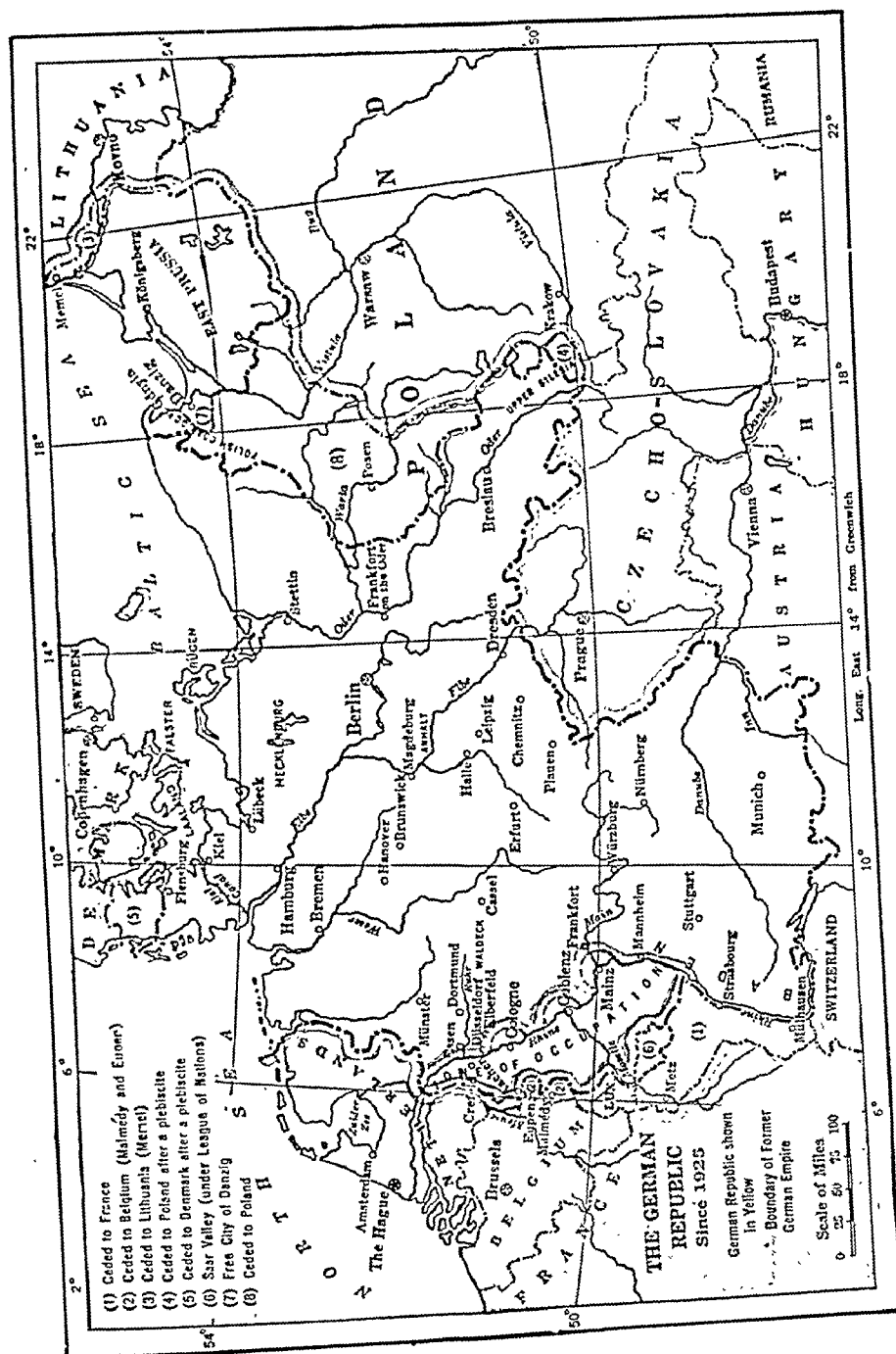
NOTE
The dates are those of annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and after 1861 to the Kingdom of Italy

The dates are those of annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and after 1861 to the Kingdom of Italy.

Great among the empire-builders were Thutmose III (about 1500–1450 B.C.) and Amenhotep III (1411–1375 B.C.); during the period of their reigns Egypt became the political and commercial center of the civilized world. Gradually her political power was eclipsed. The empire crumbled, and by the twelfth century B.C. it had fallen before foreign invaders from the northern Mediterranean.

The calendar, writing, and paper. It was in the early period of the Old Kingdom (3400–2100 B.C.) that Egypt made her great contribution to civilization. Time presented a problem. How should it be measured? The Egyptian divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, with five feast days at the end of the year. The year 4241 B.C., in which the calendar was devised, has been called the earliest dated event in history. Writing was developed beyond the picture-message stage; definite signs came to mean definite sounds. Some scholars claim that Egypt had even created an alphabet of twenty-four letters, the earliest alphabet known. A rapid running handwriting was developed, which bore the same relation to the picture-writing (hieroglyphics) as does our script to the printed letters. Ink was made from vegetable gum, and a pointed reed was used as a pen. The Egyptian first introduced paper, still the most useful writing material, by cutting into strips river reed called papyrus and pasting the strips together in sheets. The systematic development of writing in Egypt, together with the introduction of writing material, marked an epoch in man's life as great as the discovery of metal.

Age of the builders. "Twice great is the king of his city, above a million arms," sings the Egyptian poet. "As for other rulers of men, they are but common folk." The king was believed to be of divine origin. He was too sacred to be addressed by his name, and he was referred to by the term "Pharaoh," which meant his palace. When a Pharaoh died, a great tomb sheltered and protected his body for the rest of time, for the Egyptians believed in a life after death. At Gizeh, the Great Pyramid covers thirteen acres, and is nearly five hundred feet high. Immense even among skyscrapers of to-day, it was built when much of the world had not emerged from the Stone Age and is a tribute to the engineering genius of the Egyptians. The period of great builders is known as the Pyramid Age (3000–2500 B.C.).



Egyptian art. Within these tombs were placed superb sculptures of the Pharaohs, lifelike and in natural colors. On the walls was painted the vivid history of the reign. The furniture for the use of the departed in the after world was exquisitely carved and inlaid with gold. The lotus blossomed on the handle of his spoon, and the lion stood guard on the arm of his chair. The workmanship was delicate and refined. History seems to show that perhaps the Hebrew prophet was right when he said, "There shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt." But while Egypt never regained her position as a great world power, she has preserved for our own age an inspiring message of art and craftsmanship.

THE VALLEYS OF THE TIGRIS AND THE EUPHRATES

An oasis in a desert. Just as Egypt's life was made possible by the Nile, so, in the midst of the vast desert, an oasis was made by the twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. It was a fertile region, and crops, particularly grain, yielded abundant harvests. The mountain peoples north of it and the wandering tribes of the grasslands south of it were for many years engaged in a struggle for the possession of this "fertile crescent."

Chaldea. As in the Lower Nile, so at the mouth of the Tigris-Euphrates, in a land called Chaldea, there are traces of the beginnings of civilization. The early inhabitants, called Sumerians, had come through the passes in the eastern mountains, four thousand years before the Christian era. Like the Egyptians, the Sumerians learned how to distribute the river waters in irrigation trenches. Their form of writing is called "cuneiform." It was done with a triangular or wedge-shaped tip of a reed on soft clay, hardened by baking. A knowledge of cuneiform (wedge-formed writing) later spread throughout Western Asia. The water-clock and the sundial were introduced, and a system of weights and measures was devised.

The coming of the Semites: Babylonia. The Semite wanderers from the desert gradually settled in these fertile lands, and by the twenty-eighth century B.C. the Sumerians, who had come from the mountains, were conquered by the people who hailed from the desert. But the established civilization was not destroyed. By the twentieth century B.C. the city of Babylon, under its mighty king Hammurabi, attained leadership in this region,

and its influence became all-powerful in the eastern Mediterranean.

Hammurabi was a great organizer. He built irrigating canals for the benefit of the farmer, and encouraged trade and industry. Before his time law was unwritten, based on custom, and handed down by tradition.¹ Hammurabi collected and revised the Babylonian laws, which he engraved upon a stone shaft that survives to this day.

The Hittite Empire. With the decline of Babylonia, a number of kingdoms arose in its place, the most important being that of the Hittites, which flourished in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. in western and central Asia Minor. It was a federation of mountain tribes, each with a priest-king. The wealth of the country was derived from rich copper and iron mines. The Hittites became the first distributors of iron, which was displacing bronze. In the course of time they, like other empire-builders, were conquered by more warlike neighbors. But their civilization was inherited by a number of kingdoms, one of which was Lydia, which became a connecting link between the East and Greece.

Assyria and the Second Babylonian Empire. Between the land of the Hittites and Babylonia, there is located on the western side of the Mesopotamian Valley a region which was called Assyria. After freeing themselves from Babylonian control, the Assyrians entered upon a career of conquest. In the eighth century B.C. their empire included the territory from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. For the first time, all the Orient, even Lower Egypt, was united under one rule. In the process of her western expansion Assyria sent her armies to pillage one rich city after another along the Mediterranean coast. Under Sargon II the Assyrians crushed the kingdom of Israel, and carried away the Ten Tribes into captivity (722 B.C.). The seizure of Judah left Egypt open to attack, and that country became, for a time, a province of Assyria. The success of the Assyrians was due to their efficient military organization. They were an intensely warlike people, and scenes depicting conquest are common in Assyrian art.

In time the empire declined. Egypt broke away. A fresh horde of Chaldeans conquered Babylonia, and obtained the western half of the Assyrian domain. Nebuchadnezzar, the

¹ See p. 17.

Chaldean King of Babylonia, sacked Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and carried many Jewish captives into exile. Babylonia, for a short period, was a notable empire. She built magnificent temples and palaces luxuriously crowned with hanging gardens. Assyria fell under the sway of the Medes. Byron's words, in which he commemorates the second expedition against Judah, fittingly sum up the story of Assyria's imperial glory:

The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold;
.

Like leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown.

This was the last period of political power of the Babylonians. "Behold," spoke the prophet, "I will stir up the Medes against them," and their land "shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation."

THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE AND THE COMING OF THE ARYANS

From the great plateau east of the Caspian Sea, a branch of the Indo-European group, known as the "Aryans," pushed westward. One tribe, the Medes, broke the power of Assyria and established a great domain. Another tribe, the Persians, under a leader named Cyrus (553-529 B.C.) separated from the Medes and began the conquest of Asia Minor.

Persian supremacy. One victory followed another, and Persia, "which had risen like the flash of a meteor in the eastern sky," extended her sway over Lydia, land of the rich King Cræsus, Babylonia, and Egypt. In the reign of Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.) Persia achieved her greatest power.

Centralized government. The great contribution of Persia was a system of centralized government. The vast empire was divided into twenty provinces, each under two governors, one military, the other civil, each to be a check upon the other. The civil governor was called a "satrap." Local parts of an empire were no longer autonomous, under native kings, but were ruled by governors appointed by the central government. The introduction of a uniform coinage and of an excellent system of roads

made the empire an undivided whole. This system of centralized government was so efficient that it later influenced the organization of Alexander's empire, and that of Rome.

Fusion of Eastern culture. The Persians, unlike the Assyrians, were tolerant and humane. Through the efforts of the great preacher, Zoroaster, a new religion was introduced, which looked upon life as a struggle between the forces of darkness and of light, of evil and of good, and which taught the belief in a great judgment day for all mankind. An alphabet of thirty-nine letters was devised. The civilizations which made up the empire were fused. Persia was the last great political power of ancient times in the Orient; it preserved and handed on to the Europeans the civilization of the Eastern peoples.

THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

Allenby enters Jerusalem. In 1917 General Allenby, having defeated the Turks, marched into Jerusalem at the head of the British forces. His entry, the eighth conquest of the Holy City, brought back historic memories of the Hebrews, a Semitic people, who thousands of years ago had dwelt in a land now called Palestine. For many centuries their descendants, scattered throughout the world, had looked upon this ancient region as their homeland.

The Hebrew Kingdom. Originally the Hebrews were wandering herdsmen who had drifted into Palestine from the Arabian Desert. One group had gone into Egypt, where they lived as slaves. Early in the fourteenth century B.C. the Hebrews escaped from their Egyptian taskmasters. Led by their prophet, Moses, they set forth for Palestine, a land "flowing with milk and honey." They conquered the inhabitants of Palestine and established themselves as the rulers of the country. "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes." Their leaders were warrior chieftains, like Samson and Samuel.

Fear of a race to the southwest, called the Philistines, led the various tribes to form a union (about 1000 B.C.) under a popular leader named Saul. After the defeat and death of Saul, David was made king. He defeated the Philistines, established a kingdom, and made the ancient fortress of Jerusalem its capital. Solomon, his son, inheriting the brief glory of a kingdom, caused

great discontent among his subjects because of his luxury and wastefulness. At his death the tribes in the northern part of Palestine set up an independent kingdom called "Israel"; that in the south was called "Judah." Both were short-lived. Assyria conquered Israel in 722 B.C.; and in 586 B.C. Babylonia conquered Judah and carried its people into exile.

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down,
Yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion,

chants the Psalmist.

The Old Testament. It is to the period following the return of the Jew to Palestine that we owe the work of assembling the material comprising the Old Testament. The Jews began to inquire into their own history. Various editors gathered together their literature and their religious traditions. The earlier material known as "The Law," or the "Five Books of Moses," was received as sacred scripture about 400 B.C.; the section known as "The Prophets," two centuries later; and the remaining material was not completed until the first century A.D. This Hebrew portion of what has come down to us as the Bible embraces a wide range of material. Therein are found the high moral code of the Five Books of Moses, the lyric poetry of the Psalms, the stirring summons of the prophets to a higher moral and social order, the soul-searching tragedy of Job, the charming romance of Ruth, the shrewd doubting of Ecclesiastes. It has been said that from the Old Testament "a spring bubbles up from which humanity will always be able to draw the strength of youth for its religious life."

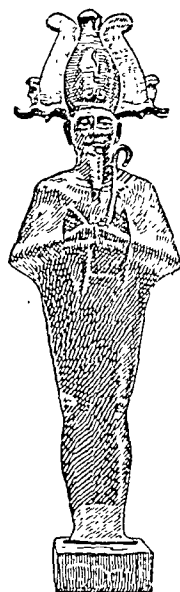
Monotheism. The great contribution of the Hebrews to civilization was primarily religious. It was they who developed the idea of the one and only God, which is called monotheism. The religions of other peoples were based on the worship of animals and of heavenly bodies, and each had its own gods and goddesses. Monotheism gave rise to religious ideas which appealed to people regardless of their race. The Hebrews regarded Jehovah as the creator and ruler of the universe, who lived in a temple "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." With Him were associated ideals of righteousness and social justice. This heritage was the inspiration of two great world religions of a later day, Christianity and Mohammedanism.



Ra-Amon



Isis



Osiris.

EGYPTIAN DEITIES

Ra-Amon was the Sun God, the supreme god of Egypt. Osiris was the god of the World of the Dead; Isis, his wife, is shown here with her infant son Horus in her lap. These statues are in the British Museum.

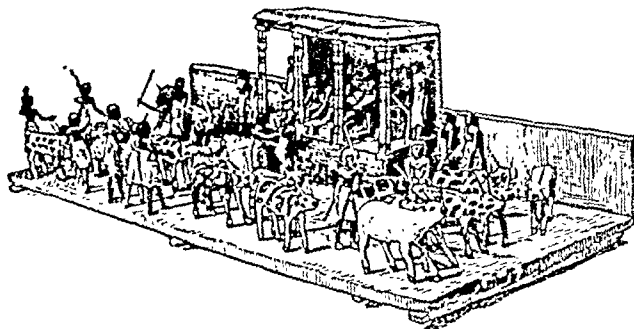
LIFE IN THE ANCIENT ORIENT

History of a class. The history which has been unfolding in this narrative has been to a large extent devoted to a story of the achievements of the ruling class. The records which have come down to us exalt the deeds of kings and of the upper classes, but tell little of the great mass of people upon whose labor they depended for existence. The king ruled as an autocrat. He was above the law. The privileged classes were the large landowners and the hereditary priesthood. Below them was a small middle class of merchants, skilled craftsmen, and independent farmers.

The base of the social pyramid. At the base of the social pyramid were the tillers of the soil and other menial workers whose story is painted in more somber hue. Perhaps the great majority were slaves: captives in war, men who could not pay their debts, children who were sold by their parents. Armies of slaves worked the mines of the Pharaohs, built their pyramids, and pulled the oars of their galleys. A poet of the ancient Orient writes:

The stone mason seeks his work in every kind of hard stone.
When he has completed orders, and when his hands are tired, does he rest?
Not so: he must be in the workyard at dawn: even if his knees and spine
break with his toil.

"Man has a back," says an Egyptian proverb, "and only obeys when it is beaten." Lavishly did the Pharaohs bestow gifts upon the temples; the granaries of the gods were groaning with plenty, while the poor faced starvation.



EGYPTIAN LIFE IN THE TIME OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

A prince inspecting his cattle. From a model in the Metropolitan Museum,
New York

Law and social justice. The primitive customs of the local tribe would hardly suffice for the more complicated civilization of the East. The discovery in recent times of the code of Hammurabi has turned the attention of the world to Babylonia for the early history of law. Hammurabi tells us that he compiled the code in order "that the great should not oppress the weak." Many of its laws are survivals of primitive custom. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is the rule. The rich man's person is valued much more highly than is the person of the poor man. But throughout we see certain fundamental principles designed to meet the demands of an age of commerce: a man must pay for the damage he has done; the rights of a person over his lands and goods are respected.

Babylonian influence is seen in the earlier books of the Bible, which the Hebrews ascribed to Moses. Children are required to honor and obey their parents; servants must be treated kindly; inheritance is instituted; and the principle is accepted that those who interfere with the order of justice have committed a crime against the state.

These rules for social conduct were often only ideals which were not carried out in practice. In Egypt the poor complained that the bribe of the rich man was often stronger than the justice of the poor man's cause. Amos, the Hebrew prophet and first great social reformer of the ancient world, bitterly attacks the corruption of the ruling class, who "sell the righteous for money and the needy for a pair of shoes," and Isaiah asks pointedly what the rulers mean "by grinding the face of the needy."

Industry and the spread of commerce. Egypt and Babylonia were the granaries of the East. In addition Egypt produced linen, glass, and skillfully wrought jewelry; and Babylonia produced tapestries, rugs, and porcelains. Trade grew, and commercial houses appeared. One serious limitation on trade was the lack of money. Barter, or the exchange of goods, was a clumsy method of conducting commerce on a large scale. Cræsus, the King of Lydia, whose name has become a proverb for wealth, minted the first gold coins and the method spread in the Persian Empire. Banking houses arose in Babylonia at the time of its second splendor, and banking principles spread to the commercial regions.

The Phœnicians a maritime people. Commercially, the most interesting people in the Orient were the Semitic Phœnicians, whose territory lay between the rugged coast of the eastern Mediterranean and the Lebanon Mountains. The nearness of the cedar and pine forests of Phœnicia to her harbors made it easy to embark on a maritime career. For many centuries Sidon and Tyre were chief among the cities of Phœnicia. The Old Testament gives us an admirable picture of the international trade of Tyre: "And say unto Tyrus, 'O thou that are situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles. Thus saith the Lord God; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty.'" Her merchants took the lead in opening to commerce the eastern Mediterranean lands. The glass and blue porcelain dishes and the rich purple dyes of the Tyrian craftsmen found their way to Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, as far north as the British Isles. According to one story Phœnician seamen actually circumnavigated Africa. Phœnician settlements were established in northern Africa and in southern Europe. An alphabet of twenty-two letters came from Phœnicia to the shores of Greece, a priceless gift to the languages of Europe.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. The Nile was the giver of life to Egypt. Explain.
2. What is a kingdom? What is an empire? Name three Oriental kingdoms; three empires.
3. Why did the Pharaohs build pyramids? Compare the engineering difficulties of that age with those involved in erecting a great skyscraper to-day.
4. Why was the discovery of time of great importance to mankind? Which divisions of time are natural? Which artificial?
5. In what important respects did the government of Persia differ from that of the United States?
6. What other great religion of the Orient besides Judaism preached a high moral life?
7. What is law? How did ancient law differ from modern law? Compare the criminal laws of Hammurabi and of the Old Testament with those in force in your State to-day.
8. Compare the political and economic position of the Egyptian and Babylonian laborer with an American workman.

Map questions: Locate the regions where metals were found in the ancient Orient, where food products were raised. Locate four important harbors. (See map inserted after p. 60.)

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

EGYPTIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Hamlin, *A History of Architecture*, chap. II; Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen* (2 vols.), especially the illustrations; Maspero, *Art in Egypt*; Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*; Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 38-45; *Faure (Pach), *History of Art*, I, pp. 31-77.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LITERATURE. Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*, I, nos. 23, 24.

ASSYRIAN AND PERSIAN ART. Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, I, pp. 127-42; *Faure, pp. 78-111.

RISE OF RELIGION. Davis, I, nos. 29, 30; Macalister, *Civilization of Palestine*, chap. VII; Smith, *The Prophet and his Problems*; *Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*; *Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*.

RISE OF LAW. Davis, I, no. 20; Botsford, *A Source Book of Ancient History*, pp. 29-31; 48, 49. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, *pp. 1-7, pp. 51-133.

MEDITERRANEAN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. Day, *A History of Commerce*, chaps. I, II; Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, pp. 165-68; Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, pp. 153-64.

THE LABORING MAN. Botsford, pp. 22-25.

CHAPTER III

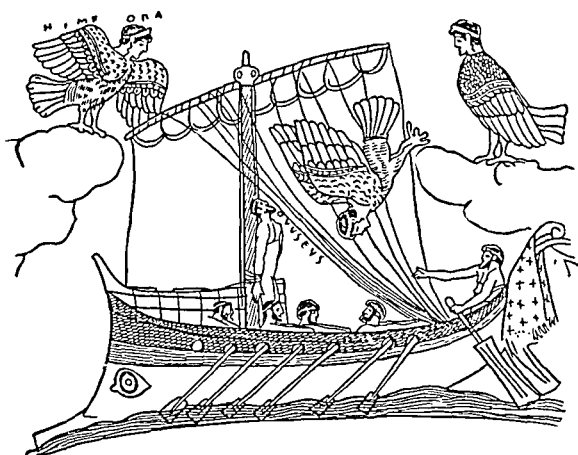
THE DAWN OF MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATION

ÆGEAN LIFE

Civilization faces west. Europe was still barbaric when great civilizations were well established in the East. The continent of Europe is an arm of Asia, which stretches forth three peninsulas, Spain, Italy, and the Balkans, into the Mediterranean Sea. That great landlocked basin, with its jagged coastline and jutting peninsulas, affords good harbors, and Eastern ships pushed westward into its waters.

Lands of the Ægean. The Balkan Peninsula looks toward the Nile and reaches out toward the Orient.

In its southern part is Greece, whose eastern shores are washed by the waters of the Ægean Sea, a body almost entirely surrounded by land. The lands of the Greek Peninsula are not so fertile as the Mesopotamian and Nile valleys. Greece is rocky and mountainous, "a naked land with all her bones showing." On her plains corn, grain, and olives are raised. Ships from



EARLY GREEK MERCHANT SHIP

From Greek vase painting in British Museum, "Ulysses and the Sirens"

the East and from Egypt carried the products of their Bronze-Age life to the lands about the Ægean; and two thousand years before the Christian era a distinctive civilization had arisen in that region.

Crete and its civilization. In the island of Crete, a halfway station for commerce between Greece and the East, civilization

first began in Europe. "There is a land called Crete," sings Homer, in his *Odyssey*, "in the midst of a wine-dark sea, a fair land and a rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities." Many centuries before the time of which the poet speaks, Crete had cities, government, and law. Its citizens sailed the seas in high-prowed ships and amassed great wealth by peaceful trade. In the *Tanglewood Tales*, Hawthorne tells the tale of Theseus and of the youths and maidens who were sent as a sacrifice to the Cretan Minotaur. For ages this story was believed to be a fanciful tale. But in 1900, Sir Arthur Evans, an English excavator, found at Knossus in Crete an elaborate palace with vast courts and endless corridors, which was strangely like a labyrinth. The sacrifice of Theseus exemplifies perhaps the tribute which the mainland was forced to pay to the King of Crete.

Its civilization original. The civilization of the "Grand Age of Crete" (about 1600-1500 B.C.) was not a mere copy of that of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It was thoroughly European. Its vases, paintings, and frescoes reveal an art that is natural and free, not hedged in by rigid rules. Its flower is a flower, and not a stencil. Wild animals prance with captivating grace around its gold-wrought cups. Along its palace walls young men leap and run and young women dance in ecstasy. In his tools the Cretan outstripped the dwellers on the Nile. He had magnificent long swords, called "rapiers," with inlaid hilts and lavishly decorated blades. "European civilization is henceforth armed to defend its independence." Women wore clothing which was surprisingly modern. Very early in their history, the Cretans developed a rapid handwriting as a substitute for the old picture writing. The theory has even been advanced that the Phœnicians, in their commerce with Crete, took over this written language alphabet. What fate befell Crete is not known. Its civilization spread to Greece, especially to the city of Mycenæ, which became the first center of civilization on the peninsula.

GREECE IN THE TIME OF HOMER

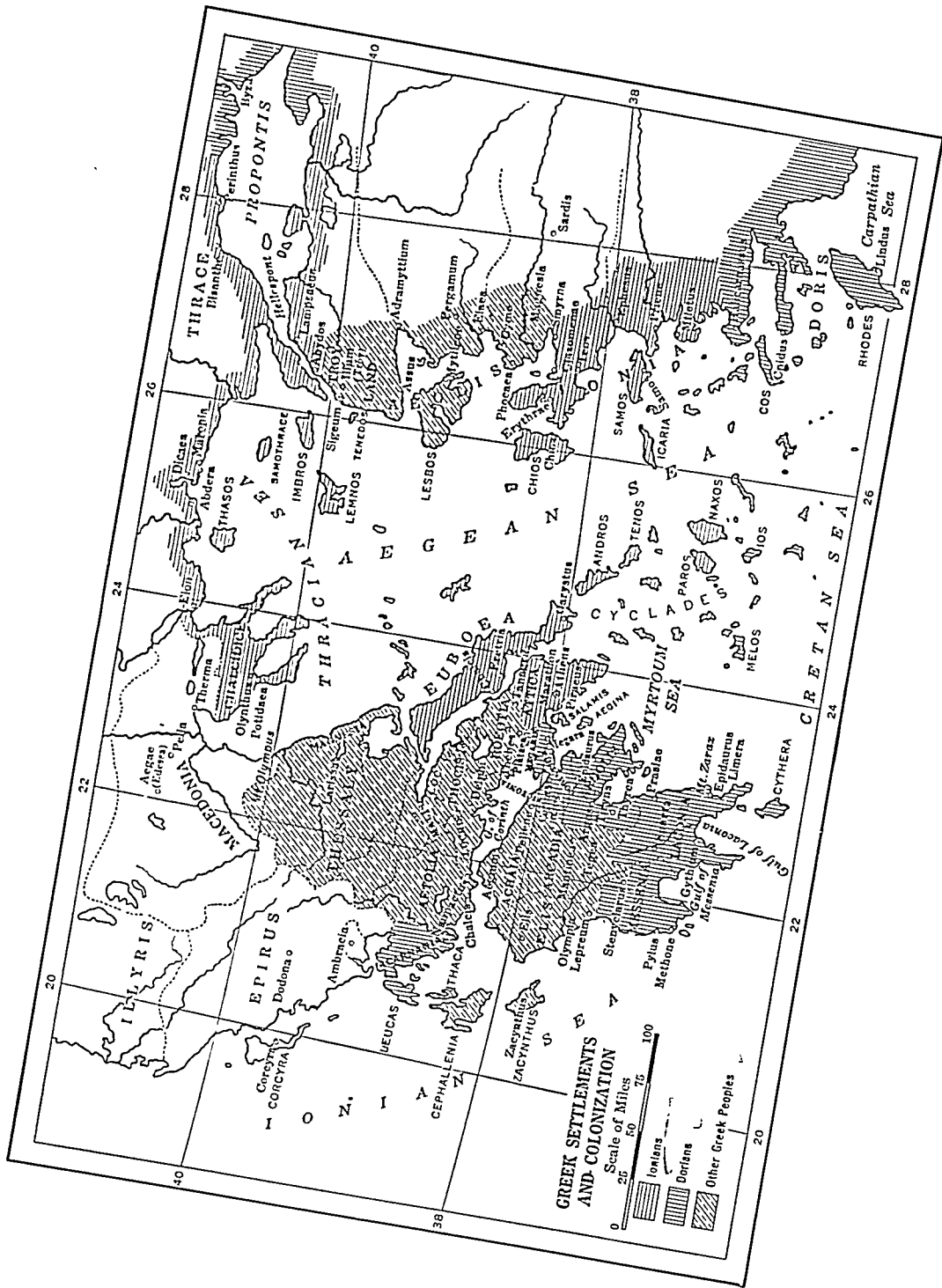
Invasion of the Hellenes. From about 2000 B.C. tribes living in the valley of the Danube moved southward and invaded Greece. Later these tribes were called "Hellenes." The various tribes settled in different parts of the peninsula, the Achæans and

Dorians in the south, the Ionians in the center, and the Æolians in the north.

Greek conquest of the Ægean. In the course of a few centuries, the Hellenes, or Greeks, gained possession of the entire Ægean world. On the mainland they gradually merged with the Myceneans. They conquered Crete, the islands of the Ægean, and the coast of Asia Minor.

The Homeric legend. The story of the early invaders is still largely legendary. Its chief sources are the songs of generations of wandering bards, which were gathered together and attributed to the blind singer, Homer, who lived sometime between 1000 and 700 B.C. The famous Trojan War of an earlier day, with Troy as a center, is celebrated in the *Iliad*. Homer tells in the *Odyssey* of the adventures of the "crafty Ulysses" on his storm-tossed voyage, amid breathless dangers, from the scenes of the Trojan War to his homeland. These epic poems reveal much more of the ideas and life of the Greeks in the Homeric Age than they do of that earlier period described by Homer, when gods battled with heroes.

Tribal state and pastoral life. The *Iliad* tells how Hephæstus, the god-artisan, made a great shield for Achilles "and therein fashioned he much cunning work from his wise heart." On this shield there were wrought several scenes of life in the Homeric Age. In the first scene a marriage procession, with music and dancing and lighted torches, is passing through the streets. It emerges into the open market-place. But here its progress is stayed, for there is another crowd assembled. "Standing on tiptoe the revelers can see a group of old men sitting round in a half-circle on the well-worn seats. Before them stand two heated and angry disputants: at their feet lie two lumps of glowing gold. What is it all about? The story soon goes round. There has been a murder, and the dead man's relative refuses to accept the money which the murderer's family have decided to offer as compensation. So they have submitted their case to the 'right judgment' of the elders of the city." Another scene on the shield presents a city which is being besieged: tumult reigns within, and death stalks along the wall. The scene changes once more. Now farmhands are ploughing the fields. Young girls and boys gleefully pluck the black grapes from the vineyard. The herdsman leads his lowing flock to pasture. And the king surveys his lands



and the many who are his reapers and sheaf-binders, and there is "rejoicing in his heart." Homer has described the simple pastoral life of his own age.

In these scenes the king is pictured as a human king who lives in the midst of his community, very different indeed from the king in the Orient, who was regarded as divine and lived in magnificent isolation. About the king were ranged the heads of distinguished families who formed the ruling element in the Greek states of the Homeric Age.

The gods on Olympus. The early Greek saw in the earth, sea, and sky spirits of mysterious power. As time went on the sky spirit came to be thought of as a divine being, Zeus, "the cloud gatherer," who was worshiped as the "father of gods and men." He held council with twelve of his select deities on the top of snow-crowned Mount Olympus. Chief among them were Apollo, the sun god, whose beams were golden arrows; Athena, goddess of wisdom and of all womanly virtues, who sprang full-grown from the brow of Zeus; Ares, who reveled in war and destruction; and Artemis, the maiden moon goddess, who romped through the depths of cool forests. These gods talked and quarreled and lived like human beings, and the vivid Greek imagination endowed them with many human failings. Indeed, it would have been difficult for the Greeks to believe that the gods demanded good conduct of their worshipers, who looked to no reward in the next world for their good conduct in this world. The beauty that they created was for the pleasure of the living, not, as in the case of the Egyptians, for the comfort of the dead. When a Greek died, he went to the joyless, gloomy underworld called "Hades," where existence was very boring. Only by special favor of the gods could some man of mighty deeds enjoy happiness in the Elysian Fields, far off in the mysterious west.

THE CITY-STATE

Divided Greece. The Greeks lived in small city-states which had grown up from early village settlements. In some instances the mountain ranges of the peninsula formed natural barriers between the states. Indeed, to the Greek local self-government and independent economic life were preferable to living under the government of a united, national state. Local patriotism was intense. To the Greek his city was the only truly great city, and its life the only truly great one.

Citizenship was a privilege which came by birth and remained only during residence. In modern times a foreigner can become "naturalized"; that is, become a citizen of the country of his adoption after a number of years of residence. In the Greek city-state citizenship was something which was inherited; hence the foreigner was always a foreigner, and even his descendants were foreigners unless admitted to citizenship as a special privilege.

Class rule. Systems of government varied widely. In the days of Homer a king ruled with the advice of an aristocratic council and a popular assembly. Gradually, the council began to overshadow the king, and the city-states became aristocracies. Between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. a trading class developed, and began to share political power with the landowners. It was class rule: rich against poor. The rich lived in luxury in the city; the poor peasant struggled to maintain himself in scanty fields, fell into debt, became a day laborer for a more fortunate person, and sometimes sold himself into slavery.

Class conflict and democracy. In some city-states the conflict between the classes became acute. On a wave of popular discontent, some powerful politician, much like a political "boss" of to-day, would ride into power. Such a man was called a "tyrant" because he had usurped political power in some irregular fashion. The word "tyrant" to the Greeks did not necessarily mean "despot." Political progress continued until finally the city-states were governed by the whole body of citizens. This form of government was called a "democracy," or the rule of the many. It was far from our idea of popular government, as it did not include the great mass of people who were slaves and "foreigners"; the citizens, both rich and poor, constituted a close corporation based largely upon race and family.

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND COLONIES

Greek colonization. Political oppression and social unrest led men to look to the sea and beyond for wealth and opportunity. From the middle of the eighth century B.C. and for two hundred years thereafter, the Greeks became the colonizers of the Mediterranean lands. The mainland was too poor to support many inhabitants, and many left the homeland to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Gradually the Greeks occupied the Ægean islands and the entire coast of Asia Minor, the shores of the Black Sea, and

the coast of northern Africa. Navigators pushed across the unknown waters to the heel of the Italian Peninsula, thence to Sicily, and to the distant shores of France and Spain. There was hardly an island or a coastline in the Mediterranean which was not colonized by the Greeks.

Greek commerce. Just as the colonial settlements in America opened new markets for English products, so did the Greek settlements open new markets for Greek wares. At the same time Greek life and civilization were greatly enriched by the products of the entire Mediterranean world. Greece herself was well situated to become a carrier nation. Her deep bays and inlets afforded an extensive coastline and numerous harbors. The proximity of wooded mountains to ports placed materials for shipbuilding within easy reach. Gold and silver from Thrace and



A POTTER'S SHOP

Fifth century B.C. Red-figured water pot. After Perrot and Chipiez

Chalcidice; iron, tin, and grain from the Black Sea countries; wool, sheep, horses, grain, and oil from northern Africa; and fruit, grain, and oil from all the Mediterranean lands found their way into the markets of Greece. In exchange she sent wine, wheat, cloths, pottery, and metal ornaments. To meet the demands of expanding trade, the little workshops of the Greek craftsmen grew in size and multiplied rapidly. First Corinth, then Athens, became the leading commercial and industrial center of Hellas. They adopted the system of coinage introduced by the Lydians, and, with the use of money and growth of

wealth, Greece passed from the stage of primitive barter to that of commerce and industry.

Wealth and culture. It was through the wealth derived from her business enterprise that Greece developed a leisure class which could devote itself to the fine arts. The great civilization that grew up in the peninsula spread to the colonies. Greeks abroad and Greeks at home were now bound by ties of blood, business, and culture, and Hellas became the international land of the Hellenic people.

SPARTA

Sparta, a warrior state. The story of the city-states on the mainland is a record of bitter rivalry leading to civil wars that finally overwhelmed all in a common ruin. In a sense the struggle was a conflict between the two ideas of civilization represented by Sparta and Athens. Sparta was not interested in trade or industry, and still less in popular government. She was an agricultural community, but the citizens did none of the farming. They numbered not more than about twenty-five thousand persons, who dominated over a population nearly twenty times as numerous. This ruling class were warriors and landowners; their lands were tilled by serfs, called "helots." A considerable proportion of the population, called the "provincials," lived outside the city. They, too, were ruled by the military aristocrats. By the sixth century B.C. Sparta had risen to a place of leadership among the city-states in southern Greece.

Spartan discipline. Xenophon, the Greek historian, gives a vivid picture of Spartan methods of education. Rigorous physical exercise was required of both boys and girls. A public guardian, with full powers of corporal punishment, assumed the education of the young. Children learned to walk barefooted, to wear light clothing, and to eat scanty food. Boys were encouraged to steal wherever and whatever they could. The crime was merely in being caught, as the purpose was to develop attributes of craftiness and skill. At twenty the boy became a warrior and lived in barracks. At thirty he became a citizen, and was required to marry in order to raise more citizens for the state. Tradition ascribed many of these institutions to a legislator named Lycurgus who, it is believed, was a legendary person.

Aristocratic rule. In theory Sparta was a dyarchy, ruled by

two kings; in fact, it was an aristocracy. An assembly composed of great landowners, elected, annually, five men known as "Ephors," who were the real rulers of the state. The government regulated the lives of its citizens; it supervised their education; it controlled their family life; and even the food of the people was prescribed. The government, however, disregarded the interests of the great mass of toilers, who were at the mercy of the ruling class. "So it seems to have been well said that in Lacedæmon, the free man was more free, and the slave more a slave than anywhere else," comments Plutarch.

ATHENS

Democratic Athens. In contrast to Sparta, Athens is known to fame as the home of freedom and democracy. At first, as in all the other city-states, a landed aristocracy was in full control. Many farmers had fallen into debt and were obliged to sell their lands, and sometimes themselves. In early times a creditor exercised great power over a debtor. He could imprison him, and even sell him into slavery. A popular movement arose that aimed to reform the land system and the debt laws. A famous name is associated with the first great reform; it is that of the philosopher-statesman, Solon. In 594 B.C. a code of laws, ascribed to Solon, declared all freemen equal before the law. Debtors were freed; farm mortgages were cancelled; and large estates were restricted. Slavery for debt was abolished. The poor Athenians were admitted to citizenship.

More land and wider citizenship. More reforms followed. Under a tyrant named Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.) the confiscated lands of banished nobles were divided among the landless. There still remained an important restriction on the right to participate in government. In order to vote one had to belong to one of the recognized families. Under the reformer Cleisthenes, an extension of democracy was made (508-507 B.C.). The tribes became local divisions, from which were chosen, by lot, a number of citizens who constituted a council which, together with the popular assembly, ruled Athens. No one was now excluded from the business of government except slaves and foreigners.

The working of democracy. The Assembly was the voice of Athenian democracy; its membership included every citizen. But the city population had greater weight in this body than the

farmers in the outlying regions, because the latter found it too inconvenient to attend. Judicial power was lodged in popular courts, whose magistrate-jurors were chosen by lot; their rôle was the same as that of judge and jury in the courts of to-day. Judgment was rendered by majority vote, from which there could be no appeal. A curious feature of Athenian government was "ostracism." If a policy of a statesman seemed particularly dangerous to the welfare of the state, a meeting of the citizens was called to decide on his fate. If six thousand persons voted against him, or, according to some authorities, a majority of that number, he was exiled for a period of ten years. "Ostracism," the name for this procedure, is derived from "ostrakon," the piece of pottery used as a ballot.

THE PERSIAN WARS

Importance of the Greek colonies. In the Hellas of the sixth century B.C. the leading part in commercial life belonged to the Greek colonies, chiefly those in Asia Minor. Their soil was richer and their markets were more extensive than those of the homeland. But the colonies in Asia were threatened by the Persian Empire which was expanding toward the Mediterranean.¹ Late in the sixth century B.C. the Persians conquered the Greeks in Asia Minor, and, early in the fifth century, under Darius, they invaded Europe, subduing Thrace and Macedonia. Greece was now imperiled, and the city-states looked to Sparta and Athens to lead them against the "barbarians," as they termed the Persians.

Marathon. At the head of a large army Darius crossed the Ægean. In 490 B.C. one of the decisive battles of the world took place on the plains of Marathon. An Athenian army, commanded by Miltiades, charged the Persians and drove them from the field. The Athenians, Herodotus narrates, fought "in a memorable fashion: for they were the first of all the Hellenes about whom we know who went to attack the enemy at a run, and they were the first also who endured to face the Median garments and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear."

Salamis. Marathon did not quench the Persian thirst for conquest. Ten years later, King Xerxes assembled a huge army, which passed in splendor across Asia Minor, and, like a swarm of locusts, "descended on Greece to devour her." The Persians

¹ Unlike modern colonies, which generally remain politically dependent on the mother country, the Greek colony became an independent city-state.

crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles), and advanced to the pass of Thermopylæ, commanding the entrance to central Greece. Here a small band of Spartans, led by Leonidas, made a dauntless stand against the invader. Nearly all were killed, but they succeeded in delaying, for a while, the invading hosts. As the latter advanced, the Greeks of Attica deserted the mainland and took refuge in their fleets. A great naval battle took place near the island of Salamis (480 B.C.), where the Greeks, under Themistocles, routed the Persians. The latter now abandoned the conquest of Greece. Marathon and Salamis decided the future of European civilization. It was to be classical, not Oriental, in its inspiration and development. Byron thus hails the Greek victory:

‘The mountains look on Marathon —
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dream’d that Greece might still be free,
For, standing on the Persians’ grave,
I could not deem myself a slave.

THE AGE OF PERICLES

Athens achieves empire.

Athens emerged from the war with Persia as the undisputed leader of Hellas. The Athenian spirit rose high, and dreams of empire followed patriotic achievement. Following the Persian defeats, the Greek colonies in Asia Minor revolted and gained their independence. Under Aristides, one of Athens's leading statesmen, a union known as the "Delian League" was formed, in which Athens assumed the rôle of protector. In time, the League became virtually an empire dominated by Athens.

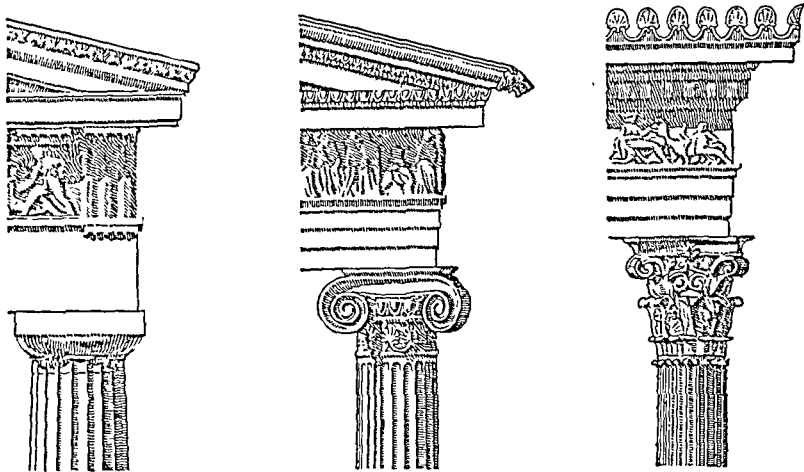
Pericles (?495-429 B.C.).

During the latter half of the fifth century B.C. Athens developed so wonderfully in every way, politically, economically, artisti-



PERICLES

cally, that the period is known as her golden age. It was presided over by Pericles, the most famous name in the political history of the Greek people. Pericles was a statesman who ruled through a leadership won by an extraordinary gift of persuasion. His grave manner, his lofty tone, his wise policies, his encouragement of the arts, deeply impressed his fellow countrymen.



STYLES OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

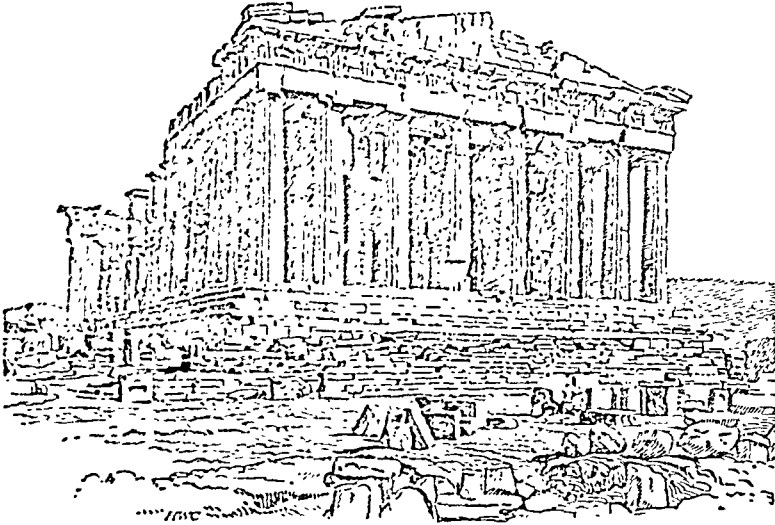
Doric

Ionic

Corinthian

Beautiful Athens. During the rule of Pericles public works were built on a scale unsurpassed in beauty and magnificence, the expense of which was borne by the Delian League. Two long walls were built connecting Athens with the Piræus, her harbor. In the midst of the enchanting Attic plain there rises abruptly near the center of the city a hill called the Acropolis, in ancient times a fortress, treasury, sanctuary, and art center. Stately temples and public buildings adorned its summit. Here the two main orders of Greek architecture, the Doric and the Ionic, are in evidence. They are distinguished mainly by differences in the treatment of the column. The Doric column has no base; its shaft is sturdy; and its capital unadorned. The Ionic rests upon a base; its shaft is tall and slender; and its capital gracefully carved. The Corinthian column, which later came into fashion, was modeled on the Ionic, but possessed a more highly decorative capital.

The jewel in the Athenian crown was the Parthenon. This temple was dedicated to Athena in a spirit of simplicity, dignity, and grace. On it Phidias, the master sculptor, depicts upon the marble frieze a spirited procession in her honor. His statues of Athena and Zeus impart ideas of divine majesty. The sculptors of the following century took their models from the streets of



THE PARTHENON, ATHENS

Athens. The figures ascribed to Praxiteles and Scopas represent the Greek ideal of physical beauty. Their faces are alight with the fire of human emotion; at times they are torn with physical and mental conflict. Greek sculpture was human, simple, well-balanced, idealistic, far removed from the rigid uniformity of Oriental sculpture. What Keats wrote about the Grecian urn might well have reference to the eternal power of the Greek artistic spirit:

When old age shall this generation waste,
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou sayst
"Beauty is truth, truth beauty" — that is all
Ye know on earth and all ye need to know.

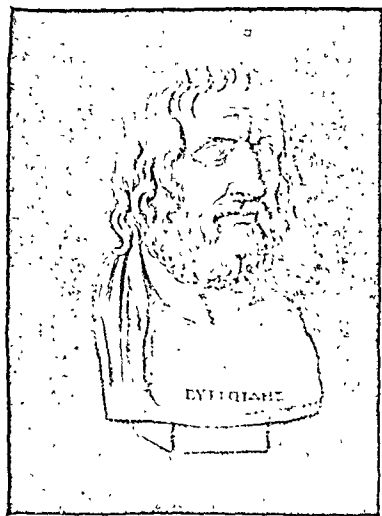
Ugly Athens. In contrast to the beauty of the Acropolis, the section of the city in which the common man lived was ugly; its

streets were narrow, crooked, and garbage-laden. The Athens of the masses was crowded and unsanitary. To these conditions the frightful and devastating plague of 430 B.C. bears witness.

Greek drama. The development of the drama ranks among the highest creations of this age. Into their tragedies the Greek

dramatists blended the lights and shadows of life. Their medium of expression was the theater, which had evolved from the religious dance and from choral singing. The choral singer became an actor. Tradition was shattered when a dramatist dared to introduce as many as three actors. There was almost no scenery. The actors did not act. They declaimed. Grotesque masks were worn to express the particular mood. The huge, roofless, outdoor theater at Athens could accommodate as many as twenty-five thousand spectators.

Æschylus, the first of the great dramatists, wrote many tragedies, seven of which have come down to

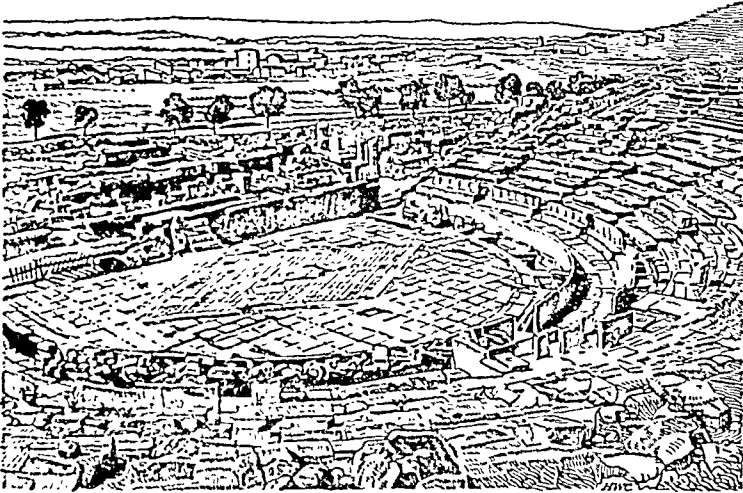


EURIPIDES

us. Sophocles, a skillful and inventive writer of tragedy, was a favorite in Athens in the Age of Pericles. Both writers dealt with the conflict between gods and men, between divine and human law. Euripides dealt with men as they really were. He searched more deeply the soul of his audience. He probed the discontent of the average man. He doubted the gods. Aristophanes, the first great writer of comedies, poked fun in his plays at Euripides and the doubters. The populace exulted when his shafts were directed against Socrates, or even against the austere Pericles. The thoughts and ideals of the man on the street were revealed. In his famous comedy, *The Birds*, Aristophanes has a citizen observe:

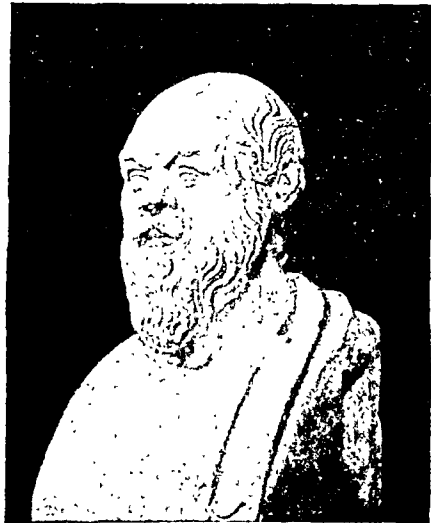
Gentlemen, we are the victims
Of a strange fancy. We don't share the taste
Of those eccentric aliens who flock
To Athens. We're respectable, blue-blooded
And undeportable Athenian voters
Who've run away from Athens. Yes, no doubt,

A great and happy land, where every one
Is free to pay his taxes. . . .



REMAINS OF THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS, ATHENS

The three wise men: Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.). In this period, which extends down through the fourth century B.C., Greece produced three great thinkers whose ideas became a beacon light for mankind. The first, Socrates, was homely, ill-clothed, the son of a "nobody." Yet he might well be called the first teacher; his method was to stimulate thought by means of persistent questioning. He turned his attention to man and his ways. What is virtue? What is beauty? What is justice? He questioned everything. No tradition, no god, was too



SOCRATES

sacred. At his feet a steadily growing group of doubters came to sit. He was prosecuted for "disbelief in the gods recognized by the state, and for corrupting the young." A jury of Athenians condemned him to death, and he died heroically, a martyr to the cause of freedom of thought.

Plato (427-347 B.C.). Plato, a pupil of Socrates, carried on his work. In his *Dialogues* he introduced the Socratic method of teaching, a conversation of questions and answers concerning abstract ideas. He developed the famous Doctrine of Ideas, according to which ideas were the real truth which hovered above our own world like some great brooding bird. In our efforts to attain the good, the true, and the beautiful, ideas are our only true patterns. Of his great book, *The Republic*, devoted to the organization of the state, Emerson said: "Burn the libraries, for their value is in this book."

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle, the third of this great trio, was the greatest scholar of ancient times. A Thracian by birth, Aristotle had studied under Plato and had traveled extensively. He wrote authoritatively on an astonishingly wide range of subjects: politics, ethics, philosophy, psychology, zoölogy, economics, astronomy, poetry, and drama. He attempted to give a connected and unified account of the whole of human knowledge. In his *Ethics* Aristotle maintains that happiness is the highest good and the end of all action. Whether an act is wrong or right depends on the end which man seeks to attain. This end, observes Aristotle, should be the common welfare. For two thousand years the scholars of Europe found in Aristotle the "master of those who know."

The new medicine. Ancient man believed that sickness was due to the entry of some demon into the body of the sufferer. Hippocrates (460-377 B.C.) first put the practice of medicine on a scientific basis. He studied various diseases and prescribed treatment based on knowledge, not on superstition. The Greek physician, upon entering the practice of medicine, took the "Hippocratic Oath," which remains the watchword of the medical profession to-day.

The new history. The scientific spirit, which set truth as its goal, was reflected in the new history. Herodotus was the first to treat history, not as a collection of tales, but as a study which should be carried on scientifically. Herodotus traveled widely.

He visited Egypt, Persia, and Italy, and made incessant inquiry about past events from persons who were supposed to know the facts. "I am under obligation to tell what is reported, though I am not bound altogether to believe it; and let this saying hold good for every narration in the *History*," he states. Although Herodotus tried hard to be scientific, some of the tales that he narrates are legendary. Thucydides, another distinguished historian, was less deceived by legends. Of Homer he said, "He was a poet, and may therefore be expected to exaggerate." He devoted himself to the history of the Peloponnesian War, and reported it with faithful accuracy.

Family Life. The Athenian parent devoted much attention to the career of his son and little to that of his daughter. The boy was sent to school, where he was taught reading, writing, music, and athletics. At eighteen he became a citizen and entered on a period of military service. The girl was kept secluded at home. "'Tis not permitted us to see the daylight, but in dim rooms are we hidden, wasted with worries," bewails a woman in a play by Euripides. The daughter was married off with little regard to the dictates of her own heart. Woman was isolated even at home. She was not present at the banquets of her husband, and she was rarely regarded as his companion.

Slavery. The Athenian saw nothing inconsistent in a democracy, half slave and half free. The brilliant civilization of Greece rested upon the foundation of slavery. But though the slave was debarred from participating in the life of the state, he was better treated than in Oriental lands. He often owned property, and when he worked for the government, he received



GREEK LADY (PERHAPS
ELPENICE) ATHENS

Fifth-century B.C. School of Phidias



“DECKING THE BRIDE”

Middle of the fourth century B.C. From a Red-Figured Vase. Museum of the Hermitage, Petrograd

the same pay as a free laborer. In ancient times slavery was regarded as “natural,” and was accepted by all classes. “The artisan only attains excellence in proportion as he becomes a slave,” declared Aristotle.

THE BREAKDOWN OF GREEK UNITY

Put an end to our fights and our feuds and division,
Till all men shall hail thee, our Lady of Peace,
Put an end to the whispers of cunning suspicion,
And mingle all Greece
In a cup of good fellowship. Teach us at last
To forgive one another forgetting the past.

ARISTOPHANES, *The Birds*

Opposition to Athens. Discontent with Athenian dominance grew apace among the states of the Delian League. They were losing what Greeks prized most, the right to self-government. Moreover, the money of the League was used by Athens in her building enterprises. In his famous Funeral Oration Pericles boasted that Athens had everywhere planted eternal memorials of her friendship and of her enmity. Athens had been especially successful in making enemies. Earlier, a league had come into existence, headed by Sparta, which favored local self-government and control by the landholding class. Corinth, shut out of her

markets by Athens, joined Sparta. Greece was divided into two hostile camps that prepared for conflict.

The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.). In 431 B.C. war broke out between Athens and Sparta, each supported by a league of states. This conflict is known as the Peloponnesian War because it was fought largely in southern Greece, known as the Peloponnesus. At the beginning of the war a great plague broke out in Athens which carried away a third of the population. It revealed the crowded, unsanitary conditions of Athens in her golden age. A peace of fifty years was signed in 421 B.C., but the war party in Athens, under the brilliant and unscrupulous leadership of Alcibiades, successfully induced Athens to break the peace. An Athenian expedition against Syracuse in Sicily, a colony of Corinth, resulted in the annihilation of the Athenian fleet and army. The Piræus was blockaded, and famine-stricken Athens sued for peace.

Spartan supremacy and Greek disunion. The defeat of Athens gave Sparta the leadership in Greece, which she maintained for about thirty years. Other Greek states challenged Sparta's leadership. In a war with Persia, Sparta was forced to surrender the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In 371 B.C. the Thebans, under an able general named Epaminondas, won a notable victory over the Spartans. Thebes was now supreme, but not for long.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The need for unity. Division and civil war reduced the power of the city-states to the point of helplessness. However, economically, Greece prospered greatly. Better methods of farming were producing richer crops. Trade was expanding rapidly. More than ever there was need of political unity to insure the economic well-being of the Greek people.

Philip of Macedon. Bordering on Greece was Macedonia. Under its king, Philip, Macedonia was completely unified and possessed a large and well-trained army. Disunion in Greece encouraged Philip in his ambition to unite the country under his leadership. He proposed to the Greek states that they should form an alliance for the purpose of waging war on Persia. But many of the states suspected Philip's ambition and refused to agree to his plan. Demosthenes, the patriotic Athenian orator, in a series of speeches called "the Philippics," denounced unspar-

ingly this "pestilent fellow of Macedon." The arguments of Philip were, however, backed by the force of arms. His army swept across Greece and crushed all opposition. The sudden death of Philip at the hands of an assassin (336 B.C.) cut short his career.

Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.). Philip was succeeded by his son, Alexander, one of the most famous men in history. He



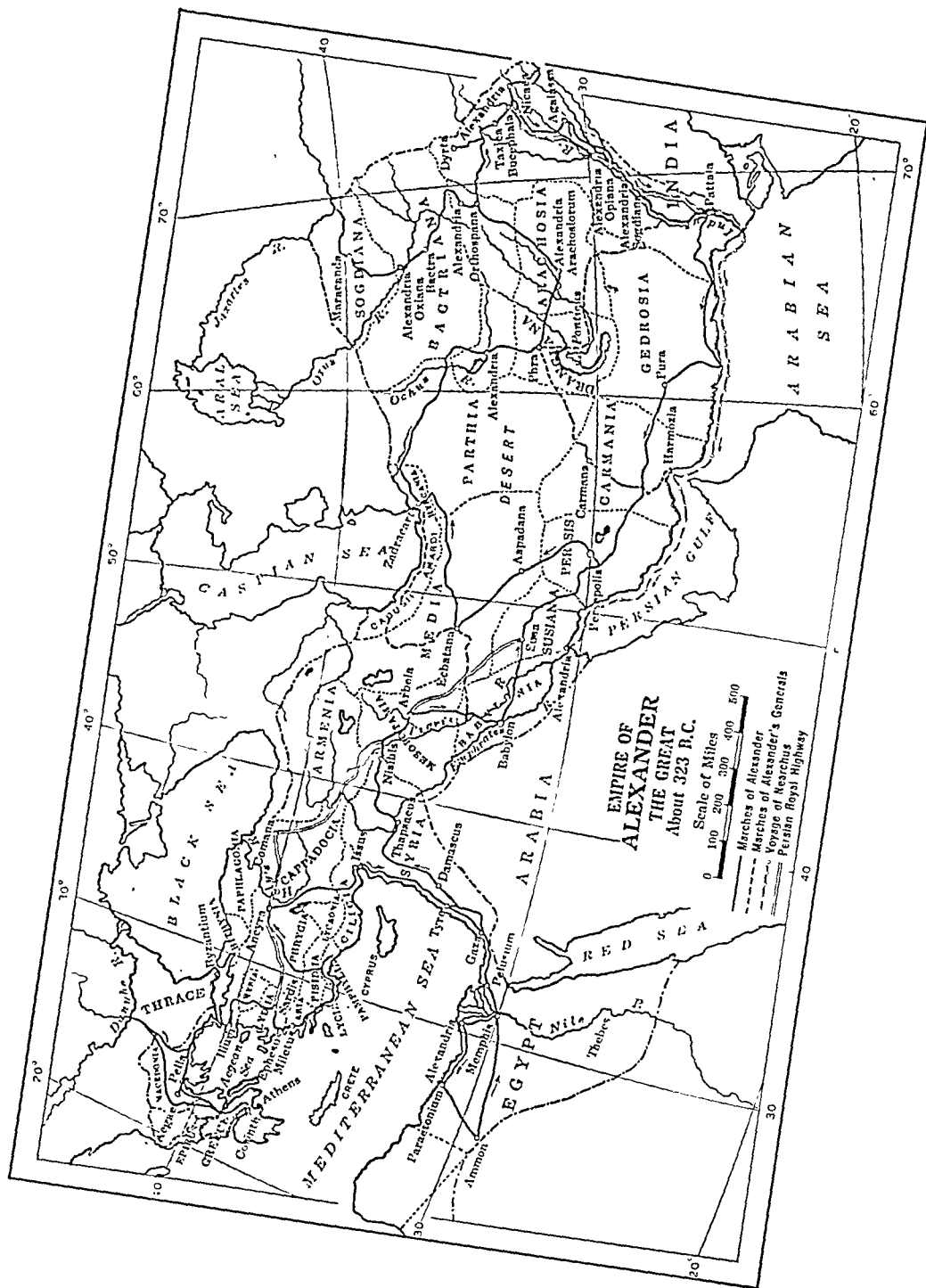
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

was only a boy when he started on his career, and only a young man when he was the conqueror of the world. Brought up in the military atmosphere of his father, he early imbibed martial ideas.

The conquest of the East. At the head of an army of about forty thousand, Alexander crossed the Hellespont to invade the Persian Empire. Within a year he conquered Asia Minor. At the battle of Issus (333 B.C.) he utterly routed the Persian forces. The Persian king, Darius, offered to cede to Alexander all his territory west of the Euphrates. Alexander spurned the offer. Phœnicia, Egypt, and

Libya were added to the Macedonian's conquests. The Persian king made his last stand at the battle of Arbela (331 B.C.), where he was completely crushed. The conqueror marched on with amazing success into northwestern India, but was forced to turn back by his troops. He was now the master of an enormous extent of territory, and yet he "sighed for more worlds to conquer." Two years later, a sudden illness cut down the life of the thirty-three-year-old world conqueror. Like many other geniuses Alexander was not evenly balanced. Passionate, generous, brutal, imaginative, intellectual, he has gone down in history as a kind of Shelley in the world of politics and war.

Disruption after Alexander. Alexander had given less attention

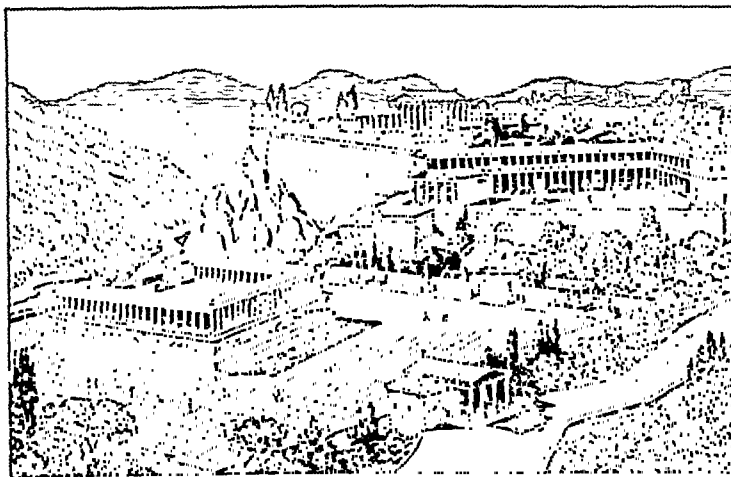


CIVILIZATION IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD 41

to political organization than to military matters. When he died, his empire did not survive very long, like all empires built on rapid conquest. It broke up into fragments that were seized by his generals. Ptolemy got Egypt; Seleucus, Syria, comprising nearly all of western Asia; and the descendant of Antigonus, Macedonia, of which Greece was still a dependency. Constant warfare swallowed up the resources and drained the strength of these regions. Discontent arose in Greece, where again there was division and civil strife.

CIVILIZATION IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

Fusion of East and West. Though permanent political unity was not achieved as a result of Alexander's conquests, a partial fusion of Eastern and Western culture did take place. Alexander had taken to himself a Persian wife and encouraged thousands in his army to do likewise. In the Oriental manner, Alexander had himself hailed the state god, son of Zeus-Ammon, and wrapped himself in the Persian robes of an absolute monarch. Because of his conquests Greek cities sprang up in the Oriental world. Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Pergamum in Asia Minor, the island city of Rhodes, were beautiful cities with broad streets, good water supply, drainage systems, and public buildings.



HELLENISTIC CITY

Pergamum. After Thiersch

Hellenistic life and thought. The life that flourished in these melting-pots of Greek and Oriental culture was called "Hellenistic," a term signifying the civilization of the Hellenes in the Oriental world. The Greek language was universally employed. At Alexandria, a great museum, with art galleries, astronomical observatories, and zoölogical and botanical gardens, was a center of scientific life. In addition, Alexandria possessed a notable library of manuscripts. Scientific work was stimulated. Here Euclid evolved his great geometrical problems, and Archimedes discovered specific gravity. Here Herophilus, in the process of vivisectioning criminals, discovered the function of the nerves. Eratosthenes came to the conclusion that the earth is round, and in estimating its size came within fifty miles of its true polar diameter. Ptolemy asserted that around the earth rotated the universe of sun, planets, and fixed stars. Unfortunately for science, the misleading notion of Ptolemy prevailed until the sixteenth century of our era.

In Athens, two schools of philosophy flourished, epicureanism and stoicism. The epicureans taught that the chief end of life was freedom from pain and fear. "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die," was a popular interpretation of their view of life. The stoics, on the other hand, preached abstinence and self-control. Man, they urged, should rise above passions and follow reason; he is lord of his own life and may end it when he sees fit. Most men are disturbed, not by things, but by the view which they take of them; hence it does not matter what we bear, but how we bear it. Fortitude became the watchword of stoicism.

Trade and wealth. The Hellenistic world was a united commercial market. The rediscovery by Alexander's return expedition of the sea route from India to the Persian Gulf gave impetus to commercial relations between Europe and India. Commercially, the new Hellenistic cities soon outstripped Athens. The New York of the Hellenistic world was Alexandria. It was the largest commercial city of the Mediterranean world, and the meeting-place of all its races.

The growth of poverty. The great expansion of business did not make for the more equal distribution of wealth. The merchant classes prospered, but the peasants were poor and depressed. The Ptolemies in Egypt owned vast estates of fertile land, which were leased to contractors who exploited the peasant laborers.

CIVILIZATION IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD 43

Taxes were high and fell heavily on those who could bear them least. The masses faced dire poverty, and the Hellenistic governments doled out cheap grain to the poor to keep them from revolting.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Compare Cretan art with Egyptian. In what ways does it reflect different ideals and manner of living?
2. Contrast the political ideals and business life of Spartan and Athenian.
3. What was the importance of Marathon?
4. What were the chief commercial interests of the maritime league of Athens (the Delian Confederation); of the land league of Sparta (the Peloponnesian League)? Compare with the economic interests of the East and West in the United States.
5. Why was the free man in Sparta "more free, and the slave more a slave than anywhere else"?
6. "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." How does that represent the Greek artistic achievement? Which illustration of Greek art in this book appeals to you the most? Which the least? Why?
7. Compare a theatrical performance to-day with one in ancient Athens as regards (1) theater, (2) audience, (3) stage, (4) actors, (5) play, (6) scenery.
8. Do you regard Alexander as a great man? Why?
9. Compare business and cultural life of Alexandria in 300 B.C. with New York. What are the historical associations of geometry? What is the difference between the terms "Hellenic" and "Hellenistic"?
10. Compare the social and cultural position of the modern woman with that of the woman in Athens.

Map questions: Name and locate three important regions of Greek colonization. Locate the Ægean Sea, Thrace, Attica, Marathon, Sparta, Miletus, Pergamum, Rhodes. Trace the line of march of Alexander in the East.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

PALACE AT KNOSSUS. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*, pp. 46-75; Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete*, pp. 63-116; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 42-47.

THE TROJAN WAR. Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome*, pp. 305-36.

OLYMPIAN GAMES. Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*, I, no. 44; Fling, *Source Book of Greek History*, pp. 47-53; Blumner (Zimmern), *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 352-59.

SPARTAN TRAINING. Fling, pp. 66-76.

MARATHON. Davis, I, nos. 59, 60; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. 1.

44 THE DAWN OF MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATION

EDUCATION OF GREEK BOYS AND GIRLS. Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 72-89; Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 155-74; Davis, I, pp. 251-57.

GREEK WOMEN. Gulick, pp. 119-26; Tucker, pp. 155-74; Botsford, *A Source Book of Ancient History*, pp. 283-88.

GREEK POETRY. Showerman, *Century Readings in Ancient Classical Literature*, pp. 47-59.

GREEK PHILOSOPHERS. Durant, *Story of Philosophy*, chap. 1; Showerman, pp. 188-222; Marshall, *Short History of Greek Philosophy*.

GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. *Wilson, *The State*, pp. 64-89; Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, pp. 49-65; Fling, pp. 77-98.

ATHENIAN EMPIRE. Ferguson, pp. 65-78; Cotterill, *Ancient Greece*, pp. 283-96; Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, pp. 175-92; Botsford, pp. 175-78.

THE PARTHENON. Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 190-99; Reinach, *Apollo*, pp. 47-55; Hamlin, *History of Architecture*, pp. 64-67; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archeology*, pp. 237-45; Weller, *Athens and Its Monuments*, pp. 283-302.

THE DRAMATISTS. Showerman, pp. 106-40, 156-80; Fling, pp. 122-26; Botsford, pp. 196-202; Livingstone, *The Pageant of Greece*, chaps. 4, 5; Osborn, *The Heritage of Greece and the Legacy of Rome*, pp. 76-95.

ALEXANDER. Wells, *Outline of History*, I, pp. 367-400; Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*.

ZENO AND EPICURUS. Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 256-64.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, I, pp. 349-95; Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 139-63.

GREEK COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. Day, *A History of Commerce*, chap. III.

THE GREEK ECONOMIC REVOLUTION. Rostovtzeff : pp. 189-204.

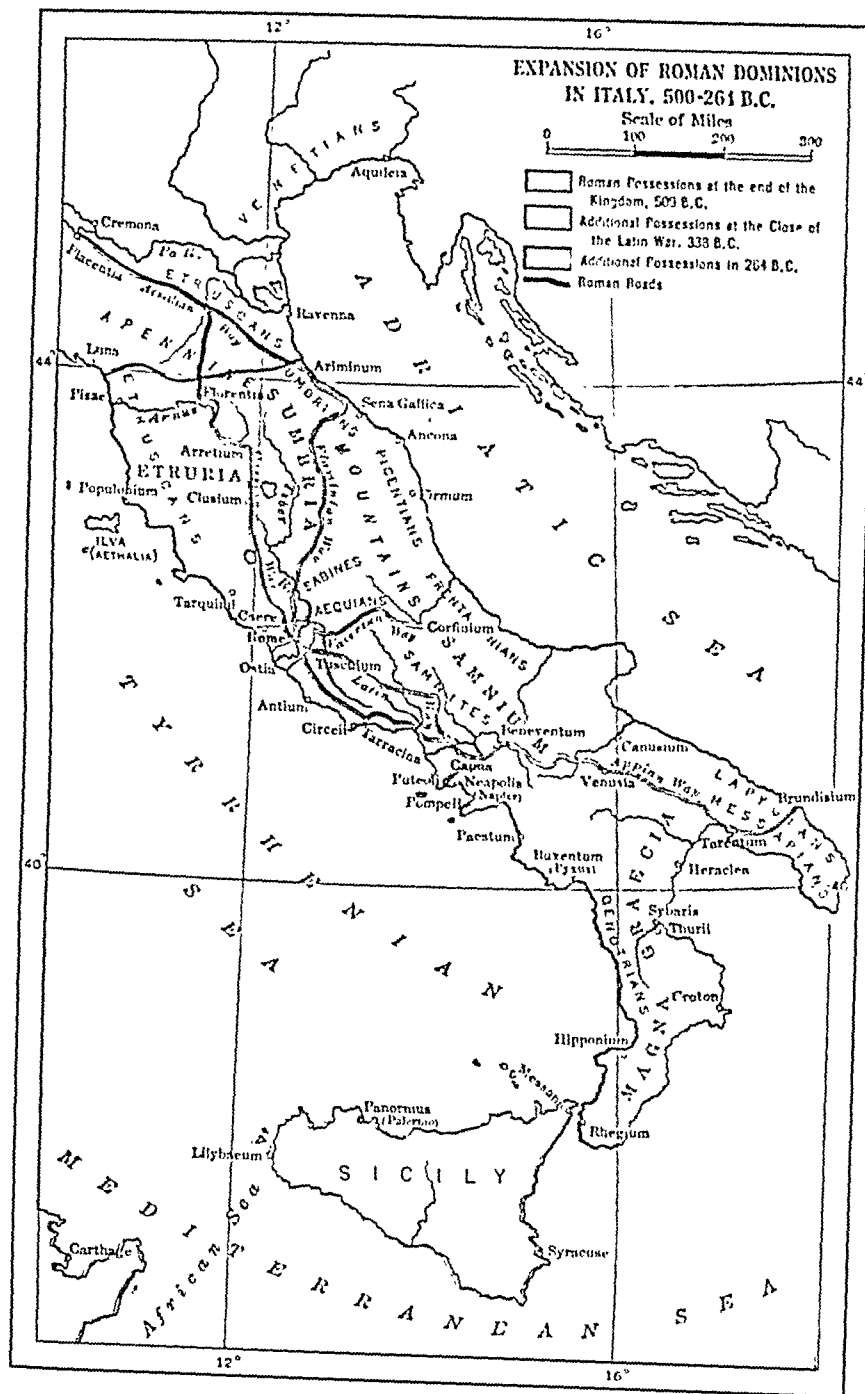
Italy out of touch with the quickening influence of Greek life and thought. In the process of Rome's empire-building, it was western Europe and northern Africa that soonest felt the impress of Roman civilization.

Rome and the Latins. The scene of a new organizing genius was central Italy. Its inhabitants consisted of many tribes, the most important of which were the Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, and Latins. The last dwelt south of the Tiber, and their chief city, Rome, was built on seven hills on the left bank of that river. Its location was within easy access to the sea, but far enough inland to be safe from attack by sea; and its slopes were steep enough to discourage attack by land. About the year 1000 B.C. Rome was a small but ambitious military village. Even then the Romans gave evidence of their imperial spirit. Little by little they seized the territory of their neighbors, dispossessing the inhabitants and compelling them to settle on her own hills.

The Etruscan influence. A people to the north of the Romans were known as the Etruscans, who were probably of Asiatic origin. About 750 B.C. they gained control of Rome. The stories of this period have filtered into history largely through legend. It appears that the Etruscan conquerors brought a higher civilization to the Romans. In the sixth century B.C. an uprising in Rome resulted in the overthrow of the last of the Etruscan rulers.

Rome supreme in central Italy. Rome now turned to the conquest of the Italian Peninsula. A Latin League, of which she was a member, resented her policy of expansion at the expense of the other members. The Latins demanded that they be made citizens of Rome and be admitted to public office, a demand which Rome refused. War followed (340-338 B.C.) between the Latins and the Romans, in which the former were conquered, and their territory was annexed to Rome. The Samnites, poor mountaineers, warred against Rome in the hope of winning some of the fertile lands on their western border. The struggle, lasting a half-century (343-290 B.C.), again saw Rome victorious. The latter was now mistress of central Italy.

Rome conquers the south. The south was next to fall under Roman sway. The city of Tarentum led the Greek population of that region in a war against Rome. To their aid came Pyrrhus, the Greek King of Epirus, with a well-trained army and a troop of elephants; "gray oxen" the Romans called them. He advanced

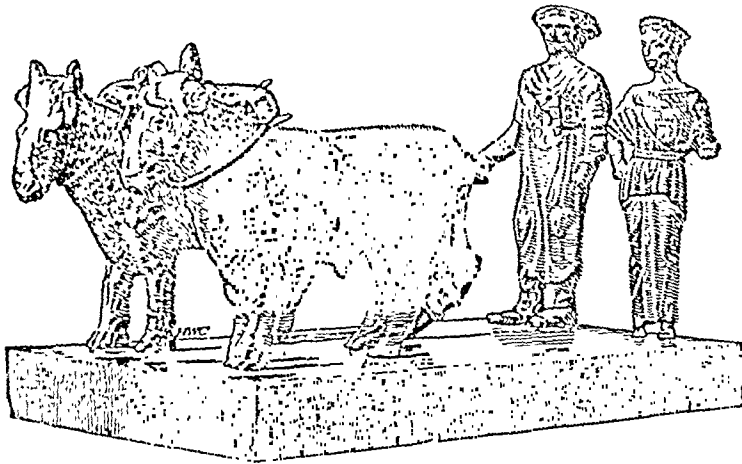


ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE EARLY REPUBLIC 47

within forty miles of Rome, but the latter refused to consider peace. Pyrrhus's victories cost him so heavily that his army was decimated; hence the term "a Pyrrhic victory." He was finally defeated by the Romans and compelled to return to Greece, leaving Tarentum and the rest of southern Italy to Rome. The latter was now dominant in nearly all Italy.

ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The farmer as the typical Roman. What manner of men were these conquering Romans? A race of farmers and shepherds. The old Romans despised business. They rated the banker below the thief. "When they sought to commend an honest man," says Cato the Elder, the staunch champion of early Roman ideals, "they termed him good husbandman, good farmer, which they rated the superlative of praise."



ETRUSCAN PEASANTS PLOUGHING

Bronze found near Arezzo in Etruria

The family. The family was the unit of Roman social life. In the household children and dependents, bond or free, were subject to the unlimited authority of the father, who was called the *pater familias*. Within the family the father was monarch of all he surveyed, lord over its lands, its goods, and its persons. In theory he might even condemn an individual member to death for his misdeeds. Discipline was strict. The sense of duty was keen.

Firmness of character, developed in the family, was the backbone of the Roman state.

Religion. Like other early peoples the Romans were polytheists. They worshiped many gods — of the family, of the locality, of the tribe, and of the state. There were also Greek gods who were imported and given Latin-sounding names. Jupiter (Zeus) was the god of the gods; Mars (Ares), of war, Venus (Aphrodite), of love. Mercury (Hermes) was their messenger; those who traveled, and those who traded prayed to him. Superstitions of all sorts were universal. Storms and other natural phenomena were regarded as omens, and were spoken of with strange dread. Shakespeare makes Calpurnia warn Cæsar shortly before his death that

Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.

And, with something of modern contempt, that great Roman answers: "Cowards die many times before their deaths."

Occasionally, the ancient faith showed a charming wistfulness. Upon the tomb-stone of a Roman girl is this gentle inscription:

Whether the thought of death distress thee or of life, read to the end.
Xanthippe . . . escapes from sorrow since her soul from the body flies.
She rests here in the soft cradle of the earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in discourse. If there be aught of compassion in the gods above, bear her to the sun and light.

ROME BECOMES A DEMOCRACY

Patricians and plebeians. Early Rome was a city-state with its king, council, and assembly, much like a city of Homeric Greece. The upper classes were known as the "patricians," who owned the land and who held the important offices. The lower classes were known as the "plebeians," who worked the land, and who counted for little politically. The slaves counted for nothing. It was the same social pyramid as existed in Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece. It set the stage for a civil struggle which was to follow much the same course as in the Greek city-states.

Patricians in control. When, late in the sixth century B.C., the last Etruscan king was expelled, a republic was established. The government, however, was far removed from popular control.

tected by this code. The creditor had the right to seize the debtor who could not pay, bind him in chains, and put him to death. As time went on, and Rome developed from a farming to a commercial community, these laws proved too harsh and too rigid to meet the needs of business. About a century after the adoption of the Twelve Tables, a tribune named Licinius secured the passage of a law limiting the amount of public land which could be given to any one person; he was also responsible for new debt laws which made easier terms for the debtor class.

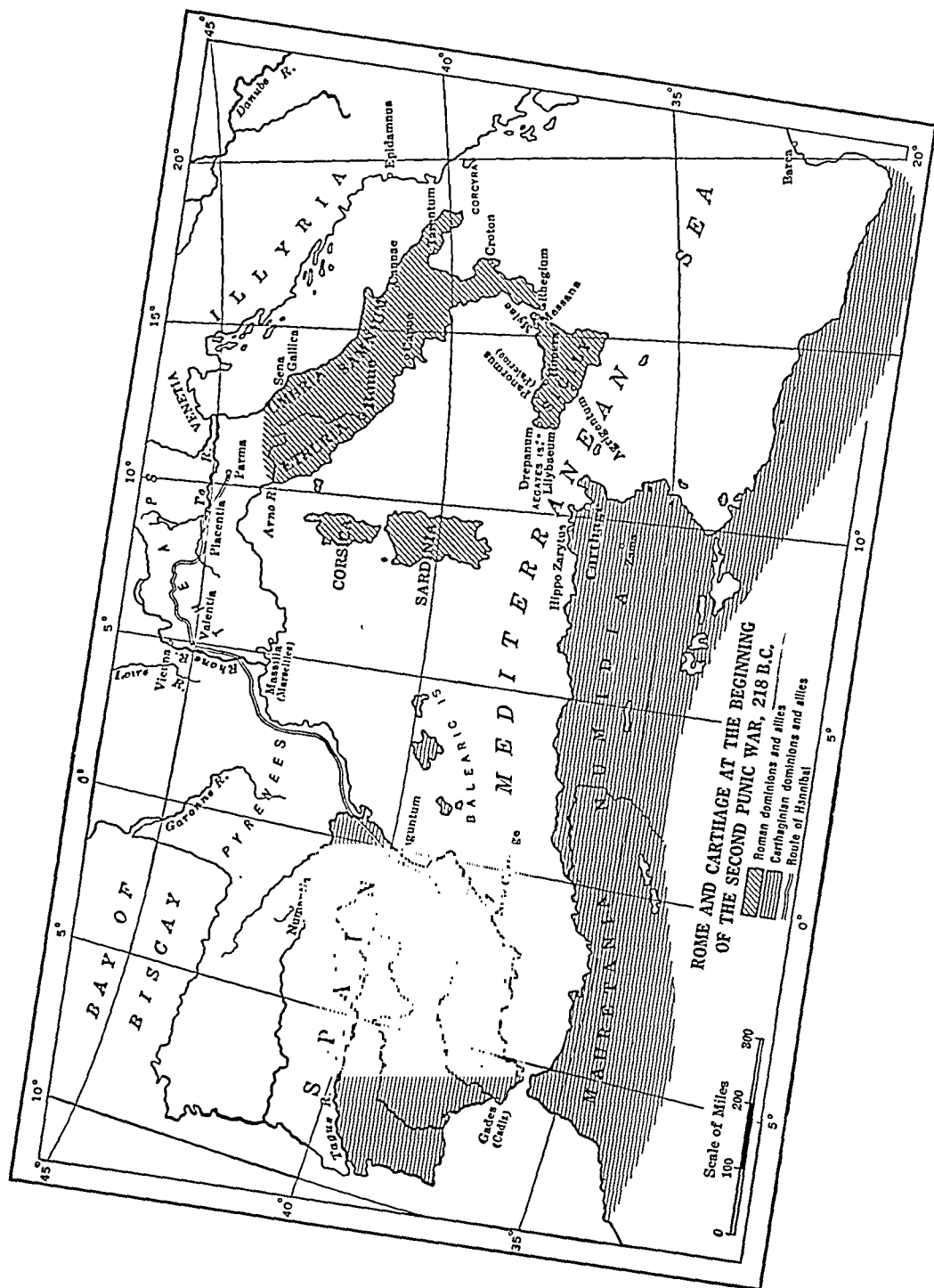
Democracy, direct not representative. In 367 B.C. the plebeians gained the right to be elected to the consulate, and by the end of the fourth century B.C., they were made eligible to all offices. In spite of the growing influence of the masses, Roman democracy differed widely from that in modern times. It was direct, not representative; hence the power of the citizens was wielded only by personal attendance in the popular assemblies. All citizens, with full rights, were permitted to attend the assemblies, which met at Rome. In fact, these bodies were composed only of those who lived in and near the city, as distance prevented those who lived in the provinces from attending. Hence, the city population alone exercised the right to vote. Representative government has, in modern times, been the solution of the problem of governing a large area democratically. But the Romans did not develop any system of representation; hence their assemblies were unwieldy in size, unbusinesslike in procedure, and of little importance compared with the Senate, whose influence dominated the state.

ROME CONQUERS THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

But Rome! 'Tis thine alone with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way;
To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free;
These are imperial arts and worthy thee.

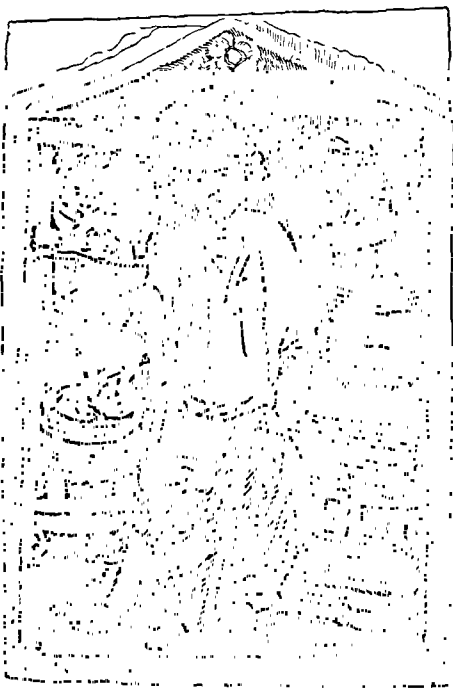
VERGIL'S *Æneid* (Dryden's translation)

Rivalry of Rome and Carthage. While Rome was rapidly absorbing Italy, the Punic (Phœnician) city of Carthage was building up an empire in northern Africa. Carthage was the great trading port of the Mediterranean. It was dominated by rich merchants, who determined its foreign policy. A commercial rivalry arose between Carthage and Rome. The former extended



her dominion in northern Africa, southern Spain, and Sicily, and closed the ports under her control to foreign ships. A bitter and prolonged war ensued for the control of the western Mediterranean.

The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.). The two powers were curiously matched. Carthage had a great navy; Rome, a great army. In the first stage of the war, Rome set to work to build a



INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN THE PROVINCES

A pharmacy or soap shop (Gaul)

navy to match that of her enemy. Success crowned her efforts, and an astonished world saw the mighty naval power sue for peace. Carthage abandoned Sicily and paid a heavy indemnity. An armed truce of over twenty years followed. The first stage of the war marked the beginning of Rome's dominance of the Mediterranean. From Carthage she acquired Sicily, and during the interval of peace between the First and Second Punic Wars, she seized the islands of Corsica and Sardinia from her enemy.

Conquest of northern Italy.

When a country was conquered Roman officials confiscated the lands of the conquered for their own use. But the citizens at large wanted to share in the distribution of conquered lands. In order to satisfy them, a law was passed distributing the public lands near the Po valley. The Gauls in the neighboring districts became alarmed at the growth of Roman settlements. In 225 B.C. a war broke out between the Gauls and the Romans, in which the latter were, as usual, victorious. Roman authority now extended to the Alps.

The Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.): Hannibal. Carthage was bent, but was not broken. In Hannibal she possessed a military genius of the highest order, who had consecrated his life

to warfare against Rome. In 218 B.C., at the head of a great army, he set out from Spain, crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps, and entered Italy. He defeated the Romans at the great battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.), but was unable to follow up his victory. For thirteen years he laid waste the peninsula, but did not succeed in capturing Rome. Finally, Hannibal was summoned home to protect Carthage against a counter-invasion by the Romans. He was defeated by the Roman general, Publius Scipio. Carthage was forced to surrender her fleet, to pay an annual tribute, and to give up Spain. The greatest power of Africa was now defenseless.

The Third Punic War (146 B.C.). Carthage was no longer a political rival, but her merchants and traders still competed with those of Rome. With the repeated cry, "*Delenda est Carthago!*" ("Carthage must be destroyed!") Cato the Elder goaded the Senate on to ruthless war against Carthage. In 146 B.C. Carthage was completely destroyed. Her territory was taken and organized as the province of Africa.

Conquest of Macedonia and Asia Minor. Rome's appetite for territory was not satisfied by the annexation of the Carthaginian Empire. She now turned to the eastern Mediterranean. At the close of the Punic Wars Macedonia was conquered and made a Roman province (146 B.C.). The kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor had already been reduced to a subject state, and her last king bequeathed the territory to Rome (133 B.C.). The Seleucids in Syria were defeated, and Asia Minor was reduced to a dependent state (190 B.C.). Rome now had subject territories on three continents, Europe, Africa, and Asia. The Mediterranean was almost a Roman lake.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

Finance and imperial policy. The wars of conquest brought to the front not only soldiers and statesmen, but real estate speculators and financiers, who had a large influence in dictating Rome's foreign policy. In the same year that Carthage was destroyed, the city of Corinth, which was also a commercial rival, was razed to the ground. It was thought that the best way to beat competition was to kill the competitors. Upon the people in the annexed territory was laid the harsh hand of the conqueror. There was no further extension of citizenship until about 90 B.C., when the Italian allies of Rome were made citizens. A large

province in a distant land would be placed under a Roman governor, who plundered for himself as well as for the state. To-day taxes are paid directly to the government. In Rome taxes were "farmed out" to corporations, which were given the privilege of collecting certain taxes in return for advancing money to the government. Many people invested money in these companies, just as people now buy shares in private corporations. The tax collectors were called "publicans," and it can be easily understood why they were nowhere in high favor. "Wherever the publican penetrates," says the historian Livy, "there is no justice or liberty for any one."

The poor grow poorer. At the close of the wars Rome became dependent upon her provinces for her grain supply. Roman markets were flooded with cheap wheat, and naturally prices fell. Unable to compete with the provincials, the Roman farmers sold their lands and thronged to the cities. Farm after farm was bought in this way by men of wealth, who became proprietors of vast estates (*latifundia*). In place of free laborers, droves of slaves, or tenant-farmers, known as *coloni*, were set to work. The peasant proprietor and the free laborer were rapidly disappearing.

Greek influences. As Rome spread her territorial and commercial dominion, she came more and more in contact with the civilization of other peoples. The most important foreign influence was that of the Greeks, who came to Rome in large numbers. Greek slaves were used as teachers to Roman youth. Greek influence made itself felt in art and literature; in neither was the Roman very original. Latin literature was to a considerable degree modeled on that of Greece. The theaters of Rome were huge and clumsy copies of those in Greece. Roman painting and sculpture was heavy and laborious; it lacked both originality and fine taste.

The arena. This culture was but a veneer; beneath the surface many rude, cruel, and evil practices were current in Roman life. The masses spurned the artistic entertainment of the Greeks. They delighted in the mortal combats in the arena where gladiators fought to death to entertain the crowds. Instead of going to a zoölogical garden to see wild beasts in cages, the Romans preferred to see them tear each other to pieces in terrible combats. Sometimes a fight between a man and a wild beast delighted the

Marius became the leader of a democratic party, and the hero of the mob, who hailed him as a deliverer.

Sulla. Against him the senatorial party set up an aristocratic general named Sulla. The latter gained popularity by repelling a threatened invasion of the Roman Orient by Mithridates, King of Pontus. On his return to Rome, Sulla suppressed the party of Marius and set himself up as "Permanent Dictator" (82-79 B.C.). He set an example in one-man control that was to be followed by one greater than he, Cæsar.

Pompey. On the death of Sulla, another general, Pompey, succeeded him as the leader of the aristocratic party. Pompey gained renown as a victorious soldier by suppressing an uprising in Spain and by defeating the Eastern ruler, Mithridates, the last

redoubtable enemy of Rome. His deeds gained for him great popularity.

Cæsar (c. 100-44 B.C.). An opponent to Pompey was rising in a young leader of the democratic party, Julius Cæsar, whose name is the most famous in Roman history. Cæsar came from one of the oldest families in Rome, and early in life entered politics. There were two ways to advance politically, by spending money and by military victory. Cæsar spent huge sums on elections, bribing the voters and treating them to spectacles in the arena, with the result that he became very popular.



JULIUS CÆSAR

The First Triumvirate. In

60 B.C. three men entered into a secret arrangement to govern Rome. Pompey contributed his military prestige, Cæsar his political shrewdness, and a rich man named Crassus his wealth. This unofficial political ring is known in history as the "First Triumvirate."

Cæsar as a conqueror. Cæsar was shrewd enough to know that

the provinces. He reduced taxes and curbed the oppressions of the publicans. He extended citizenship to communities in Gaul and Sicily; in fact, it was Cæsar's wish that, as rapidly as possible, all the provincials should become citizens. He constructed public works; he improved the calendar; he attempted to solve the problem of the landless peasant. As a man, Cæsar was grave, forbearing, tolerant, and even kindly. His name has become synonymous with benevolent autocracy wielding power over great dominions.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What effect did the lack of ports on the eastern coast of Italy have upon Italian life and thought?
2. Who were the Etruscans? The Samnites?
3. Compare the legal position of the Roman father with that of the American father.
4. Compare the debt laws of the Twelve Tables with those in force in your State to-day.
5. Name the chief steps by which the plebeians gained political and legal equality with the patricians.
6. Describe the steps by which Rome gained control of Italy.
7. What is a republic? Distinguish from a democracy. Did Roman democracy result in political control by the masses? Discuss.
8. What economic factors were involved in the Punic Wars? Compare them with the economic factors involved in the Peloponnesian Wars; in Alexander's wars.
9. Was Cæsar, in your opinion, a great man? Give your reasons.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- GOVERNMENT UNDER THE EARLY REPUBLIC. Botsford, *A Source Book of Ancient History*, pp. 342-50; Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 41-52; Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 174-86.
- EARLY LAW AND THE GROWTH OF PLEBEIAN RIGHTS. Munro, pp. 53-64; Botsford, pp. 351-60.
- ROMAN ARMY. Munro, pp. 23-34.
- ROMAN AND MODERN WARFARE. Kelsey, *Cæsar's Commentaries*, Introd., pp. i-xxvii.
- HANNIBAL. Plutarch, *Lives*, "Hannibal"; Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*, II, pp. 56-60.
- THE GRACCHI. Botsford, pp. 417-25.
- CÆSAR, EARLY TRAINING AND MILITARY CAREER. Fowler, *Julius Cæsar*, chaps. I, VI-VIII, XIV-XVII; Davis, II, nos. 49-51.
- CÆSAR AS STATESMAN. Fowler, chaps. XVIII, XIX. Davis, II, no. 52; Botsford, pp. 450-54.
- CÆSAR IN IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The False One*; Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*; John Masefield, *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*; G. B. Shaw, *Cæsar and Cleopatra*; W. S. Davis, *A Friend of Cæsar*.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DECLINE

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Augustus Cæsar, he will build again the golden age.

The Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.). Cæsar's death was followed by civil war. The government fell into the hands of three men, known as the "Second Triumvirate." It consisted of the youth Octavianus, the legally adopted heir of Cæsar; of Mark Antony, Cæsar's friend and lieutenant; and of Lepidus, a general. The conspirators against Cæsar were crushed at the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.). Lepidus dropped out of the combination, and a rivalry began between Octavianus and Antony. The latter went to Egypt, where he succumbed to the charms of Cleopatra. The Romans at home regarded Antony with suspicion as one who favored the dominance of the Orient over the rest of the Roman Empire. They therefore enthusiastically rallied to Octavianus in the clash which now arose between the two. At the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) Antony and Cleopatra were defeated, and later ended their own lives. Octavianus was now the ruler of the Roman world.



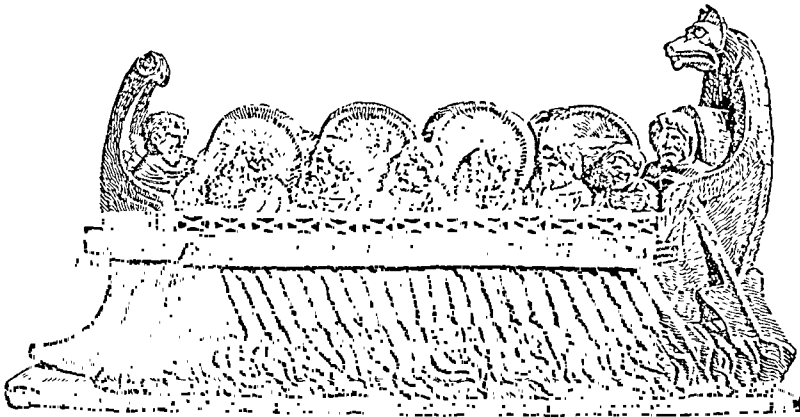
AUGUSTUS

As a young man

"Augustus" (63 B.C.-14 A.D.). Octavianus did not seize this opportunity to act as a despot. Instead, he came before the Senate and announced his intention of laying down all his power. Whether he seriously meant what he said or not, the Senate refused to take him at

his word. He was proclaimed "Augustus" (His Sacred Highness), and given great powers. Augustus preferred to be called "Princeps" (chief citizen); under his successors this word came to mean prince, or monarch.

The Empire and its government. The Empire of Augustus was a vast domain which included the entire Mediterranean world. Its western boundary was the Atlantic Ocean and its eastern the Euphrates River. On the south was the Sahara. The northern boundaries were the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea. Of western Europe, only Germany, Scandinavia, and part of Britain were not within the confines of the Roman Empire.

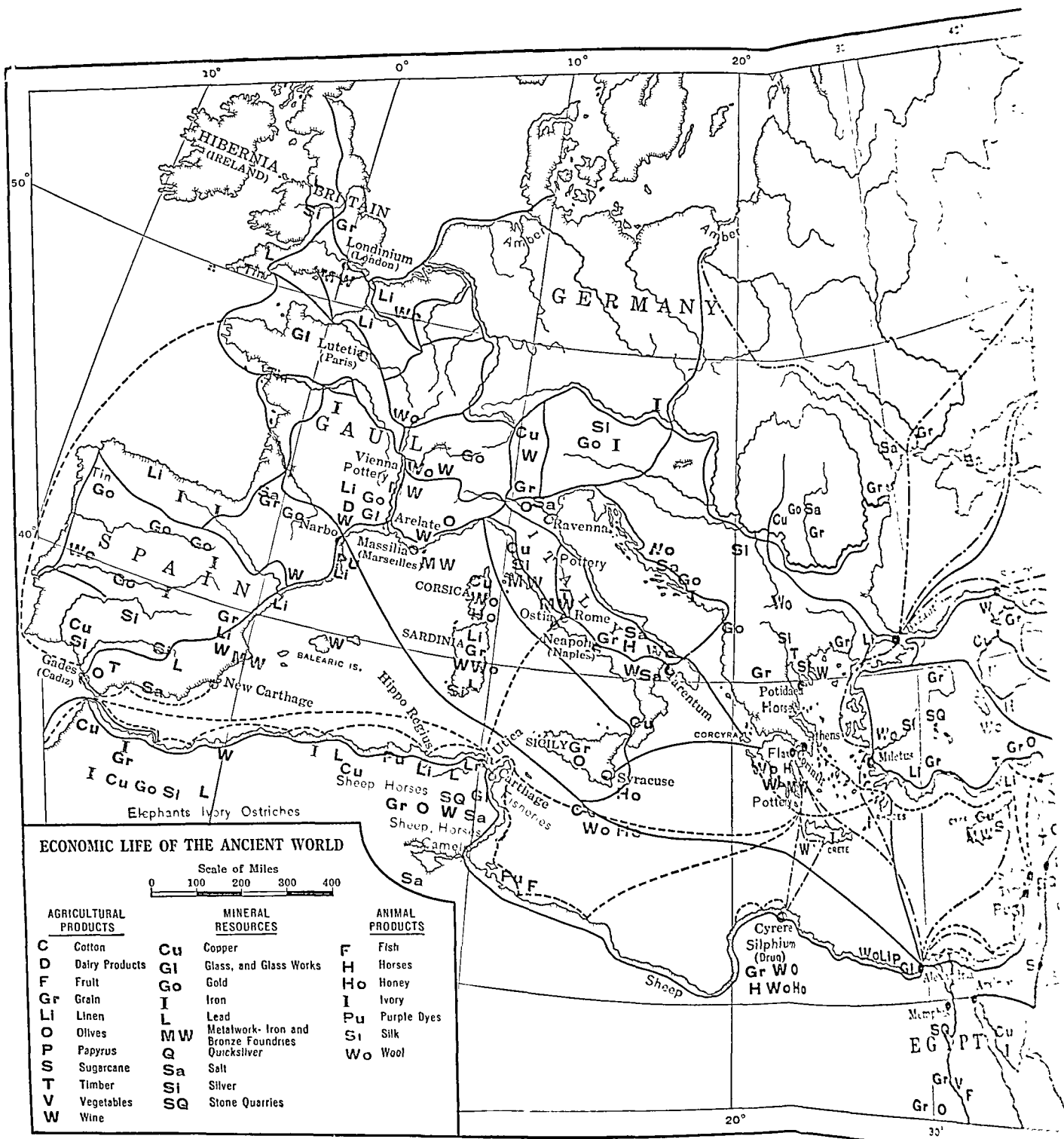


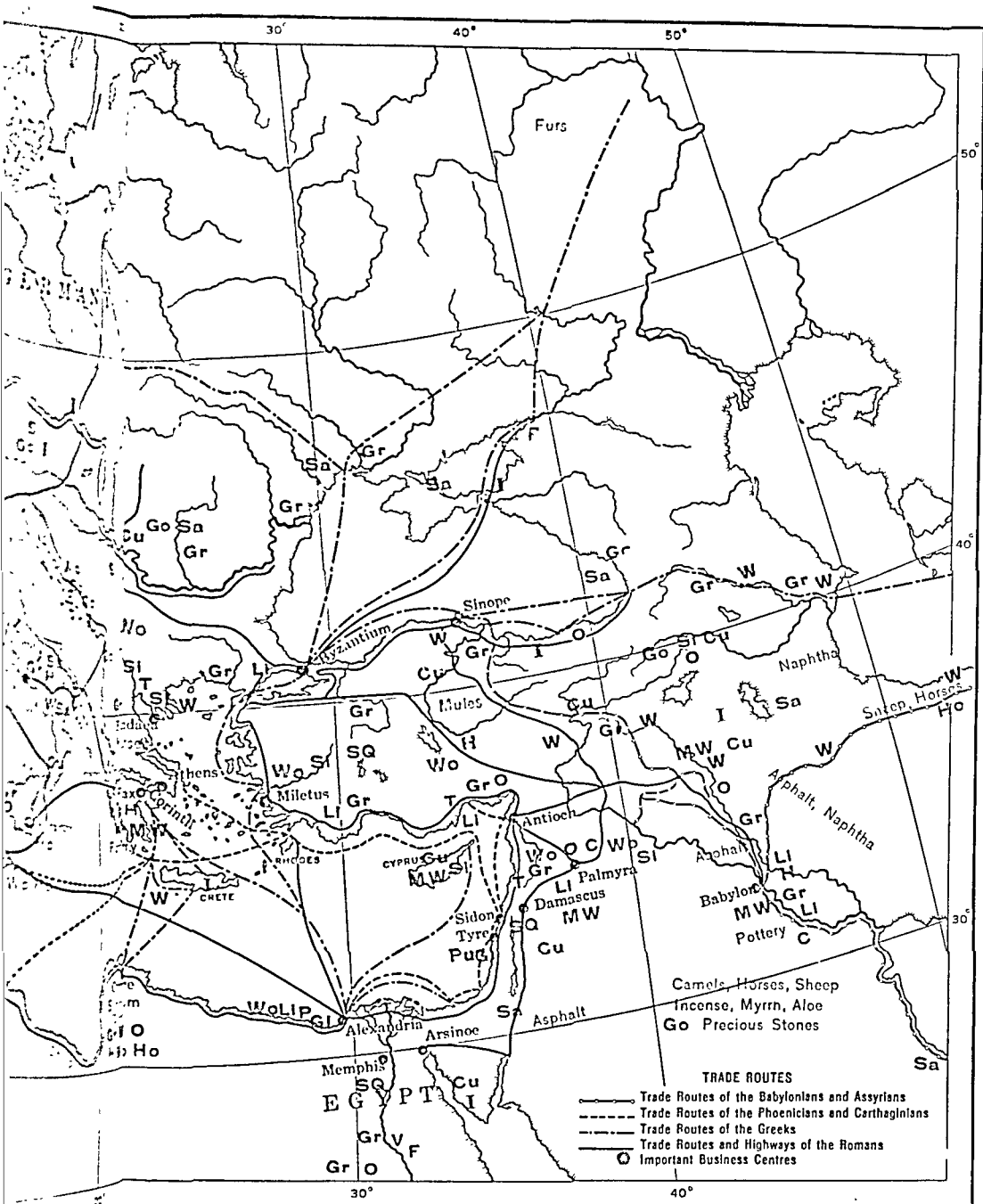
TRANSPORT OF WINE BY RIVER (GAUL)

Industry and commerce in the provinces. One of the sculptures of a funeral monument of Neumagen, Museum of Trèves

Augustus was not a soldier. He therefore devoted himself to the building-up of a strong government which would secure order throughout the Empire. Under his personal control were placed the border provinces in order to maintain security from invasion. The older and more peaceful provinces were governed by the Senate, which appointed the governors. The Senate had a further check upon Augustus by requiring that these governors be senators, and that Augustus himself be accountable to the Senate for his administration. However, as time went on, the Princeps became more and more absolute, and the Senate sank to being a merely honorary body with little power.

Wealth, trade, and colonies. The union of the Mediterranean basin was immensely favorable to business; and the Augustan







INDUSTRY UNDER AUGUSTUS

Goldsmiths at work. Part of the dado ornamented with various arts and crafts:
House of Vettius, Pompeii

policy was one of peace and prosperity. While Italy remained the richest land in the Empire, the provinces were becoming increasingly important as centers of trade and industry. During the civil wars there had been a great wave of emigration from Italy to Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The clash of arms was now stilled, and the great Roman Peace was inaugurated, which lasted for over two centuries. As the Elder Pliny remarked: "The might of the Roman Empire has given unity to the world; all must agree that human life has benefited both in the general intercourse made possible, and in the common enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

LIFE AND THOUGHT

Vergil (70-19 B.C.) and Horace (65-8 B.C.). During the Age of Augustus, there appeared a number of distinguished writers who gave renown to Roman culture. These writers advocated the Augustan policy of peace and prosperity and praised all his works; in addition, they sought to instil among the people the old ideals of simple and righteous living. The poet Vergil, in his *Georgics*, celebrated the peace of country life and the dignity of labor. In his epic poem, *The Æneid*, Vergil traces the origin of Rome to the Trojan exiles. The "pious Æneas" stands for devotion to duty, the highest patriotism. In his last words to his son he says: "My son, learn duty and honest toil from me; from others, learn success." In Tennyson's tribute Vergil is "the golden branch amid the shadows, the light among the vanished ages."

Horace was the poet of contentment and common sense, who bade his friends

Snatch gaily the joys which the moment shall bring,
And away every care and perplexity fling.

Moderation, the golden mean, is the keynote of his philosophy. In his lyric poetry Horace owes a debt to Greek models. He is gay, vivacious, irresistible, and human. "What hinders laughter from being a teacher of the truth?" he inquires in one of his *Satires*.

Cicero (106-43 B.C.). Cicero, foremost Roman orator, was not in sympathy with the trend toward monarchy. Under the Republic he had staunchly defended the constitution. Cicero says he "mourned for the commonwealth longer and more bitterly than ever a mother mourned for her only son." A bulwark against monarchy on the one hand and mob rule on the other, Cicero fought for honest government when all about him was corruption. As in the days of Cato, the ideal of Roman education was still "a good man skilled in speaking." More lasting even than his fame as a silver-tongued orator is Cicero's reputation as a writer of elegant prose. During the Middle Ages he occupied a place beside Aristotle; and in the fourteenth century, Petrarch found in Cicero his chief inspiration. "Cicero," he said, "is like a man who carries a light behind his back. Others receive the light while he himself stumbles in the dark."

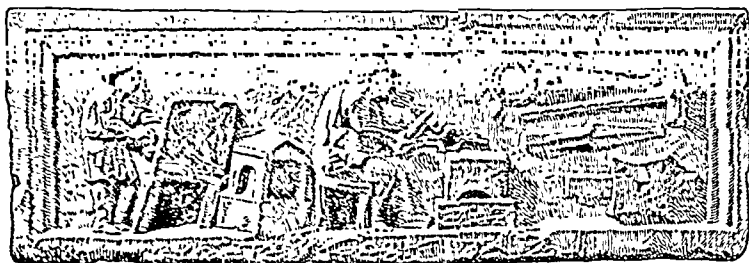
Lucretius (?99-55 B.C.). Aloof from the civil wars of his time, Lucretius was one of the very few Romans interested in philosophy. "Men are lost," he said, "wandering hither, groping for the way of life," for, he later added, "all life lies grovelling under the heavy weight of superstition." Lucretius's vision of faith in the power of science has spanned the centuries: "One thing after another will grow clear, nor will dark night seize the road and hide from our sight the ultimate bounds of Nature; so does one thing light the torch for another."

The position of women. Of all ancient peoples the Romans of the Empire alone gave woman a high position. The wife was her husband's companion and presided at the table. Gradually she rose to a position of equality with her husband. The old form of marriage, under which the husband had the right to chastise his wife and even to sell her into bondage, gave way to "free" marriage by mutual consent, under which the wife was virtually independent of her husband.

"What sense of shame is to that female known,
Who envies our pursuits, and hates her own?"

asks the conservative Juvenal, a Roman writer who deplored the entrance of women into careers formerly reserved to men.

Slavery. The Greek slave was generally a domestic servant and was treated rather kindly. The Roman slave was more likely to be a field laborer who worked in a gang. His lot was much harder. The gang master was less considerate than the head of the family. Where the Roman slave became a member of the household, his lot generally improved. Many slaves occupied high positions of trust as physicians, tutors, and private secretaries. Slaves were allowed to acquire property; from their savings they frequently purchased their freedom.



INDUSTRY IN ITALY

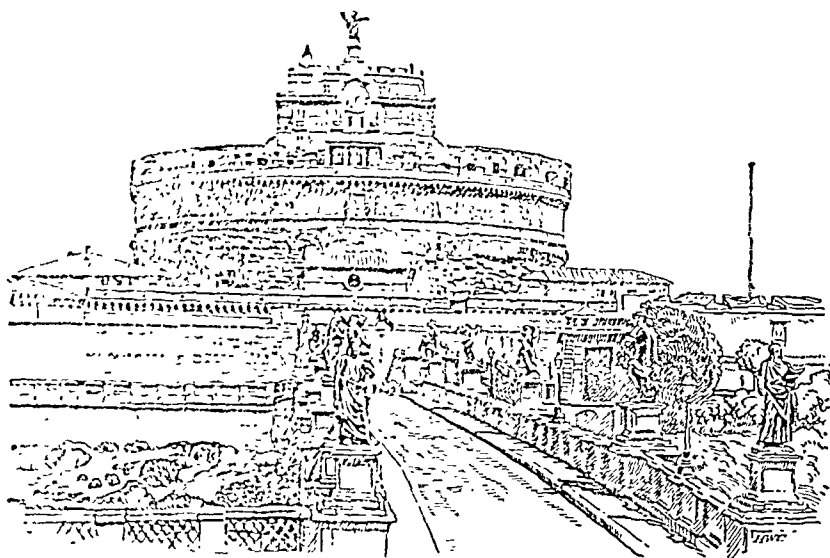
A blacksmith. Fragment of a funeral stele, Aquileia Museum

The freedman. The hard-working slave might look forward to freedom as a reward for his services or he might purchase his freedom with his savings. Liberation of slaves was taking place under the Empire. The liberated slaves, or freedmen, often managed the business of their former masters. Many freedmen became men of wealth, and formed an intelligent, industrious, and influential class in the community.

The free laborer. The free laborer received much assistance from the state. Free baths, free amusements, and often free grain, assisted the Roman poor in making both ends meet. Workmen engaged in a particular calling founded associations, or guilds, ranging from porters to highly skilled goldsmiths. These guilds were not like the modern labor union. They were not organized to secure higher wages or shorter hours. Nor did they attempt, as did the medieval guilds, to limit the number of apprentices or to develop skill in the craft. They were social organizations, having as their chief object the providing of dignified burials for their members.

THE ROMAN CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION

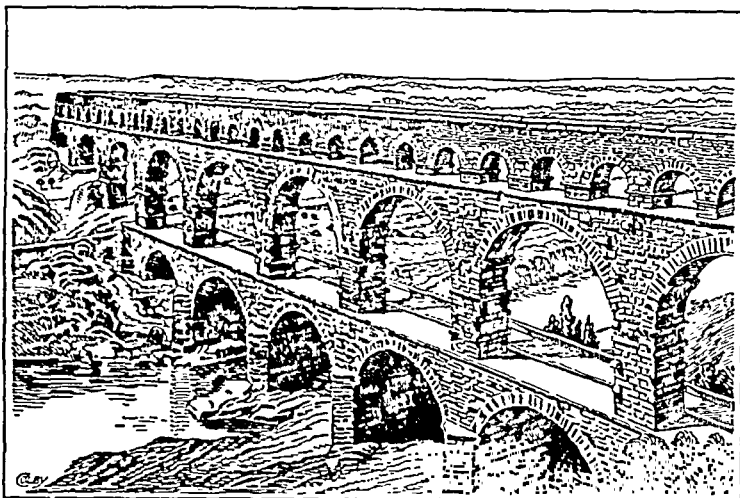
Architecture and public works. The Roman was a great builder; magnificent ruins of his public buildings are still to be found in western Europe. Roman architecture was of monumental type. The basilicas for the use of merchants and judges were large, lofty buildings with rectangular, central halls, flanked by single or double rows of columns, and with a semi-circular recess at one



HADRIAN'S TOMB

end. They formed models for early Christian churches. The two most famous buildings were the Colosseum and the Pantheon, the former being an immense amphitheater for gladiatorial combats and the latter a temple dedicated to the worship of all the gods. Of greater importance for civilization was the elaborate system of good roads. These roads and bridges were so strongly built that some are still in use. The principal trunk lines began at Rome and radiated to all the provinces. The roads performed the same function as do railways to-day; they unified the country and facilitated commerce.

Latin. At the beginning of Roman history, Latin was the speech only of the people of Latium. It spread with the conquest, first throughout Italy, then throughout western Europe. The



PONT DU GARD, NÎMES, FRANCE

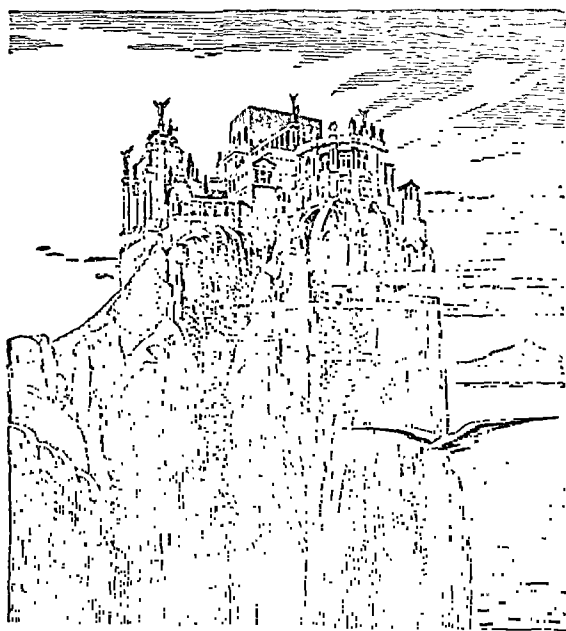
masses of the conquered peoples continued to speak their own tongues, but the upper classes, and especially the Roman colonists, spoke Latin, which was recognized as the language of education and of government. Latin continued this rôle long after the disruption of the Roman Empire — in fact, well down to the sixteenth century A.D. It is the mother of the Romance family of languages — French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian. About half of the words in English are Latin in origin.

Roman law. The greatest contribution of Rome to European civilization was her legal system. Early Roman law was embodied in the Twelve Tables, already described. As non-Romans did not have the right to be tried by Roman law, a special magistrate, the "prætor," was chosen to decide disputes between non-Romans. The prætor was not bound by the strict, conservative rules of Roman law, and he therefore worked out a more equitable and practicable system. Gradually the power of the prætor was widened so that he virtually dictated to the trial judge the law to be followed by the latter in any particular case. In this way newer and more progressive ideas were introduced. At the same time a scientific school of jurists was reducing the law to systematic, logical order. Under the Emperor Justinian (527–565 A.D.), the entire law was consolidated in the celebrated Justinian Code.

Despite the general confusion and the bitter conflict of many local laws in the centuries that followed, Roman law survived. In modern times it became and still is the basis of the legal systems in central and western Europe, with the notable exception of England, where a great rival, known as the "common law," developed.

THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Early Successors of Augustus (14-180 A.D.). The death of Augustus was followed by a brief period of confusion, which did not, however, destroy the established system of government.



THE VILLA OF TIBERIUS, ISLE OF CAPRI

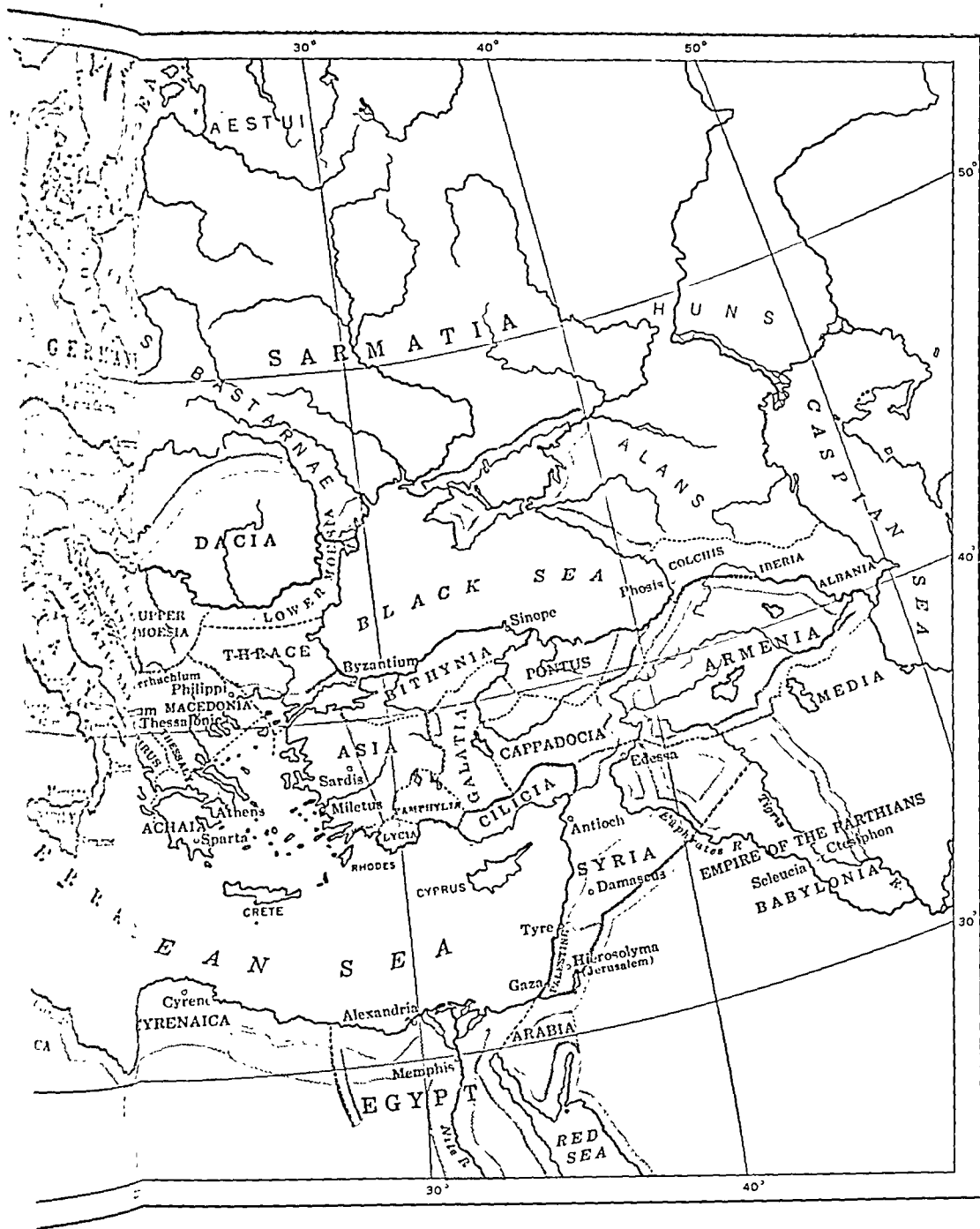
Tiberius was one of the Julian Emperors and the successor of Augustus

A line of emperors, known as the Julian and Claudian Cæsars, related to Augustus or Julius Cæsar by descent or adoption, administered imperial affairs from 14-68 A.D. Under their direction the Romanization of Britain was begun. They were followed by the "Good Emperors" (96-180 A.D.), as five of the successors of Augustus have justly been called. Under them the vast empire was efficiently administered. Walls and fortresses were built on the frontiers

to protect Rome from the Germanic barbarians. Extensive additions of territory were made north of the Danube and in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The emperors had first-hand knowledge of actual life in the provinces and they began to look upon themselves, not as emperors of the city of Rome, but as emperors of the world. The most famous of the "Good Emperors" was the philosopher-statesman, Marcus Aurelius.

Citizenship. Having this new point of view, the emperors





gradually extended Roman citizenship, until an edict in 212 A.D. bestowed citizenship on all freeborn inhabitants of the Empire. People began to look upon citizenship as freedom to pay higher taxes. It also meant greater protection under the law. To-day citizenship means political rights — the right to vote and the right to hold office. But in the Roman Empire it meant private or civil rights. There were no political rights. There was no longer any need for the distinction in law between the Roman and the non-Roman; a universal law developed available for the world in general.

City and country. More than ever the Empire resembled a vast federation of city-states. Rome itself had a population of from one to two million at this time, and the cities everywhere, in their form of government and general appearance, were modeled upon it. The second century was one of magnificent cities. The competition of the provincial farmers with those of Italy was very keen. While Italian farming was declining, the farmlands of the provinces were steadily developing.

Military anarchy (180-284 A.D.). The rulers in the next century are known as the "Soldier Emperors," generals who were put up or pulled down by the soldiers. The emperors, realizing their insecure position, dispensed money freely among the soldiers. "No one but myself ought to have money," said Emperor Caracalla, "and that in order to give it to the soldiers."

Taxation and compulsion. In order to secure the heavy funds needed for the support of the troops, the emperors resorted to a new method of taxation. Rich men, members of the town councils in the community, were made responsible for the collection of the taxes; they were obliged to make good the amount that was levied and not collected. Men enlisted in the army or hid themselves to avoid this responsibility. While the city business man was being crushed under the heavy burden of taxation, the poorer citizen was forced to labor on state roads and public works. Every one was now a Roman citizen, but, as one writer remarks, "this meant in plain fact that nobody was such any more."

Division of the Empire. After a period of confusion, during which many emperors were set up by the army, a strong government was ushered in by Diocletian (284-305). He found the management of the vast empire too burdensome, and he divided the administration between two *Augusti*, one in the East and one

in the West. Diocletian left the control of the western portion to his associate *Augustus* and devoted himself to the Empire in the East. He seemed to recognize the tendency of East and West to go their own ways. The next step was taken by Constantine (324-337), who rebuilt and fortified Byzantium on the Bosphorus, which was renamed Constantinople in his honor, and was made his residence and seat of government. Constantinople was now the center of the Empire; Rome, Italy, and the West became secondary in the imperial administration.

Factors in the decline of Rome. Under Augustus Rome was a brilliant empire at the height of prosperity and world power. Within four centuries Rome as a political power had virtually disappeared and her prosperity had been destroyed. Why did Rome decline? Historians have recognized this question as the great problem of ancient history, and many theories have been advanced. No single factor can account for the decay of a world civilization. No single event can mark its fall. The process of decline had set in many centuries before the end came.

Disappearance of the middle class. Throughout the later period of Roman history there was a struggle between Country and City. The successors of Cæsar during the first two centuries of the Empire favored the city business man in many ways. City life and local self-government prospered, and the peasants found themselves shouldering the burden of taxation. In the third and fourth centuries the peasants gained control of the army and set up a series of puppet Emperors. The new Emperors placed the burden of governmental expenses on the city-dwellers, who had to pay oppressive taxes and were forced to work on state-building enterprises. Municipal self-government was destroyed. As a result of this anti-City policy, the middle class, the backbone of the commercial and industrial life of the empire, was impoverished, and business declined.

Decline of agriculture. On the other hand the state did nothing to aid the farmer, whose position was critical. The population of the empire appears to have been declining and farm labor was scarce. The provinces were raising more and cheaper crops than the Italians, who were unable to compete. Better methods of farming were forgotten and were replaced by primitive and inefficient methods. The result was, that, just as industry and commerce had collapsed, so, too, agricultural life broke down.

In striking contrast to the poverty of the great mass of the population was the wealth and power of the new aristocracy, which comprised the Emperor, his family and courtiers, and the high officers in the army. The government found it increasingly difficult to raise money for its support and resorted to terror and oppression. Finally, the control of Italy and the western portion of the Empire was assumed by the leaders of different German tribes.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Who composed the Second Triumvirate?
2. Compare the government of the Empire under Augustus with that of the Persian Empire in ancient times.
3. What important additions of territory to the Empire were made under the successors of Augustus?
4. In what ways did the emperors of the third and fourth centuries favor the country as against the city? What was the result of their policy?
5. Compare the conflict between country and city in Rome with that between Athens and Sparta.
6. Compare the position of women in the Roman Empire with their position in Greece.
7. Compare the economic conditions of slave, freedman, and free laborer under the Empire.
8. Of what importance is the Justinian Code in the modern world?
9. Distinguish between citizenship under the Empire and citizenship in an American State.
10. Do you think Latin should be studied in high school? Give reasons for your answer.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

IMPERIAL SYSTEM. Tucker, *Life in the Roman World*, chaps. iv, vi;

*Bailey (ed.), *Legacy of Rome*, pp. 45-140.

CICERO. Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*, chap. x; Lodge (ed.), *World's Classics*, I, pp. 190-96; Showerman, *Century Readings in Ancient Classical Literature*, pp. 358-72.

DECLINE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS. *Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 306-448. *Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Republic* (2d ed., rev.), pp. 245-81.

HIGH COST OF LIVING. Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 145-78.

CORPORATIONS AND TRADE GUILDS. Abbott, pp. 205-34; Davis, *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, pp. 229-37; *Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work*, pp. 258-66.

BUSINESS UNDER THE EMPIRE. *Paul-Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work*, pp. 201-305; *Charlesworth, *Trade Routes in the Roman Empire*; Fowler,

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Social Life at Rome, chap. III; Day, *A History of Commerce*, chap. IV; Davis, pp. 83-90; 105-15.

POSITION OF ROMAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN. Tucker, chaps. VII-IX, XVI, XVII; Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*, II, p. 92; Fowler, chap. V.

EXTENSION OF LATIN. Abbott, pp. 3-78; Osborn, *The Heritage of Greece and the Legacy of Rome*, pp. 152-65.

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE. E. V. Lucas, *A Wanderer in Rome*, chaps. XV-XIX, XXI-XXIV; *Bailey, pp. 385-474.

PROBLEM OF THE DECLINE OF ROME. *Rostovtzeff, pp. 477-87.

Map questions: Compare Roman territory of the Republic at the end of the First Punic War with that of the Empire in the time of Marcus Aurelius. Locate: Gaul, Upper Moesia, Macedonia, Dacia, Cyrenaica, Carthage, Syracuse, Sinope, York, the Parthians, the Huns.

CHAPTER VI

MIGRATIONS AND INVASIONS OF THE GERMANS

The Germans. The peoples who played the leading part in the history of Western civilization after the break-up of the Roman Empire were known as the Germans, or Teutons. Their earliest home was along the western border of the Baltic Sea, from which they went forth to take possession of the greater part of Europe. In time the Germans occupied a vast territory stretching from the Rhine to the Elbe, and from the Baltic to the Danube. Their early history is shrouded in mystery. Tacitus, a Roman historian of the early Empire, writes of them in awe as a race of giants, strong, courageous, delighting in battle. Children of the forests and swamps, the Germans learned therein to endure hunger and cold. In times of peace their village communities were governed by a council of elders. In times of war a military chief was chosen as king to lead the bands of fighting men into battle.

Early invasions. For centuries the Germans had been entering Roman territory and had been peacefully assimilated. Many joined the Roman army, and some even rose to high command. Those tribes living near the frontiers adopted many of the arts of Roman civilization. During the latter part of the fourth century A.D. a peaceful immigration became violent invasion. The Germans forced their way into the Empire and proceeded to conquer it piecemeal.



EXECUTION OF GERMANIC CHIEFS

From the Antonine Column, Rome

Causes for migration. The causes for the Germanic migration and invasion may be only surmised, as little is known of their problems. Perhaps population increased beyond the food supply furnished by hunting and rude agriculture. The land which the Germans held was not especially fertile or attractive. Tacitus speaks of "its desert scenery, its harsh climate, its sullen aspect. In general, the country, though varying here and there in appearance, is covered over with wild forests and filthy swamps." Naturally, they turned to the rich lands of the south. There was another reason for the migration. Behind the Germans were tribes even wilder and fiercer than they, hordes from Asia who were invading Europe and forcing the Germans southward.

Coming of the Visigoths. In the third and fourth centuries, two German tribes, the Visigoths, or West Goths, and the Ostrogoths, or East Goths, settled on Roman territory. The circumstance that led to this movement was pressure by the Huns, a Tatar tribe from Asia that forced the Visigoths to the Danube. The latter, fearful of their terrible foe, begged the Roman authorities for permission to cross the Danube. Their request was granted, and some two hundred thousand established themselves on Roman soil.

Invasion of the Empire. At the end of the fourth century A.D. the Germans were restlessly roaming along the Roman frontier, now and then crowding their way into the Empire. Their kinsmen within, the Goths, looked on sympathetically. "The Goths are quiet just now, but perhaps they will not always be quiet," observed the Emperor Julian. Goaded on by unfair treatment at the hands of Roman officials, the Visigoths rose and at the battle of Adrianople (378 A.D.) defeated a Roman army.

Visigoths in Spain. The Visigoths determined upon an organized attack on the Empire. In 410, under a leader named Alaric, they invaded Italy and pillaged Rome. They continued their march and finally settled in southern Spain, where they established a kingdom that lasted for three centuries.

Vandals in North Africa. Another Germanic tribe, the Vandals, conquered the Roman provinces in North Africa. In 455 they crossed the Mediterranean, sacked Rome, and returned to Africa laden with plunder. There was no wanton taking of human life or destruction of property during the brief visit of the Vandals to Rome, and the word "vandalism" unjustly brands that tribe.

The Franks. To protect Italy against invasion the Romans recalled the legions guarding the Rhine and distant Britain. The frontier of the Danube had already been broken. The recall of the legions acted as a signal to the barbarians, who now invaded all the provinces in western Europe, where they easily conquered the inhabitants and established kingdoms on the ruins of the Empire. Among the most important was that established by the Franks, who originally came from the Rhine Valley. At the end of the fifth century, under the leadership of Clovis, they invaded northern Gaul, where they established a kingdom.

Angles and Saxons in Britain. The Angles and Saxons from northern Germany and the Jutes from Denmark had been making raids on Britain even before the period of barbarian invasions. The Celtic inhabitants of that island were left defenseless when, at the beginning of the fifth century, Rome withdrew her legions from that remote military outpost. The Germans took advantage of the situation and invaded the island in large numbers. By the seventh century half of it was conquered and organized into seven petty kingdoms.

The Huns. New barbarians suddenly appeared, the Huns. Savage and destructive in their migrations, they found in Attila, the "Scourge of God," a leader whose name brought terror to the heart of German and Roman alike. The Emperor at Constantinople bought off Attila with lavish gifts. The Huns then invaded Gaul. Both Roman and German now joined forces and defeated the Huns at the battle of Châlons (451).

Roman attitude toward the invasions. The Roman imperial machine was breaking down, and the dissolution of the Empire was merely a question of time. Yet the Romans did not appear so deeply concerned as one might suppose, as the invasions were neither new nor startling to them. From the time of Marius not a century had passed without some inroad of Germanic tribes. Some Roman writers, looking upon their own society as hopelessly corrupt, actually felt that the future belonged to the new and more vigorous race. As for the ordinary Roman, he had too little to lose to be much concerned about the fate of the Empire. Despairingly, one Roman writes: "The Roman world goes laughing to its death."

"The Fall of Rome" (476 A.D.). The imperial office now became the football of German mercenary soldiers. In 476 a Ger-

man soldier, named Odoacer, deposed the last Emperor of the West, Romulus Augustulus. Although Odoacer recognized the sovereignty of the Emperor in Constantinople, Italy was, in fact, under a barbarian king. From 476 to 800 there was no other emperor than the one reigning in Constantinople. Without Rome there was no longer a truly Roman Empire; hence historians have generally attached the label, "Fall of Rome," to the year 476. In reality the Roman Empire was dying for over four hundred years, and it continued in Constantinople, for many centuries. In theory, at least, the Emperor ruled over the West as well as over the East; the various German kings regarded him as their superior, but rendered him little obedience.

The Ostrogoths. Italy was invaded more frequently than the provinces. The magnificence of Rome and the prospect of seizing loot and power acted as a magnet to the Germans. It was now the turn of the Ostrogoths. Under Theodoric they crossed the Alps, and established a kingdom in northern Italy which lasted from 493 to 553. Theodoric proved to be an able ruler, who preserved Roman civilization, restored ruined cities and roads, and improved the lot of the farming population. At his death, Italy and Sicily were reconquered by Justinian, the Emperor in Constantinople.

The Lombards. In 568-72, another German tribe, the Lombards, invaded Italy and seized the territory north of the river Po, a region ever since known as Lombardy. They established several kingdoms which lasted until 773-76, when they were finally overthrown by Charlemagne.

Results of the invasions. The Roman Empire was now completely disrupted, and the political union of the Western world was shattered never to be completely restored. From its ruins there emerged, many centuries later, most of the European nations. Directly, however, the invasions resulted in the rise of a system of society known as feudalism, in which western Europe was broken up into small local units, in each of which the inhabitants owed allegiance to a local ruler. Another outcome was the fusion of the Latin and the German. Law, literature, and languages developed which differed from the law, literature, and languages of ancient times. In the north the new civilization contained more of the German element; in the south, more of the Latin.

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At the time when the great world empire was collapsing, a great world religion was spreading throughout the Western world. Christianity was destined to establish unity of belief at a time when unity of political allegiance was at an end.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the causes of the Germanic invasions.
2. What new Germanic kingdoms arose after the invasions?
3. What part did the Huns play in the migrations of the Germanic people?
4. Who were Alaric, Attila, Theodoric?
5. Why do historians frequently set the year 476 as the date for the "fall of Rome"? Is it really correct?
6. What did the Roman writer mean when he said, "The Roman world goes laughing to its death"? Had the common man much to lose by the barbarian invasions?
7. Did Roman civilization survive to a greater degree in the countries farther removed from Rome or in those nearer Rome?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE GERMANS. *Transcripts and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*, VI, no. 3, pp. 2-16; Botsford, *A Source Book of Ancient History*, pp. 544-54.

THE WEST GOTHS. Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. III; *Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Bury's ed.), III, chaps. XXVI, XXX, XXXI.

THE HUNS. Botsford, pp. 554-57; Emerton, pp. 41-47.

THEODORIC. Bémont and Monod (Adams), *Medieval Europe*, pp. 55-62; **Cambridge Medieval History*, I, pp. 437-55; Duruy, *History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 34-38.

ECONOMIC LIFE DURING THE INVASIONS. *Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, pp. 14-32.

"WHAT THE GERMANS ADDED." Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 88-105.

Map questions: Locate the original homes and the later homes of six Germanic tribes.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH

And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,
The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

LUKE IV

RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Jesus and the Apostles. In the obscure town of Bethlehem in Judæa, during the reign of Augustus, Jesus, called the "Christ,"¹ was born. He was of Jewish origin, and was brought up in very humble surroundings. Christ preached the kingdom of mercy, of tolerance, and of righteousness, to which the many "shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south." It was a message for the masses: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." At first only a small number, called the "Apostles," became His followers. After the crucifixion a remarkable convert to the new faith appeared in the Apostle Paul, who devoted his life to preaching the new religion to all peoples. New converts were gained in Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and Italy through Paul's ardent missionary zeal.

The New Testament. In the early period of Christian history, there were in circulation four well-known accounts of the life and teachings of Christ. These accounts were the *Gospels*, which, with the letters and writings of Paul and other Apostles, were brought together to form the *New Testament*. By the fourth century the *New Testament* was authoritatively placed by the side of the *Old Testament* to form the Christian *Bible*. While the *Old Testament* was written in Hebrew, the *New Testament* was written in Greek, as its message was to be carried to the Gentile as well as to the Jew.

Christianity in the pagan world. When Jesus preached, his message was a voice crying in the wilderness. Yet, within two centuries, enthusiastic Christian missionaries spread the faith to

¹ "Christ" is a Greek term meaning anointed.

every corner of the Roman Empire. For this phenomenon there are several explanations: (1) Rome having broken down the boundaries between peoples, consequently laid the foundations for an international religion. (2) The pagan faiths were dying. New religions and new philosophies came and prepared the way for Christianity. Mithraism, originally a Persian religion, taught that a god of light stood out against the forces of darkness and evil. The philosophy of stoicism taught that a divine power ruled the universe, and that suffering should be borne in order to live a higher life. (3) Christianity held forth a great promise of future happiness for its followers, the great comfort of a happy life in the world to come. (4) The early Christians advocated a high ethical and moral standard of living, and attacked the immorality of Roman society. The ardor of their moral crusade gained many adherents. (5) Christianity greatly attracted the common man; its doctrines and its teachings were sources of inspiration and comfort to him. "Come unto me all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," Jesus had said.

Elements in Christianity. "Christianity is like a river which receives tributaries from all sides," said one of the early Christian fathers. Judaism contributed the fundamental idea of the source and nature of God. The *Old Testament* of the Hebrews became a basic part of the Christian faith. Christianity also inherited the moral idealism of the Hebrew prophets; moral and ethical teaching became an important duty of the clergy. From the Greeks came the method, current in their philosophies, of formulating ideas definitely and clearly. To their influence was due the formulation of Christian ideals into dogmas, or doctrines. From the Romans came the organization of the Church. Order, discipline, and law preserved the gains of missionary enthusiasm, and made the Church as efficient in matters spiritual as the Empire was in matters worldly.

Early Christianity experienced three stages of treatment at the hands of the Roman government. First, it was persecuted; then, it was tolerated; and, finally, it was favored by being established as the state religion.

Persecution. The early Christians were regarded with hostility in Rome. They came mainly from the lower classes. They held aloof from pagan celebrations. Evil stories were circulated about them. Tacitus believed that the Christians were "criminals who

deserved the most severe punishment." Their refusal to worship the state gods was regarded as treason. Consequently they suffered severe persecution, especially during the reigns of Nero, one of the early successors of Augustus, and of Diocletian. Their churches were destroyed, their property and citizenship were taken away, and many were tortured or thrown to the wild animals in the arenas. Devout Christians welcomed the opportunity to be martyrs, witnesses to the truth of their faith, and courageously suffered death.

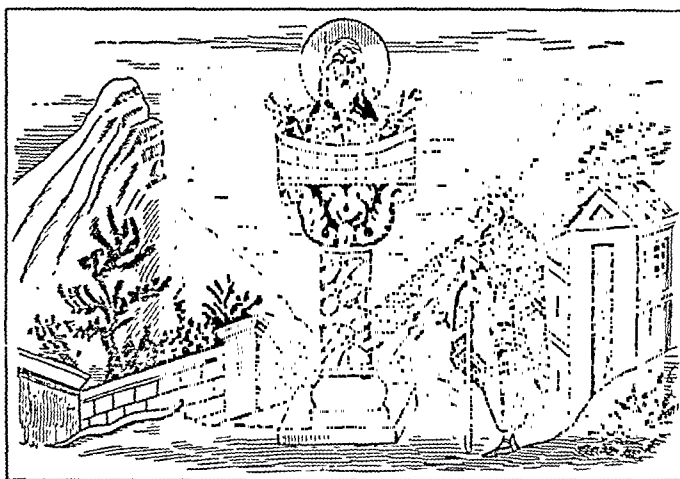
Toleration. But the "blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church." Christianity throve on persecution. Emperor Galerius, realizing that it was futile to persecute any longer, issued, in 311, an edict of toleration which allowed Christians to worship undisturbed. Christianity gained great prestige when the Emperor Constantine became a convert. It was now politically and socially respectable, and even fashionable.

Christianity as the state religion. So rapidly did Christianity spread that, by the latter part of the fourth century, it was regarded as a bulwark of the Empire. In the reign of Emperor Theodosius (379-395) it was made the state religion. The clergy were exempted from paying taxes; they were generally given the right to be tried in the courts of their bishop. This right was the origin of a special privilege which later developed into an elaborate system of church courts. "We should rejoice and be exceeding glad in the faith, knowing that our empire is maintained more by religion than by officials or by the labor and sweat of the body," declared an imperial edict. It was now the turn of the pagans to be persecuted. Their temples were closed, and their worship proscribed.

Heresy and the Trinity. Not only were those outside the Christian fold required to come in, but those within were required to accept certain dogmas. At Nicæa, in 325, there took place the most important general council in the history of the Church. It was called by Constantine to decide upon a controversy that raged throughout the Christian world. The body adopted the Nicene Creed to which other elements were added. The Nicene Creed, as it was now called, authoritatively proclaimed the Trinity. Disbelief in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith was denounced as heresy. Severe laws were passed against heretics, who were punished equally with pagans.

RISE OF THE CLERGY

Church organization. The early Church was a simple organization. Small groups were formed for purposes of worship similar to other Roman associations. Admission was open to freeman and slave, Roman and non-Roman, woman as well as man. The Christian locality came to be known as a "diocese"; its chief officer was the "bishop," who was assisted in his work by "priests" and "deacons." A group of dioceses was under the jurisdiction of an "archbishop," the bishop of a chief town. Above him ranked the "patriarch," who had jurisdiction over a large area. Church work, like other work, could be done efficiently only if qualified people devoted to it all their time. The clergy gradually came to form a separate class who devoted themselves exclusively to their faith. They had special privileges, wore special garments, and many even renounced marriage and family life.



SAINT DANIEL THE STYLITE ON HIS COLUMN

From a Byzantine miniature in the Vatican

Hermits. Christianity and paganism regarded each other as deadly enemies. The Christians denounced what they regarded as the immoralities of pagan life, especially the evil temptations of the great cities, such as Rome and Alexandria. To flee temptation many devout Christians fled to forests, to caves, to the desert,

where they lived in solitude as hermits. Saint Jerome, a famous Father of the Church, urged true Christians to give up their worldly life and flee to the desert. "O solitude, whence are brought the stones of the city of the Great King!" he exclaimed. "O wilderness rejoicing close to God! . . . Do you fear poverty? Christ called the poor 'blessed.' Are you terrified at labor? No athlete without sweat is crowned. Do you think of food? Faith fears no hunger. Do you dread the naked ground for limbs consumed with fasts? The Lord lies with you." It was a life of fasting, prayer, and self-torture.

Monks. Other devout Christians sought salvation in another way. Could one flee the temptations of city life and yet have the benefits of human association? The answer was monasticism. In the beginning of the sixth century Saint Benedict founded at Monte Cassino in Italy, a "school for the service of the Lord." It was a monastery that housed a community of devout men, known as "monks," who dedicated their lives to their faith. The Benedictine Rule, or constitution, prescribed rules that minutely regulated the lives of those in the monastery. On entering the brotherhood, a monk took the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Once taken, this vow could never be revoked. It meant that the monk was to give up all his property, that he was never to marry, and that he would obey unquestioningly his superior, the abbot. All the monks were engaged in some kind of labor, whether manual or professional. Scholarship was especially encouraged. Teaching and the copying of manuscripts were favorite occupations of the Benedictines. Throughout the Middle Ages the monasteries were the homes of thought, of art, and of literature. A refuge for the spiritually minded, for the studious and the thoughtful, for the timid and the oppressed, monasticism did great service to mankind at a time when barbarism was engulfing ancient civilization. In the economic life of the times it restored large-scale farming methods.

The new missionary movement. While early Christianity had been a religion of towns and cities, it soon spread into the rural districts. During the fifth and sixth centuries Christianity was active in a new missionary field, among the barbarians in the north of Europe. From Rome came missionaries to the Celts of Gaul and to the Teutons of Germany. From Constantinople came missionaries to the Slavs of the Balkans and of Russia. And most active as missionaries were the monks who, in savage

regions, established monasteries which became centers of civilization as well as of Christianity. This missionary movement was not unlike that among the Indians of North and South America carried on by the Jesuit fathers during the seventeenth century.

During the fifth century the faith had been planted in Ireland by Saint Patrick. Irish missionaries became very active in Britain and on the Continent. The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was undertaken by a group of monks sent by Pope Gregory the Great. In 597 they came to England and established a monastery at Canterbury, which, to this day, is considered the religious capital of England. A rivalry developed between the Roman and Irish missionaries, which was settled by the Council of Whitby (664) in favor of uniform methods and doctrines under the control of the Pope. The apostle to the Germans was Saint Boniface, an English monk who, early in the eighth century, succeeded in converting many German tribes and in bringing them under the control of the Roman Church.

Rise of the Papacy. As the Empire declined, there was arising a new power in Rome, the papacy. For a number of centuries there was no universally recognized authority in the Christian Church. Each region was more or less independent under its patriarch. However, there was a popular belief that the Bishop of Rome was supreme over all other officials in the Church. A famous passage in the *New Testament* records that Jesus said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock¹ I will build my church.... And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." According to tradition, Peter came to Rome, where he became the first bishop; hence his successors inherited his power of the "keys," for instance, that of granting absolution.

But conditions more than theory favored the rise of the Bishop of Rome. He was the bishop of the greatest city; hence his views had greater weight than those of any other bishop. He it was who launched the great missionary enterprises that brought the barbarians into the Christian fold; when the missionaries to the barbarians made converts to a new faith, they at the same time brought them into the Roman Church. He it was to whom the people of Rome looked for guidance when there was no longer an emperor in the West. The bishop acquired a new title, "pope" (Latin, "papa," father), which came to be unique. A number of remarkable popes, notably Leo the Great (440-461) and Gregory

¹ The name Peter comes from a Greek word meaning "rock."

the Great (590-604) added prestige to the office. With the growth of the papacy, the Church became a world institution that arose amid the ruins of the Roman Empire.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. State some of the teachings of Jesus. Why did they appeal to the common man?
2. Who was Paul? What part did he play in the early history of Christianity?
3. What is the *New Testament*? The *Bible*? The *Gospels*? The *Pentateuch*?
4. What were the elements in Christianity which appealed to the pagan world?
5. Describe the changing attitude of the Roman government toward Christianity.
6. What was heresy? What was orthodoxy? What relation did the Council of Nicæa have to heresy?
7. Describe the separation of the clergy from the laity.
8. Why did people become hermits in the early days of Christianity? What is monasticism? What services did the monks perform for their communities?
9. Compare the work of the missionaries of early Christianity with modern missionary enterprise.
10. Account for the rise of the Bishop of Rome as the head of the Christian Church.
11. Why may it be said that the Catholic Church was the successor of the Roman Empire?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. *Bible*, Matt. v-vii.

EARLY PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS. Munro, *Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 164-71, 174; *Transcripts and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*, IV, no. 1, pp. 10-19.

GROWTH OF THE PAPACY. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (abridged ed.), pp. 32-39; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 106-34.

GREGORY THE GREAT. Oman, *Dark Ages*, pp. 198-203; Thorndike, *History of Mediæval Europe*, pp. 154-71.

MISSIONARIES AMONG THE GERMANS. Robinson, pp. 41-56; *Transcripts and Reprints*, II, no. 7.

BENEDICTINE RULE. Fling, *European History Studies*, II, no. 6, pp. 94-99; Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 274-314.

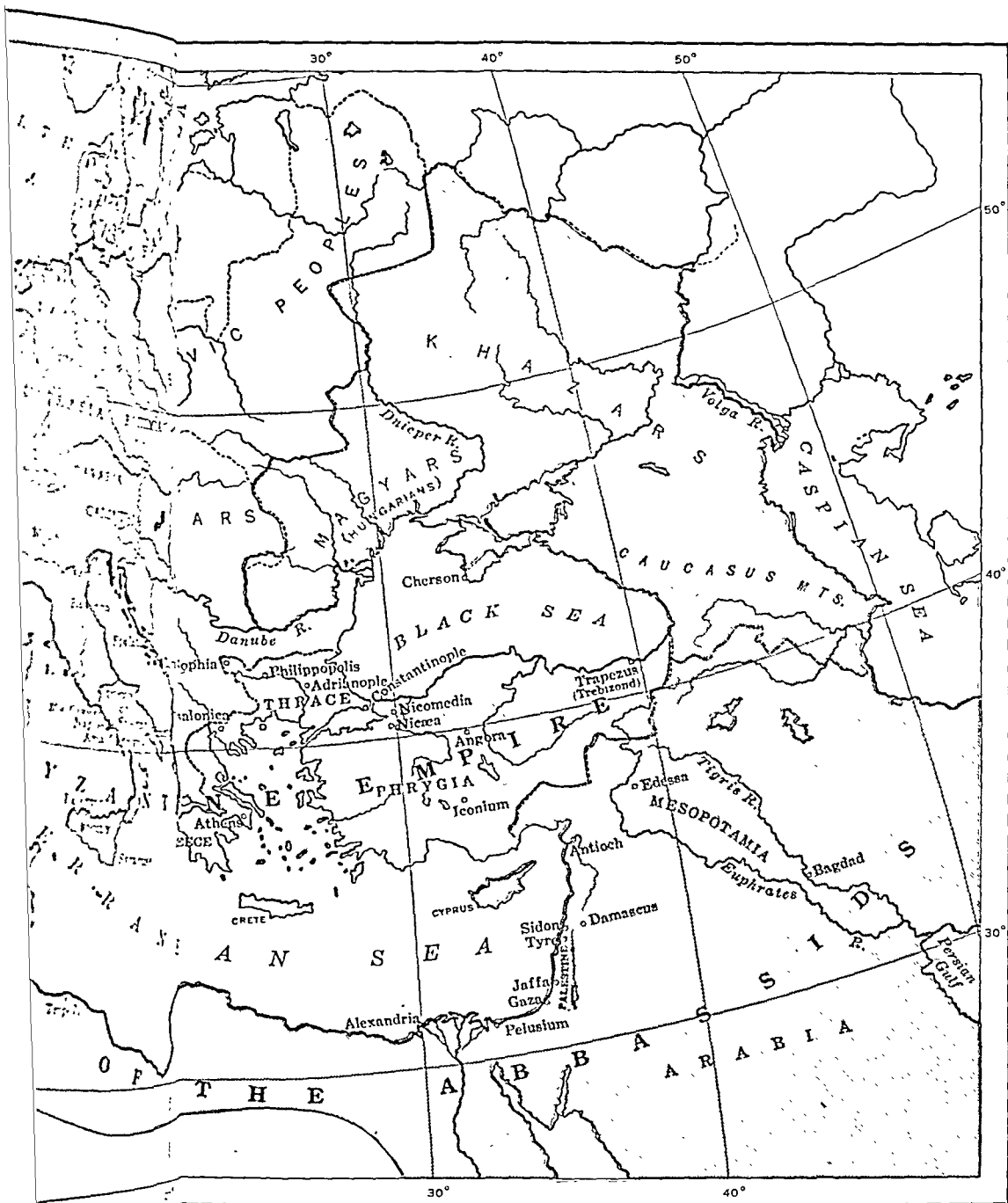
great statesman does not rest upon the fact that he was an empire-builder, for his empire crumbled almost with his death. Rather does it rest on the fact that he established order in western Europe by checking a new wave of barbarian invasion, and that he established a strong central government which preserved law. The Romanic-German civilization which was arising was given in this way a breathing spell in which to fuse and grow in strength.

Charlemagne's wars. Almost from the commencement of his reign Charlemagne began to increase the Frankish dominions. He made war against the Saxons, a savage people living in the cold and hard wilderness of northwestern Germany. After a long struggle, the Saxons were finally subdued and compelled to accept Christianity. Charlemagne also conquered the Lombards, who were threatening papal territory. With fire and sword he carried the Gospel to the tribes in central Europe as far as the Danube and down the Adriatic coast. He successfully repelled an invasion of the Avars, a Tatar tribe living along the Danube south of Bohemia. He fought the Moslems along the Spanish frontier. The result of these conquests was the creation of a great imperial dominion, extending from the Pyrenees to the Danube, from the North Sea to central Italy.

Charlemagne's government. Charlemagne's wide dominions were divided into "counties," each ruled by a "count." The border districts were known as "marks," and were ruled by powerful military lords. In order to keep oversight of his vast domains Charlemagne sent *missi dominici* ("the lord's messengers") as special envoys who traveled from region to region, in order to supervise the execution of the orders of the central government.

Germanic law. Unlike the Romans, who spread their law among the conquered peoples, the Germans allowed each tribe to be judged by its own customary, or traditional, law. Germanic laws generally considered quarrels between individuals as private matters that had no relation to the government. When a murder was committed, it was the business of the family of the victim to take vengeance on the murderer or on his relatives; it was not the business of the government to apprehend the guilty party. Finally, the law required that, instead of blood revenge, the relatives of the victim had the right to demand a fixed amount of money from the culprit. As Charlemagne did not establish a uniform system of law throughout his empire, central Europe was,





for a long time, engaged in legal struggles between the Roman and the various Germanic laws. "It is not rare," said a Bishop of Lyons in the ninth century, "for five men to be sitting together and no one of them to have the same law as another."

Education. "Knowledge," observed Charlemagne, "should precede action." He, therefore, took action to restore knowledge. He directed the clergy to give greater heed to teaching. He founded schools in the monasteries and cathedrals to spread elementary education. Charlemagne himself was a notable patron of learning, and he gathered about his court some of the most distinguished scholars of ninth-century Europe. Thither came Alcuin from England, who became head of the school system; and Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards.

"Emperor of the Romans." The dramatic story has come down of a visit of Charlemagne to Saint Peter's at Rome, on Christmas Day in the year 800. When the Frankish King was kneeling at the altar, Pope Leo III suddenly placed a crown on his head. The people cried aloud: "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God!" The coronation was a formal act in which the Western Church disowned the Byzantine Empire, and allied itself with a Roman Emperor in the person of Charlemagne. Thereafter the Church asserted its right to confer imperial power; and what the Church could give, the Church could take away.

Disruption of Charlemagne's Empire (814-870). In the Empire of Charlemagne there was no unity of race, of language, or of business interests. As in the case of all empires created by a great conqueror, its existence was dependent upon the creator. His empire began to crumble. It was like a house built upon the sand, "and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house; and it fell; and great was the fall thereof." Charlemagne's grandsons decided to divide the empire; Lothair, the eldest, received Italy and the imperial title, together with a narrow stretch of land along the valleys of the Rhine and the Rhone; Louis received a kingdom, lying to the east of Lothair's territory; and Charles, one to the west. This agreement, known as the "Treaty of Verdun" (843), was comparable with the division of the Roman Empire at the time of Diocletian and the creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms out of Alexander's dominions. When Lothair died, his brothers divided

between them his northern possessions; Italy was left to his son, together with the title of "Emperor." Out of the western division rose modern France; out of the eastern portion, modern Germany and the "Holy Roman Empire."

The Holy Roman Empire. In the eastern division the Carolingian dynasty died out in the tenth century. Its successor was Henry, Duke of Saxony. Henry, and more notably, his son, Otto I (936-973), successfully defended Germany from invasion. Otto resisted the Magyars, an Asiatic tribe that had invaded the Danube Valley; as a protection against further inroads he established the East Mark, which afterward became known as Austria. When Otto entered Italy and reduced the Lombard states to obedience, he, like Charlemagne, was crowned Emperor by the Pope (962). Otto's territory comprised what is now northern Italy and Germany, and was known as the "Holy Roman Empire." The attempt to unite these two countries was doomed to failure, as their interests often conflicted. The German emperors down through the centuries were confronted with a hostile Italy, and were finally forced to grant the North Italian cities virtual independence. When busy with his Italian problems, the Emperor often neglected those of Germany. Nor was the Pope's own position made more secure by the coronation. The elevation of the Saxon King to the emperorship resulted in bitter struggles between popes and emperors lasting for many centuries. These struggles in Italy hindered the latter in achieving unity; and the Holy Roman Empire hindered the German people in achieving consolidation. Although the Holy Roman Empire soon outlived its usefulness, it was not until the nineteenth century that it died of decrepit old age, "no longer holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire."

THE NORTHMEN

Wanderings of the Northmen. In the Scandinavian peninsulas of Norway and Sweden, and of Denmark, dwelt a Germanic people, known as the "Vikings," or "Northmen." In proportion to its area, Scandinavia has an extensive coastline, and, in early times, the inhabitants were bold sailors and desperate pirates. The warm south, with its rich lands and great cities, enticed them from their cold, bare country. In their search for new homes they even wandered farther north, into unknown lands. In the ninth century they established settlements in Ireland and Scot-

land. Iceland was made a Norwegian outpost, and toward the end of the tenth century Icelanders crossed the Atlantic and founded settlements in Greenland. There seems to be some basis in fact for the tradition that about 1000 A.D. Northmen explored the American shores of Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. In the ninth century Northmen established a dynasty in Russia which lasted for more than seven centuries.

The Northmen in France. In the tenth century they made incursions into northern France. Unable to check them, the Carolingian King granted the Northmen territory in the region of the lower Seine, which became known as "Normandy." Once settled on the soil the Northmen, or Normans, lost their identity of race and language and assimilated with the people that they had conquered.

The Northmen in England. The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain had resulted in the founding of seven petty kingdoms. Three of these kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, in turn rose to supremacy on the island. In the ninth century, bands of Northmen, chiefly from Denmark, harassed the English coast and invaded the eastern part of the island. Meanwhile, a Wessex king, Alfred the Great (849-901), a vigorous and high-minded leader with much of Charlemagne's genius for organization, was laying the foundations of a national monarchy in the late ninth century. Through his efforts the invasion of the Danes was checked, but only at the price of granting them territory. They settled in the northern part of England, where, as in France, they assimilated with the other inhabitants.

The Norman Conquest. On the death of the English king, Edward the Confessor (1066), his cousin William, Duke of Normandy, asserted a right to the English crown. William invaded England with a force of Normans and found an opponent in Harold, another claimant to the throne. The famous battle of Hastings (1066) established William the Conqueror as King of England, and placed the political control of the country in the hands of the Normans.

The coming of the nation. Amid the turmoil of invasion and general disorder, a new political organism was slowly developing in Europe. It was the nation, as distinguished from the empire and the city-state. It comprised a people within a definite geographical area, having a common tradition and culture, and

owing common political allegiance to a central government. From the eleventh century a struggle went on in England, France, and Germany between the forces making for national unity and the forces making for separatism. This struggle dominates their history down to modern times.

THE BYZANTINE WORLD

The Roman Empire in the West was dead. But its counterpart in the East, the Byzantine Empire, withstood invasion and internal strife until the middle of the fifteenth century. During all this time it acted as a bulwark against inroads from Asia, thus giving western Europe time to grow in strength. And when Constantinople did fall, Western civilization was safe.

Rise and decline of the Byzantine Empire. Under Justinian (527-565), the greatest of all the Byzantine emperors, the Empire had a great revival. He reconquered Italy from the Ostrogoths, North Africa from the Vandals, and part of Spain from the Visigoths. But the reconquests were soon lost owing to the fact that the Empire faced new enemies, Arabs and Turks from the east, and Slavs from the north, who were continually making inroads. Slowly it yielded Asia Minor to the former, and the Balkans to the latter. For long the Empire was really Constantinople and its environs, but it stoutly maintained itself against Mohammedan attacks that were constantly increasing in number and in vigor. Finally, in 1453, Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks, and the Byzantine Empire passed into history.

The Greek Orthodox Church. In the early Middle Ages the Eastern Church gradually diverged from the Roman Church in allegiance, doctrine, and ceremonial. Neither the Emperor nor the Patriarch in Constantinople would recognize the supremacy of the Bishop in Rome. The Emperor recognized the Patriarch as the chief church officer. During the eighth century a controversy over the use of images, pictures, and statues of the Apostles, saints, and martyrs, widened the breach. One emperor publicly spoke "in favor of overthrowing the holy and venerable images." In 1045 the Pope excommunicated the Patriarch and his followers, an act which definitely separated the Eastern from the Western Church. During the early Middle Ages the Eastern Church, later known as the "Greek Orthodox," was active in

missionary work among the Slavs; both the Balkan Slavs and the Russians entered its fold.

Constantinople: Byzantine trade and culture. Constantinople is superbly situated, a "city guarded by God." Located at the junction of two continents and between two seas, and possessing a spacious harbor in the Golden Horn, it carried on a great trade between Mediterranean Europe and the East. During the Middle Ages Constantinople flourished, and for a time was the most populous city in the world. Its language and culture were Greek, a heritage of Alexander's influence.

Byzantine architecture and art occupy an important place in the history of civilization. Its architects used thinner walls, slenderer columns, more graceful capitals, than did the Roman builders. Byzantine architecture reached its culmination in the perfection of dome construction; and the magnificent Church of Saint Sophia, built during the reign of Justinian, solved the problem of setting a great dome upon a square. More attention was paid to the interior decoration of buildings than ever before. Often church interiors contained "mosaics"—brilliantly colored pic-



INTERIOR OF SAINT SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

Showing the Sultan's pew and the stairs to the pulpit

tures, constructed of little pieces of colored glass. In the dome of the Church of Saint George at Saloniki, it is estimated that there are thirty-six million of these little pieces, each of which had to be specially set in place. In the delicate mosaic we see "the autumn glory of Byzantine art," which was a source of inspiration to the painters of the later Middle Ages.

The Kingdom of the Golden Horde. In the Middle Ages a large portion of eastern Europe passed out of European life and became really a province of Asia. In the thirteenth century, the Tatars, or Mongols, a people occupying the region of east central Asia known as Mongolia, set out on a career of world conquest. Under their leader, a remarkable soldier called Genghis Khan ("Emperor of All Men"), they conquered China, Turkestan, and Persia, and swept on into Russia, which they soon subdued. The western portion of this vast Mongol Empire, of which Russia formed a part, was known as the Kingdom of the Golden Horde. While the Mongols did not suppress the culture, religion, and laws of their Slavic subjects, they did succeed in cutting off Russia from western European life at a time when a rich and stimulating civilization was developing in the West. With the break-up of the Golden Horde in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the principality of Muscovy, so named from the capital city of Moscow, under its ruler, Ivan the Great (1462-1505), assumed the leadership in the consolidation of the Russian states.

MOHAMMED

The Saracens in European history. The Middle Ages are concerned with two great migrations. The first was the migration of the Germanic tribes, which has already been described. The second was the migration of a Semitic people from western Asia, known as the "Saracens." As the Germanic tribes became the heirs of Roman civilization, the Saracens became the heirs of the Oriental-Hellenic culture of the eastern Mediterranean world. The western migration of the Saracens was in part due to the economic decline of Arabia; the Saracens sought new lands and better living conditions. More immediately it was inspired by a new religious movement, called "Islam," which arose in Arabia during the sixth century.

Mohammed (570-632). Its founder was an Arab named Mohammed, who may justly be regarded as one of the great

religious teachers in the history of mankind. As a youth Mohammed served as a shepherd and camel-driver. He contemplated the beauty of nature in the long solitary nights, gazing at the heavens and watching the dawn break over the mountains. At the age of twenty-five, he married a rich widow and settled down in Mecca as a prosperous merchant. However, the spiritual life summoned him. As time went on, he gave more and more thought to religious matters; he withdrew into the desert, where he saw visions and heard revelations. Mohammed became convinced that a divine message had been imparted to him.

The Hegira. Mecca, Mohammed's home town, was hostile to the new faith which Mohammed was preaching. Mohammed attacked tribal religious ceremonies, particularly idolatry. These attacks aroused his fellow townsmen, who threatened his life. Whereupon Mohammed fled to Medina, a rival town, where his teachings were welcomed. This famous Flight of the Prophet, the *Hegira* (622),¹ marked the beginning of the spread of Mohammed's message.

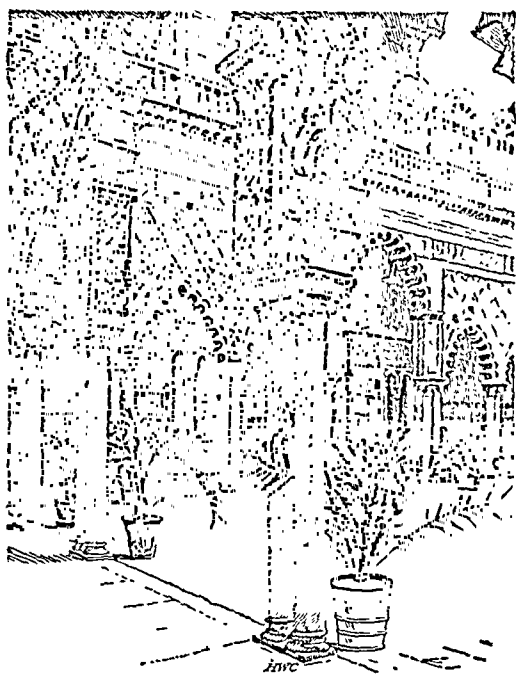
The message. Mohammed found inspiration in both the Jewish and Christian religions. From Judaism he took the idea of the one and only God, whom he called "Allah." Himself he regarded as the last and greatest of the prophets, among whom he included Abraham, Moses, and Jesus; therefore, he maintained, his revelation was truer than that of his predecessors. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." In Christianity Mohammed found his doctrine of judgment and the life to come, and the idea of a universal faith as opposed to tribal religions. The followers of Mohammed were known as "Moslems," persons who had resigned themselves to the will of God; and their religion was known as "Islam," or surrender. The religious teachings of Mohammed are to be found in the *Koran*, the Mohammedan Bible, which is a collection of sermons, prayers, proverbs, and tales of the life of Mohammed. The *Koran* gives an impression of the deep sincerity of the founder, and of his high vision of the great brotherhood of man through the belief in one God, "the lord of worlds, the merciful and compassionate."

Conversion by the sword. Beginning as a simple and inspired spiritual leader, Mohammed undertook to spread the faith as

¹ The Moslems have adopted this date as the beginning of the Mohammedan Era.

warrior, politician, and founder of an empire. The *Koran* bids the Moslem carry the message to the non-believer. Those who stubbornly refused to accept the new faith were threatened with fire and sword in this world and with hell-fire in the next. For the soldier who died in the service of Allah was reserved the highest seat in the heaven of the Mohammedan, "a garden of delight with cool flowing water and shady palm trees."

The Moslem Empire. The Saracens turned to world conquest;



THE COURT OF THE VIRGINS

Alcazar, Seville

within the course of a century a vast Moslem empire was founded on the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Saracen expansion was to the east and to the west. During Mohammed's lifetime, Arabia was conquered. Within twenty years after his death, the Saracens had conquered Syria, Egypt, and Persia. Later conquests extended their sway to central Asia and to India. During the same period the Saracens migrated westward; and by the end of the seventh century North Africa had been conquered. At the beginning of the eighth century the Moslems crossed into Spain and

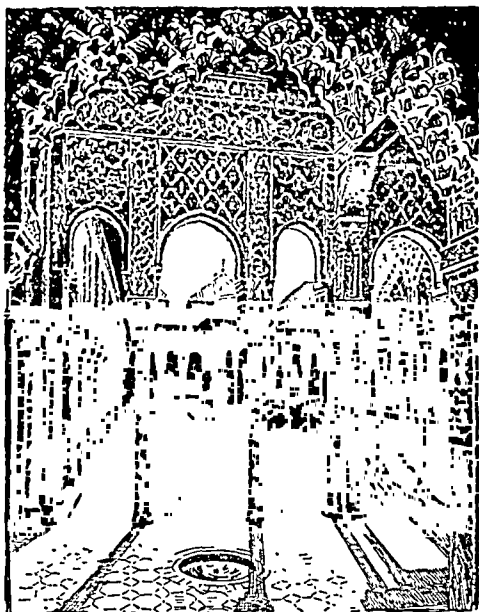
overthrew the kingdom of the Visigoths. The Pyrenees offered no barrier to them, and they swept into Gaul. The Franks, under Charles Martel, came forward as the champions of Christian Europe against the Mohammedan. At the battle of Tours, in 732, the Saracens were beaten, and retreated into Spain.

Division and disruption. By the middle of the eighth century the Moslem Empire stretched from the East Indies to the Atlantic, and from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean. The ruler of this

enormous territory was called the "caliph," or "successor." Though the Empire was united by the bond of religion, it soon was divided by political rivalry. The caliphate became the battleground for two families, the Ommiads and the Abbasids. The latter were able to maintain control only over the Moslems in Asia. The Saracens in Spain became independent; in turn, they were gradually forced out of the Spanish Peninsula by the Christians. In North Africa a series of independent kingdoms arose. The East was likewise growing restless under the rule of the Caliph. In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks, a tribe from beyond the Caspian, conquered the eastern portion of the Empire.

Moslems in eastern Europe. The Christian world was unable to prevent the Moslem invasion into Europe. The régime of the Seljuk Turks was supplanted by another Turkish tribe, known as the Ottomans. In the fifteenth century the Ottomans rapidly extended their sway over Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. When they conquered Constantinople in 1453, they became the successors of the Byzantine Empire. In the sixteenth century, under Suleiman the Magnificent, their greatest sultan, or monarch, the Turks conquered Hungary. Again Christian Europe was greatly alarmed. At the battle of Lepanto in 1571, the Turkish fleet was defeated by Spanish and Italian fleets led by Don John of Austria. In the

following century the Turks made another great advance, and actually laid siege to Vienna in 1683. But they were driven away,



COURT OF LIONS (THE ALHAMBRA)

In the center of the court may be seen the celebrated Fountain of Lions, an alabaster basin resting on the backs of twelve marble lions

and from that time on they were gradually forced out of Europe. To-day they hold only Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

Moslems in Asia and Africa. In time the Moslem Empire in Asia and Africa was carved into a number of states. Moslem India is under British rule; Persia is independent; Syria and Arabia are under European control; Egypt is partially independent; and North Africa is under European rule. Turkey and Persia are now the only completely independent Mohammedan powers.

City life among the Saracens. Mohammedan civilization owed much to that of Persia, India, Constantinople, and Egypt. Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova were great centers of industry and of learning. Here silks and carpets were woven, excellent dyes were produced, and a kind of paper was invented. From their markets the Western world first learned the use of sugar, coffee, cotton, flax, hemp, and rice. In these cities were splendid examples of an architecture, half Byzantine, half Persian, with vaulted roofs, exquisite decorative patterns called "arabesques," spacious courtyards, and mysterious interiors with long dark corridors, wherein awaited romance — the poison cup, and the hidden dagger.

Bagdad. Wafted away on the magic carpet of the Arabian tale to its greatest city, a visitor might behold Bagdad against the Eastern night, gleaming white with its alabaster domes, its porphyry palaces, its slender minarets, its teeming streets, its libraries, and its bookshops. He might indeed be thrilled by the fascinating city of the *Thousand and One Nights*, that delightful collection of tales about Aladdin, Sindbad, and Ali-Baba. With the passing of night, one might herald the dawn with Omar Khayyám, famous in Moslem literature as the poet of Persia. In his *Rubáiyát*, written at the beginning of the twelfth century, he rejoices in the beauty of the Eastern scene:

Awake! for Morning in the Bowl of Night
Has flung the Stone that puts the Stars to flight:
And lo! the Hunter of the East has caught
The Sultan's Turret in a noose of Light.

Science and the "New Learning." The visitor might also find enjoyment in devoting himself to the science which was flourishing in Moslem cities. He might enter a university and study the Indian-Arabic numeral system which supplanted the

clumsy Roman numbers; the mathematics known as "algebra"; the new medicine; the new chemistry, and the use of the new mariner's compass, believed to have been invented by the Arabs. He might devote himself to philosophy, and study the works of Avicenna and Averroës, translators of and commentators on Aristotle, whose books were introduced into medieval Europe through Arabic translations.

Position of women. As in all the other countries of ancient and medieval times, there was much inequality in Moslem lands. Slavery existed, and women occupied a low position in society. Mohammed commands his followers: "Treat your women well; for they are with you as captives and prisoners." In the Moslem world, woman's education was neglected; her public appearance was frowned upon; she was compelled to wear the veil outside her home. A husband, on the other hand, could take unto himself as many as four wives. The practice of polygamy greatly hindered the progress of woman in the Mohammedan world. It is only since the World War that attempts have been made to free women from these age-long fetters.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What significance did the conversion of the Franks to the Catholic faith have for the development of the Frankish State?
2. Compare Charlemagne as warrior with Cæsar and Alexander; as statesman.
3. Compare the attitude toward crime of the Germanic law with that of a modern criminal code.
4. What was the "Holy Roman Empire"? Was it the successor of the Roman Empire?
5. Compare Constantinople with Rome as a missionary center.
6. What features of Islam are common to Christianity? To Judaism?
7. What were the causes for the western migration of the Saracens?
8. State the important steps in the growth of the Moslem Empire. State the important steps in its disruption.
9. Compare Constantinople, Rome, and Bagdad as regards location, business, population, architecture.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

CHARLEMAGNE. Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*; Robinson, *Readings in European History* (abridged ed.), pp. 65-78.

GERMANIC LAW. Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 176-88, 314-19; Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 59-67, 196-202; Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 81-85.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 89-121.

MOHAMMED. Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 135-47; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*; Ameer Ali, *Life and Teachings of Mohammed*; Margoliouth, *Mohammed*; Wells, *Outline of History*, II, pp. 1-16; Dibble, *Mohammed*.

ISLAM. Lane-Poole, *Speeches and Table Talk of the Prophet Mohammed*; *The Koran* (trans. by E. H. Palmer).

JUSTINIAN. Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 17-39; Bémont and Monod, pp. 99-114; Foord, *The Byzantine Empire*, chap. IV.

BYZANTINE LIFE. Diehl, pp. 100-09; *Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, pp. 32-57; *Faure (Pach), *History of Art*, II, pp. 207-30.

GENGHIS KHAN. Lamb, *Genghis Khan*.

THE NORMANS. Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, chap. II; *Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, II, pp. 48-83.

Map question: Point out the regions which successively broke away from Moslem control. (See map inserted after p. 84.)

CHAPTER IX

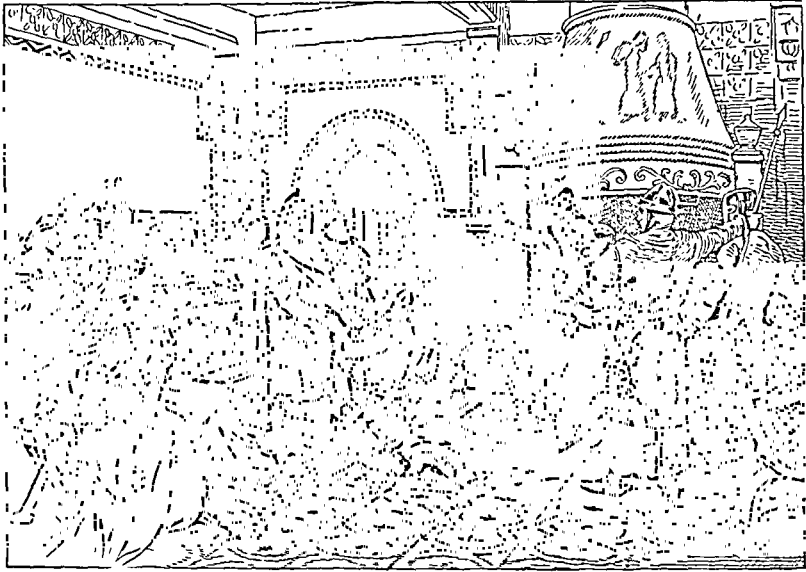
THE FEUDAL AGE

We travel the dusty road till the light of day is dim
And sunset shows us spires away on the world's rim.
JOHN MASEFIELD, *The Seekers*

Rise of feudalism. With the disruption of Charlemagne's empire and the period of invasion and general disorder that followed, organized government virtually disappeared in western Europe. As there was no strong central authority to safeguard life and property, a new arrangement was necessary to provide adequate protection. This new arrangement was feudalism. Its fundamental basis was an agreement whereby the fighting class agreed to maintain order and the agricultural class agreed to work the soil. Europe was cut up into many local units each of which could produce within itself practically everything essential to life; and each unit was protected by a local military chieftain at the head of an armed band.

The fief. Feudalism was not peculiar to Europe. In ancient Egypt and Assyria, in modern Japan until about two generations ago, in fact, wherever the state became incapable of protecting life and property, some such system arose. European feudalism traces its origin to the declining Roman Empire. Fear of the barbarians caused many to give their land to a powerful man in their community; in return, they were promised protection and were permitted to live on the land that was formerly their own. Others, for the good of their soul, gave their land to monasteries, but were permitted to live on it and to enjoy its income for the rest of their lives. Another process was going on among the Germans when they invaded the Empire. In return for the allegiance of their followers, the chieftains granted them estates in the conquered territories. The fief was a grant of land which combined the notion of protection with that of allegiance: the one who received the land, the vassal, swore to be faithful to him who gave it, the lord, or suzerain. The property generally passed down from father to eldest son according to a law of descent known as "primogeniture" (first born). The purpose of this

system of inheritance was to prevent a large fief from being split up. By elaborate legal devices, in use throughout Europe, vast estates could be so tied up that they remained in the same family for generations. In this way large landed estates were being amassed by a few people.



AN ACT OF HOMAGE

Vassalage and sub-infeudation. Great complexity was introduced into the feudal system by the practice of sub-infeudation. Thus, A, the lord, would grant a fief to B, his vassal; but B could, in turn, grant part of the fief to C, a third person. In such an instance the lord would find his lands held by a stranger, possibly an enemy, whom he had not selected, and upon whom he could not call for any services, for C owed allegiance to B, not to A. "The vassal of my vassal is not my vassal!" complained the lord.

The feudal pyramid in England. In England feudalism was simpler and more logically developed than on the Continent, because the first Norman King, William the Conqueror, compelled all lords and their vassals to take an oath of allegiance to him. From that time on, all land in England was held of the king, who was the highest feudal lord. By the time of the reign

of Henry II (1154-1189) the English land system was a pyramid. At the summit was the king. Immediately under him were the "barons," or the great lords. Below them were various grades of military tenants; and at the base of the pyramid were the agricultural workers, serfs and free peasants. Had sub-infeudation been allowed, the pyramid from apex to base would have been extended indefinitely, and the king would have had little actual power. The abolition of sub-infeudation had the effect of shortening the steps between the man on top and the man at the bottom. This made for a stronger nationalism in England than that on the Continent. Neither in England nor on the Continent, however, did the mass of people owe allegiance to the king; the manor was their country, and its lord, their sovereign.

THE FIEF AS A POLICE UNIT

The feudal contract. At present, the government provides the police force to keep order in the community and an army to defend it against attack. In the feudal age this protection was secured by means of a private contract entered into by private parties. To-day, when one man transfers property to another, the new title is recorded by public officials. In the feudal age, the transfer of property was preceded by the ceremony of "homage" and "fealty," the outward evidence of the contract between lord and vassal. The latter did homage when he placed his hands into those of his lord, and promised to be his "man." He took an oath, called "fealty," that he would defend him "with life and limb, body and chattels," and that he would render the services required of him. The contract bound the lord to give military aid to his vassal at all times. If the latter was unfaithful to his part of the bargain, the lord might hale him before his court on the charge of not living up to his contract.

Feudal revenue. The lord also got revenue from his vassal, but only on certain occasions: to pay ransom when he himself was captured; to pay the expenses for the ceremony of knighting his eldest son; and for the dowry of his eldest daughter. When a vassal died, his heir had to pay a fee, a sort of inheritance tax, to the lord before he could take possession of the land. When the heir was a minor, he became a "ward" of the lord, who enjoyed the income from his land until the heir came of age. In case the ward was a young woman, the lord had the right to select a

husband for her; if she refused the suitor, she had to pay a large sum to the lord for the privilege of marrying a man that she liked.

The knight. There was so much warfare that, naturally, a fighting class arose. It was of two grades: low-born "men-at-arms" who fought on foot and for pay; and high-born "knights" who fought on horseback and for honor. The knight became the symbol of all that was brave and noble in the feudal age. This warrior on horseback was a living fortress, clad in shining mail, shield on arm, and lance in hand. He always came of a "good" family, by which was meant that he belonged to the "noble" or landowning class. His upbringing and education were strikingly different from those of a youth of to-day. His father would have bitterly resented having his children taught to read or write:

Thanks to Saint Bothan, son of mine,
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line;
So sware I.

As a boy, the son of a noble became a "page" in the household of a knight, where he was taught courtly manners. When he grew older, at about fifteen, he rose to be a "squire," and was taught the use of weapons and the management of a war horse. He accompanied the knight on journeys and fought beside him in battle. At about twenty, the squire underwent the ceremony of knighthood. Some warrior of particular distinction in the community would give him the "accolade," a tap on the neck or shoulder, saying, "Be thou a good knight!" Knighthood was a sort of fraternity of the upper classes, and included kings as well as landless adventurers.

Chivalry. To be a good knight meant faithfulness to feudal duties and the observance of a code of honor called "chivalry."¹ Above all, a knight must be brave, "first to strike and last to give over," ever ready for war, for adventure, and for the game of "jousting." The last was a sort of duel fought by knights at great sporting events, called "tournaments," which were very popular in those days. "Risk all and let the game be played," ran a feudal song, which illustrates the knight's intense interest in the game of war.

¹ The words "chivalry" and "cavalier" are derived from a Latin word meaning "horse." To be on a horse in the feudal age meant elevation from the common lot

tackers to hidden archers, boiling oil, seething pitch, and molten lead. In case of a siege, the castle was generally supplied with provisions for about six months.

Fighting as a business. In the feudal age fighting was a business. War was not exceptional, but a normal condition. It was not, however, war between nations, as in modern times, but private war between rival lords, or between kings and lords, or between town and lords, or between lords and peasants. Raids by robber knights filled up the short intervals of peace. Fighting was carried on chiefly at the expense of the peasant, whose land was laid waste by countless devastations; or of the merchant, whose wares were seized. However cruel the warfare of the period, it did not engage many, only the professional fighters; the mass of people went quietly about their business. Armies were very small, and battles were really gang fights on an elaborate scale. Fewer people lost their lives in all the wars of the feudal age than were lost in the World War.

THE PEASANTRY

The free peasant. The feudal system consisted of two distinct parts: one was concerned with the relationship between the larger and smaller landowners; and the other with the relationship between the landed aristocrats and the peasantry. When a free peasant entered into a contract with a lord, he was given the right to work a farm in return for "dues and services." He had to give the lord a fixed amount of his produce as dues, and he had to work on the lord's fields a definite number of days in the year as services. The obligations of peasant and lord are well described in *Piers the Ploughman*, a famous fourteenth-century English poem. Piers says to his lord:

I will swynk [toil] and sweat and sow for us both,
And labor for love of you all of my lifetime,
In covenant that you keep Holy Church and me
Safe from wasters and wicked men who would destroy us.

The serf. Not all the peasants were freemen; some were unfree, and were known as "serfs." They belonged, not to the lord, but to his estate. They were rooted to the soil, and could neither leave the land nor be evicted from it. When the estate was sold, the serfs were sold along with it, like the buildings and

the cattle. The dues and services of the serf might be unlimited. There were various degrees of serfdom as there were various degrees of freedom. Those lowest in the scale might have to surrender their entire crop to the lord and work on his fields most of the time. "The overlord," says a feudal writer, "may deprive them of all they possess, and may confine them in prison whenever it pleases him, whether justly or unjustly, and is only held responsible to God." However, in most cases, the custom of the manor limited the amount of dues and services rendered by the serf.

The manor. The manor was the lord's feudal estate. It was a farming community which produced virtually all the necessities of life. A typical manor¹ would have a little village in the center, consisting of rows of thatched cottages on either side of a main street. Here dwelt the peasants. At some distance there was the "big house" of the lord, the church, and the "demesne" (domain) land, or the lord's fields. The most striking feature of the manor was the three great open fields, cut into strips, separated from one another by a ridge of turf. A single villager did not farm on a single strip, or even in one field. He held a number of strips scattered in the three fields. The distribution of these strips was made on the principle of giving every member of the village community some of the fertile land and some of the poor land. Farming was carried on under the "three-field" system; only two of the fields would be ploughed each year; the third was left fallow. It had been discovered that if land was continuously worked, its fertility would become exhausted; hence every field lay fallow every third year. Modern scientific farming makes constant use of all land; fertility is kept up by means of rotation of crops and artificial fertilizers. In every manor there were also the "commons"—pasture lands—to which every villager had the right to send his cattle, and forests in which he had the right to gather wood. All the peasants, free and serf, formed a kind of coöperative society, called the "village community." They worked together and regulated their common affairs through councils of elders.

Manor life. The manor was a world unto itself and the peasant lived in ignorance of the rest of mankind. His life had a wholesome simplicity, but it was marred by superstition and the fear of

¹ See plan on p. 339, Part II.

oppression. The peasant's system of farming was backward and his crops were poor. Rarely did he produce enough to satisfy his hunger and the greed of the lord.

FEUDAL JUSTICE

Manor law. The lord of the manor was not only a policeman; he was also a judge. He, or his representative, presided at a court which decided disputes between his military vassals and those between the peasants on his estate. In the feudal world, although the law varied widely, there were four fundamental modes of trial: (1) by witnesses; (2) by oath; (3) by means of the ordeal; and (4) by battle.

Trial by witnesses. When a man was confronted in court by witnesses who accused him of wrongdoing, he could bring forth counter-witnesses to assert his innocence. If the difference could not be composed, the only solution was to have witnesses from each side fight it out.

Trial by oath. When a man was sued for debt, he might bring witnesses into court to swear, not to the truth of his claims and assertions, but to his general good character. The more witnesses, often relatives, that one could produce, the stronger his case. This system was called "wager of law," and it was not formally abolished in England until 1836.

The ordeal. When a defendant could not produce satisfactory witnesses, he might abide by the judgment of God, known as the "Ordeal." The defendant would be cast into a pool. If he swam or came to the top, he was guilty; if he sank, he was innocent! If the defendant was a clergyman, the test was easier; he was given a morsel of barley to swallow. If he succeeded in swallowing it without difficulty, he was innocent; if he choked and became black in the face, he was guilty.

Trial by battle. Sometimes the two parties to a suit fought it out or hired others to fight for them. The victor was declared to be right! Trial by battle existed in English law as late as 1818, when a man, charged with murder, challenged his prosecutor to a "judicial duel." Parliament thereupon suppressed this feudal custom.

Uncertainty of feudal justice. These systems of trial were not punishments for the guilty; they were merely ways of finding out who was guilty; and when that was discovered, speedy punish-

ment followed. Every feudal court observed its own law. Because the feudal law was uncertain and because it protected the strong against the weak, many resorted to the "king's law," a new system of jurisprudence that was arising.

CIVILIZATION IN THE FEUDAL AGE

A noteworthy evolution in human culture took place in the feudal age. It was the coming of the mother tongues which in time were to develop into national languages and produce great national literatures.

The Romance and Germanic languages. Latin persisted as the language of cultivated people, of writers, of lawyers, and of churchmen, during the feudal age. By its side, however, new popular dialects appeared. In the territory which had formed part of the Roman Empire, the spoken Latin of the common people differed markedly from the classic Latin of Cicero's day. The common people paid little attention to its complicated inflections and grammatical rules. The languages which developed from the spoken Latin are the "Romance languages": French, Italian, Spanish, Rumanian, and Portuguese. The original dialects of the German barbarians outside of the Roman Empire developed into German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic.

French. Of all the Romance dialects, French was the first to be recognized as a distinct language and the first to be used in literature. The Franks dropped their Germanic speech and gradually adopted the language of the people that they had conquered. By the tenth century, French differed so widely from the written Latin that it could no longer be regarded merely as mispronounced Latin. While the different regions of France continued to speak different dialects, the dialect of Paris, in the fifteenth century, became the standard literary language of the country.

German. German did not make as rapid strides as French in developing into a literary language. In spite of many dialects, there was, by the sixth century, a general distinction between the High German of South Germany and the Low German of North Germany. The latter was closely related to Dutch and to English. High German was destined to become the national tongue. After the eleventh century it made a marked advance as a literary

language. Poetry, history, and even law no longer despised the vernacular. However, it was not until the sixteenth century that German was recognized as a national language.

English. The development of the English language shows the influence of the various racial elements in that island. The Britons spoke Celtic, and the Romans, Latin. But Anglo-Saxon, a German dialect, triumphed over both, and became general in Britain, except in Scotland, in Wales, and in Cornwall, where Celtic maintained itself. The Norman-French language came with the Norman Conquest. For several centuries there were two languages; Anglo-Saxon, spoken by the masses, and Norman-French, spoken by the upper classes. By the fourteenth century both had fused and become English. This fusion is seen in the works of the poet Chaucer and of the preacher Wyclif. The English of modern times is half German in its origin and half Romance.

Latin. Although there were many dialects, there was only one literary language, Latin. It was used in the church services, in the courts of justice, in learned conversation, in the schools, in diplomacy, and especially in the works of learned men. Until the fifteenth century nearly all the books were written in Latin. Educated men of whatever nationality found in Latin a common language.

The literature of chivalry. Early literature in the mother tongues deals largely with chivalry, which softened the brutal life of the times. It taught, above all, respect and consideration for women and for religion. A chivalrous knight must be ever ready to risk his life at the behest of his lady fair and at the command of the Church. Courtly bearing, gracious manners, gay and witty conversation, were the ideals of chivalrous behavior.

A literature of chivalry arose with the troubadours of southern France and with the minnesingers of Germany, wandering minstrels who entertained the castle with tales of bold deeds and the love of fair women. Four famous epics have come down to us from the feudal age. From France came the *Song of Roland*, celebrating the exploits of a brave knight in Charlemagne's campaign against the Moors. From England came the Celtic romances of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Many of these narratives are contained in Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, wherein he tells of the model knight Arthur, of

the pure Galahad, and of Launcelot, who is called "the kindest man that ever struck with sword" and "the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies . . . and the sternest knight to . . . mortal foe that ever put spear in rest." From Germany came the story of *Par-sifal*. It is a beautiful tale of a young knight who failed to speak a word of kindness to a suffering man, and who in turn was made to suffer and to repent. In the end he wins the Holy Grail, the sacred vessel which had held the blood of Christ. Richard Wagner has made tragically vivid in his operas the Rhine legends of the *Nibelungenlied*, which depict the awful doom which befalls all who pos-



COSTUMES OF LADIES DURING THE
LATER MIDDLE AGES

sess the magic ring stolen from the three mermaids of the Rhine.

Position of woman. The literature of the period sheds light on the position of women of the upper classes. The best tradition required that the ideal woman be fair. In a delightful medieval poem, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, the lover sings to his beloved, snuggled in her leafy bower:

I can see you, little star,
That the moon draws through the air,
Nicolette is where you are,
My own love with the blonde hair.

The romantic ideal required that women be tall and slender in body, and modest, dignified, and meek in conduct. Just as all women did not attain this ideal, so all men did not pursue the ideal of chivalrous conduct. A wife's property and person belonged to her husband. He might beat her, and, in some back-

ward communities, even sell her. On the other hand, women were helpmates and companions. The baron's wife knew how to defend the castle in her husband's absence; and the peasant's wife did a man's share of the work by her husband's side in the fields.

The ideal of womanhood is seen in the great veneration of the Virgin Mary. To her were erected many hundreds of beautiful shrines, to which came the restless knight, the weary peasant, the poor, the weak, and the friendless. A song of the twelfth century expresses this sentiment:

We have no strength to struggle longer,
For our bonds are more and stronger
Than our hearts can bear!
You who rest the heavy-laden,
You who lead lost souls to Heaven,
Burst the hunter's snare!



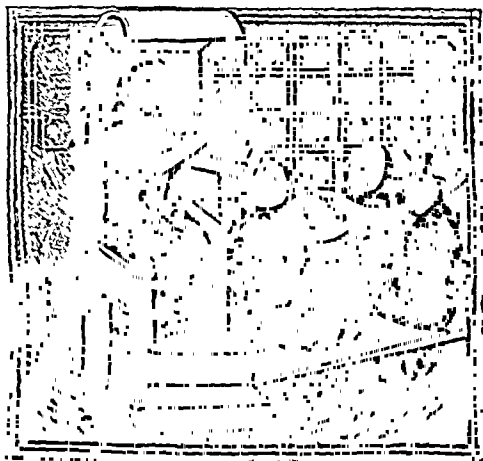
SCHOLASTIC DISCIPLINE

From a carving in Sherborne Minster, England

Rise of the universities. The great contribution of the Middle Ages to education was the university. In the time of Charlemagne bishops and abbots had established schools in which elementary instruction could be obtained. But in the centuries of disorder that followed, there was little learning and less schooling. By the beginning of the twelfth century, however, a wave of enthusiasm for learning swept over western Europe. Town life began to flourish, and throngs of young men, from every quarter,

flocked to the larger towns to sit at the feet of learned teachers. A new institution of learning developed, the university,¹ the most famous being the University of Paris which appeared early in the thirteenth century. A university was a corporation of teachers organized as a guild like a medieval guild of merchants or craftsmen.² The students were like apprentices to their masters, the teachers. In order to gain the privilege of teaching, the student had first to pass examinations for the "Bachelor of Arts" degree. Then, upon his completion of the university course, he had to pass a severe examination to get the degree of "Master of Arts." He was now a "master" and a member of the university.

The new student. During the Middle Ages the relations between the university and the student were much less formal than in modern times. At first there were no imposing buildings. In Paris, lectures were given in rooms hired in the Latin Quarter, where the students squatted on the straw-strewn floor while the teacher explained the text. If the students were dissatisfied with a course or with a teacher, they moved in a body to another town. Oxford appears to have owed its existence to a migration of English students from Paris; and Cambridge, to a desertion from Oxford. The student body regarded itself as a fraternal order, possessing some of the privileges of the clergy. The students were a roistering lot, and they often came into conflict with the unsympathetic townspeople, who regarded them as clownish minstrels and nuisances. Young men of all nationalities and of all types were to be found in the universities.



A UNIVERSITY LECTURE, EARLY
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From manuscript in British Museum

¹ "University" is derived from the Latin *universitas*, corporation.

² See pp. 125-27.

This our sect doth entertain
Just men and unjust ones;
Halt, lame, weak of limb or brain,
Strong men, and robust ones;
Those who flourish in their pride,
Those whom age makes stupid;
Frigid folk and hot folk fried
In the fires of Cupid.

The student songs of the Middle Ages show that, like the young college men of to-day, their thoughts were not always on Aristotle.

Courses of study. In the university it was necessary to study the Seven Liberal Arts, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Upon the completion of these courses, the student, if he wished, specialized in theology, medicine, or law. The University of Paris, the most famous of all the universities, taught chiefly theology; Salerno, in southern Italy, taught medicine; and Bologna, in northern Italy, taught law.

Scholasticism. Theology was regarded as the "Queen of the Sciences" and was the leading subject of study. Theologians were interested in proving the truths of Christianity and in answering the questions concerning the nature of God and of the soul. Logic, the system of reasoning developed among the Greek philosophers, was now employed to prove the doctrines of Christianity. The works of Aristotle were greatly admired, and his logical methods of reasoning were employed to prove the truth of Christian doctrines. The combination of theology and logic was known as "scholasticism," and its ardent followers, as "schoolmen."

Abélard (1079-1142). Among the schoolmen there is no figure more fascinating and courageous than that of Abélard. About the year 1100 he came from Brittany to Paris, where he soon became known as a remarkable teacher. Thousands of students came to sit at his feet. He was learned, skillful in debate, witty, and gay. Like Socrates, Abélard was a passionate seeker after the truth. In his textbook, *Yea and Nay*, he lists a number of contradictory religious ideas, and leaves it to the reader to decide for himself which are correct. "By doubting we are led to inquiry, and from inquiry we perceive the truth," Abélard main-

tained. In his day the doctrine of the theologians was: "I believe in order that I may know," namely that faith is superior to knowledge. Abélard bravely urged that reason should come before faith. His method of free inquiry was far in advance of his day, and he was relentlessly persecuted by orthodox churchmen.

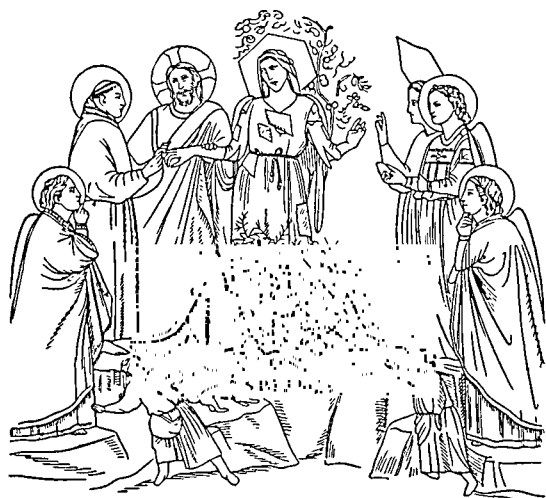
Saint Thomas Aquinas (1227-74). The greatest of all the scholastics was an Italian monk who taught theology in the University of Paris. His famous book *Summa Theologiæ* (*Compendium of Theology*) is a complete and authoritative statement of Catholic doctrines. It aimed to be "for human thought what the Holy Roman Empire was for the bodies, and the Holy Catholic Church was for the souls of men." To Aquinas the universe was a logical unified system with God as its head. He, more than any other schoolman, desired to embrace in one system of theology, the whole of human knowledge and understanding.

Revival of Roman law. The revival of Roman law was as important to jurisprudence and politics as was the revival of Aristotle to philosophy and theology. Early in the eleventh century the Roman law, as set forth in the *Digest* of Justinian, began to be studied by students who flocked to Bologna from all over western Europe. Important commentaries were written which, in the course of time, supplanted the feudal laws and were accepted by all the nations in western Europe, except England. Kings found support in Roman law for their claims to absolutism, which paved the way for the decline of the feudal barons.

The making of a book. As compared with modern conditions, the scholar in this period was handicapped by the shortage of books. When a book is written to-day, thousands of copies are struck off rapidly by a printing press. During the Middle Ages the author turned over his manuscript to copyists who wrote out by hand on parchment every copy of the book published. Often books were illustrated with miniatures, small hand-painted pictures, and the borders of the pages were illuminated in brilliant colors. Books were, therefore, both expensive and scarce. Since manuscripts were written in Latin, copyists had to have a knowledge of that language, and the production of books became the monopoly of the clergy, who were the only educated class of that period.

The new monasticism: Saint Francis (1181-1226). A monastic revival took place during the thirteenth century which is as-

sociated with the name of St. Francis of Assisi, the most saintly character of the Middle Ages. As a young man, Francis cast aside



SAINT FRANCIS
MARRIAGE WITH POVERTY
(Giotto)

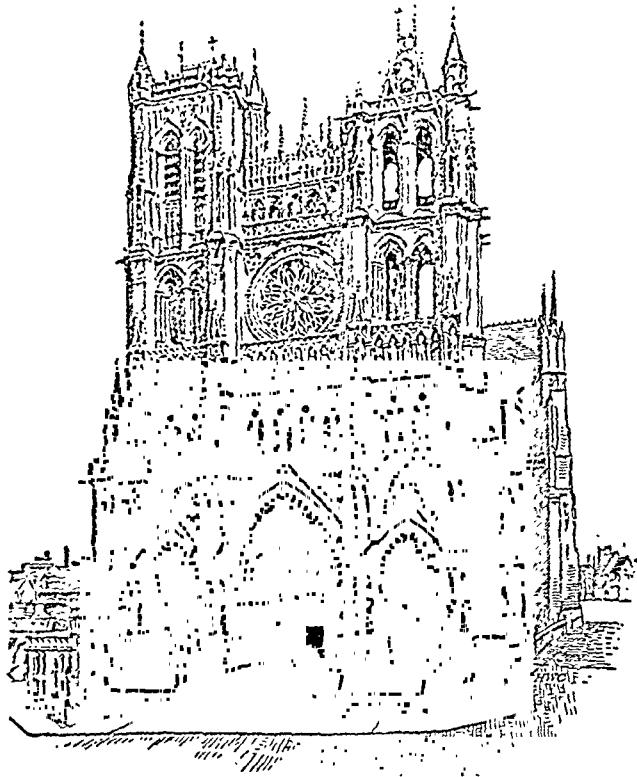
a career of wealth in order to follow in the footsteps of Christ. He ministered to the leper, to the poor, and to the social outcast. There was no poverty which he did not suffer, no earthly pleasure of which he did not deprive himself. A simple, genuine soul, Saint Francis won converts by the thousand to his way of life. His followers were known as the "friars," or brethren. They wandered throughout Europe preaching their

message of service and brotherhood. In time they were organized into a powerful order, known as the "Franciscans," with monasteries in many European lands.

A similar order of wandering friars was founded by Saint Dominic, a Spaniard. The Dominicans were called the "preaching friars," and were especially trained to meet the arguments of heretics. They were chiefly responsible for the Inquisition, an ecclesiastic court that appeared first in the thirteenth century to combat the growth of heresy.

Gothic architecture. The cathedral was the highest expression of the religious life of the feudal age. Rich and poor, baron and serf, gave freely of their time, money, and labor to the building of these great city churches, which often took several generations. Cathedral-building gave rise to a new type of architecture, known as the "Gothic," which first arose in France during the twelfth century. The term "Gothic" was originally used by way of ridicule, and signified "barbaric." The walls of a Gothic cathedral were light, hence supported by "flying buttresses" outside

the building, and inside by ribbed vaulting. There were many large windows, made of wonderfully stained glass. Inside, the cathedral was profusely ornamented with pictures of holy scenes and with statues of holy persons. Outside, it had many pointed



CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS, WEST FRONT

arches and tall spires. The lofty Gothic church has a modern counterpart in the new stepped skyscraper of our large cities. Both tower majestically in space, lifting the soul of man upward and onward to higher things.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why were the lines from Masfield selected to introduce this chapter?
2. "The central institution of feudalism is the fief." Explain. Explain these terms: *vassal*, *serf*, *suzerain*, *primogeniture*, *ward*, *knight*.
3. Compare the transfer of land to-day with that in feudal times. Could it be said that the lord *owned* his estate? Compare feudal tenure with modern ownership.
4. What is subinfeudation? Was it a necessary part of feudalism? How did it weaken the feudal structure?
5. Compare a tenant to-day with a tenant of feudal times as regards obligations to the landlord.
6. "The castle makes the feudal ages possible." Discuss.
7. Describe a medieval manor.
8. Do you think that manor court procedure was as likely to lead to just decisions as our modern methods? Discuss.
9. State the steps in the development of the French language. State the steps in the development of the English language. Why is it easier for us to-day to read Shakespeare than it is Chaucer?
10. Which of the famous medieval epics have you read? How does it illustrate the ideals of the age of chivalry?
11. Would you have liked student life in a medieval university? Compare conditions with those to-day.
12. Why was the study of Latin so important to scholars in the late Middle Ages?
13. Why do you consider Abélard a great teacher? Why Socrates? Why William James?
14. What points in common has the cathedral with a modern skyscraper? What points of difference?
15. Compare the life of a woman in the feudal age with one in ancient Greece and in ancient Rome.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

FEUDAL WARFARE. Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 131-48; Tappan, *When Knights were Bold*, pp. 53-74.

PEASANT LIFE. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, pp. 31-56; Luchaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus*, pp. 381-420; *Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 332-65; *Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, pp. 132-50; Davis, *Life on a Medieval Barony*, pp. 253-312; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, selections 157, 158, 160.

WOMEN IN THE FEUDAL AGE. Luchaire, chap. XI; Davis, pp. 70-113; Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 31-45; *Jarrett, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages*, pp. 69-94; *Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, chaps. VI, X-XIII.

THE TROUBADOUR AND MEDIEVAL LITERATURE. Smith, *The Troubadours at Home*, I, pp. 228-39; II, pp. 5-12; *Aucassin and Nicolette* (Everyman's Library); *Romance of the Rose* (Temple Classics); Davis, pp. 137-46.

BOOKS AND LIBRARIES. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 70-92.

UNIVERSITY LIFE. Haskins, *Rise of the Universities*; Rait, *Life in a Medieval University*, pp. 1-40; Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 339-59; *Transcripts and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*, II, no. 3.

ABÉLARD. McCabe, *Abélard*; *Henry Adams, pp. 285-319.

THE CATHEDRAL. Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 352-63; Davis, pp. 393-403; *Henry Adams, chaps. I, IV, V, VII, VIII.

CHAPTER X

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE POWER OF THE CHURCH

THE CHURCH AND OBEDIENCE

The clergy. The Church Militant, the grand army of religion, rode roughshod over the narrow boundaries of feudal manors. At its head was the commanding figure of the Pope. Below him in the hierarchy, or Catholic officialdom, were the archbishops and the bishops who received their authority directly from him. These officials were the heads of Catholic communities in the cities, which were the capitals of the "dioceses" into which the Catholic world was divided; an archbishop was the head of a large diocese, and a bishop, of a smaller one. Each diocese was subdivided into smaller districts, called "parishes," which were ministered by the parish priest, who received his authority directly from the bishop. The priesthood belonged to two distinct groups, the secular and the regular clergy. The former, bishops and parish priests, lived in the world (*sæculum*); and the latter, the monks, lived in monasteries according to a "rule" (*regula*), under the direct authority of an abbot. Over them all was the Pope, whose authority reached the humblest priest in the most obscure village.

The sacraments. Supporting the claims of the Church upon the obedience of all people, was the doctrine of salvation. According to the Church, seven sacraments, or sacred acts, were vital to all in obtaining salvation: baptism at birth; confirmation in youth; matrimony in maturity;¹ penance for the sinner; ordination, or Holy Orders, for the prospective priest; Holy Eucharist, for all; and, finally, extreme unction for the dying. To the bishop alone was given the privilege of performing two sacraments, confirmation and ordination.

The church courts. The clergy had great power in the community, not only in matters religious, but also in matters worldly. Ecclesiastical courts judged every one in cases pertaining to marriage, inheritance, and to contracts in which an oath was taken.

¹ This sacrament applied only to those who married.

A still greater privilege, "benefit of clergy," gave to the ecclesiastical courts complete jurisdiction over priests in all cases. As the civil courts grew in power, they resented more and more the immunity enjoyed by the most influential persons in the community. So widespread was the power of the church courts that a system of jurisprudence developed, known as "canon law," which was largely based upon the principles and methods of Roman law. There were higher courts of appeal, culminating in the court in Rome, which was the supreme court of the Church.

Excommunication and interdict. The supremacy of the Church during medieval times was strikingly shown by its power of excommunication and interdict. When an offender was excommunicated, he was consigned to eternal damnation. He

became an outcast from the Church and from society, and by the law of the State he lost his civil rights and forfeited his property. His very life itself was in imminent danger when the protection of the law was withdrawn. The interdict laid the ban of the Church on whole communities, or countries, whose rulers disobeyed the Church. The priests closed the churches and withheld the sacraments from every one. The following is a vivid description of the results of an interdict: "The people were forbidden to enter the churches for the purpose of worshiping God, and the doors were locked. The music of the bells was silenced and the bodies of the dead lay unburied and putrefying, striking the beholders with fear and horror. The pleasures of marriage were denied to those desiring them and the solemn joys of the church services were no longer known."



A BISHOP ORDAINING A PRIEST

From a twelfth-century manuscript. The bishop wears the miter, a headdress, and holds in his left hand the pastoral staff, or crozier, the symbol of authority and jurisdiction. His right hand is extended in blessing over the priest's head

THE CRUSADES

Military pilgrimages. The crusades were the great adventure of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were a distinctly religious adventure, an armed pilgrimage. Pilgrimages to the shrines of saints or to other holy places were very frequent in the Middle Ages. Many pilgrims undertook the long journey to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. When the Holy Land came into the possession of a hostile power, the Seljuk Turks, these occasional pilgrimages took the form of large military expeditions, organized as feudal armies, for the purpose of wresting Jerusalem from the Moslem.

Pressure of East against West. The crusades were in one sense the resistance which the West put forth against the age-long pressure of Eastern races. It has already been described¹ how the Seljuk Turk wrested almost the whole of Asia Minor from the Byzantine Empire. In 1095 the Byzantine Emperor appealed to the Pope for aid. In that year Pope Urban II addressed a great council of clergy and nobles at Clermont, in France, and urged his hearers to take up arms to expel "the Turks from regions belonging to our kin." Later stories told that Urban exhorted the knights to "fight for Jerusalem" and that the assembled host met the clarion call with a single voice: "It is the will of God!"

Motives of the crusaders. As in other movements all sorts of people were attracted to the crusades from all sorts of motives. The deeply religious took up the cross in order to free land, "upon which the feet of the Saviour" had trod, from the polluting infidel. Others turned to the East because of bad economic conditions at home. The "Gorgeous East" was the land of promise where fortunes could be won by the adventurous. "Your numbers overflow, and hence you devour one another in wars. Let these discords cease," Pope Urban is reported to have told the assembly at Clermont. More than anything else the crusades appealed to the adventurous knight whose valorous deeds in Palestine were applauded by all Europe and consecrated by the Church. He might "wade ankle-deep in blood, and then at nightfall kneel, sobbing for very joy, at the altar of the Sepulcher; for was he not red from the winepress of the Lord?"

The early crusades. The threat of the Moslems against the Byzantine Empire and the maltreatment of Christian pilgrims

¹ See p. 88.

roused Christian Europe and led to the first crusade. Thousands of crusaders, led by famous knights, marched for months toward the East. They invaded Asia and, in 1099, captured Jerusalem, slaughtering many of the Moslems. The Holy City was now in Christian hands. The second crusade was called forth by a Moslem uprising against the Christians in Syria, but the crusaders who arrived in Asia were annihilated. In 1187 the Moslems recaptured Jerusalem, after less than a century of Christian occupation. All Christendom was aroused to fury. Its three greatest rulers, King Philip Augustus of France, King Richard I of England, and the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, undertook the third crusade. Frederick was drowned in Asia Minor. Philip could not get along with Richard, and returned to France before the fighting was over. Richard, who won the title of "Lion-Hearted" for his gallant exploits, was left alone to fight great Moslem armies under a famous leader, Saladin. Richard finally gave up fighting and signed a treaty which permitted Christians to visit Jerusalem without paying tribute.

The later crusades. Early in the thirteenth century another crusade took place which had curious results. The crusaders gathered in Venice in order to invade Egypt, which was now their objective, not Palestine. Being unable to pay the Venetians for transportation, they captured the seaport of Zara on the Adriatic, which they gave to Venice instead of money. In 1204 they were transported, not to Egypt, but to Constantinople which they attacked and plundered for the benefit of Venice, which was the commercial rival of Constantinople. This event cast discredit on the crusades. Several more followed, but they were both insignificant and unsuccessful.

Results of the crusades. The crusades failed in that Jerusalem remained in Moslem hands, but they had an important influence upon the life of Europe. For several centuries, great numbers who before had hardly left the confines of their manor were transported to an entirely new world and marveled thereat. The Christian from the West found the "infidel" a man of superior culture as well as an enemy to be respected. He was enthusiastic about the products of the Orient, sugar, maize, lemon, melon, cotton, muslin, and the spices. The returned crusaders created a demand in Europe for these products, and powerfully stimulated trade with the Orient and the imitation of Oriental goods by

Europeans. More than anything else, the crusades were a great romantic adventure, filled with extraordinary enthusiasm and bravery. The romance and heroism of the crusaders were preserved in the literature of western Europe, and lingered until the nineteenth century, when Sir Walter Scott, in *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman* revived for modern readers the pageantry and adventure of the crusading era.

RIVALRY OF SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL RULERS

Election of the Pope. While the people were crusading, their rulers were engaged in bitter rivalry. The Pope was the leading representative of the spiritual power, and the Holy Roman Emperor, of the civil power. In theory pope and emperor had each his own sphere of power; one ruled men's souls, the other, men's bodies. This ideal division of power never worked in practice. Actually, under a strong pope and a weak emperor, the power of the Church expanded; under a strong emperor and a weak pope, the former was dominant. When both pope and emperor were high-spirited and ambitious, the clash of their personalities seriously marred the peace of Christendom. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Emperor dictated the election of the Popes. This situation led to a decree by a church council, in 1059, that, henceforth, the right of choosing the Pope should belong exclusively to the cardinals, a "college" of high church dignitaries, appointed by the Pope.

Conflict over investiture. The struggle between pope and emperor arose over the question of lay investiture. This was a ceremony in which kings or feudal lords conferred upon the newly elected bishop the church lands as his fief and the ring and the staff as his symbols of office. The lord frequently let it be known beforehand whom he wished to be chosen; as he possessed the right to withhold the land from his clerical vassal, he could virtually dictate the candidate. The Church felt that the monks should freely elect their abbot, and the clergy of the diocese their bishop. The issue was met by a vigorous churchman named Hildebrand, who upon becoming Pope took the name Gregory VII (1073-85). He boldly asserted his supremacy over all earthly powers. "The Roman bishop alone," he declared, "is properly called universal. . . . He alone may depose bishops and reinstate them. . . . The Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by

all princes. . . . He may depose emperors. A decree of his may be annulled by no one; he alone may annul the decrees of all."

Gregory VII and Henry IV. This declaration was promptly followed by a decree forbidding emperor and lord to invest a churchman. Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, bitterly resented what he felt was an attack upon his prerogatives. He denounced Gregory as "no Pope, but false monk," and demanded that he relinquish the chair of Saint Peter. "Come down, come down to be damned throughout all eternity." Gregory took up the challenge, deposed Henry, excommunicated him, and freed his subjects from their allegiance. Henry was soon facing a formidable rebellion of his subjects, and he therefore decided to submit. In 1077 he appeared as a "penitent" in Canossa, in Italy, where Gregory was staying. He was forgiven by the Pope. "Canossa" became a symbol of the triumph of the Church over the civil powers. At the Concordat of Worms, in 1122, the problem of the control over church offices was settled by a compromise. The Church alone was to choose the candidate for ecclesiastical office and give him the symbols of his authority; and the feudal lord was then to confer upon him the lands and privileges belonging to that office.

Innocent III and the Papal Empire. During the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), the power of the Catholic Church reached its zenith. "As the moon receives its light from the sun,"



POPE INNOCENT III

From a mosaic in the Capella Conti, Villa
Catena, Rome

said Innocent, "and is inferior to the sun, so do kings receive all their glory and dignity from the Holy See." When King Philip Augustus of France divorced his wife and remarried, Innocent nullified the divorce and placed France under an interdict. Philip submitted. When King John of England refused to accept the Pope's appointee as Archbishop of Canterbury, he was promptly excommunicated. John submitted, and accepted England and Ireland as fiefs from the Pope. In Germany the latter intervened in the selection of candidates to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. During the thirteenth century there existed in Europe what was virtually a Papal Empire. The Emperor and the various kings had become lieutenants of the Pope; and their countries, his provinces.

Decline of the Papal Empire. However, the nations were growing in consciousness, and their rulers, in power. This situation boded ill for the popes. During the fourteenth century the latter were often humiliated by the kings. In 1296 Pope Boniface VIII forbade laymen to tax church property. In retaliation, King Philip the Fair of France refused to allow money to be sent from France to Italy. The Pope was greatly humiliated by Philip. At the latter's orders a band of soldiers stormed the papal palace at Anagni, near Rome, and made Boniface a prisoner. Philip then moved the papal court to Avignon, a town just outside the French frontier of those days. For seventy years (1309-77), the popes lived away from Rome in what has been termed "Babylonian Captivity."¹ The return of the Pope to Rome was followed by a serious struggle, known as the "Great Schism" (1378-1417), in which a line of French popes asserted their legitimate election against a line of Italian popes. Although the breach was healed by the election of Martin V (1418), the cause of church unity was greatly impaired.

EARLY REVOLT WITHIN THE CHURCH

Dawn of religious revolt. Although kings might oppose popes, and rival popes might denounce each other, all were solidly united in opposing heretics, who threatened the unity of the Catholic faith. As religion was a matter of the greatest concern to the people of the Middle Ages, heresy was regarded as the most hein-

¹ An expression taken from the Bible which refers to the time when the Jews were captives "by the waters of Babylon."

ous of all crimes. It was punished, in extreme cases, with the severest penalty, death at the stake. This was not an unpopular punishment. In an age of harsh criminal penalties, the masses warmly supported the Church in persecuting heretics. People sincerely believed that to be merciful to those who rejected the faith was to be disobedient to God. The monks were diligent in rounding up heretics and reporting them to the authorities. Special officials, known as "inquisitors" (from the Latin word meaning an investigator), sat as judges in a court known as the "Inquisition." Persons suspected of heresy were examined by this court, and were often tortured in order to force a confession from them. If adjudged guilty, the culprit would be turned over by the Church to the State to be punished. The famous trial of Saint Joan of Arc is a notable example of this form of procedure.

Persistence of heresy. In spite of dreadful punishment, the Church never succeeded in suppressing heresy entirely. From the days of the Arians in the fourth century, heresy in one form or another continued to spring up, now in one place, now in another. Never was heresy more widespread than in the thirteenth century, at the very time when the Church was supreme in both civil and religious matters. Many devout Christians were shocked at the wealth of the great baron-bishops, the virtual sale of church offices to the highest bidders, the lower moral standard in private life of some of the clergy, and the organized corruption pervading the system.

Heretics as reformers. The heretics preached a return to the simple life and pure faith of the early Christians. A sect of heretics in southern France, called "Waldensians," after their leader, Waldo, advocated a simple life and a simple faith as the true Christianity. During the fourteenth century, a popular preacher in England, John Wyclif, appealed from the authority of the Church to that of the Bible, which he translated into English in order that the common man might read it. His followers, known as the "Lollards," preached social reform, and attacked war and the unequal distribution of wealth.

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

the masses were asked. In far-off Bohemia, John Hus (1373-

1415), a distinguished scholar, vigorously championed Wyclif's views. He was betrayed to the church authorities by whom he was found guilty of heretical doctrines. The flames of his martyrdom burst into the fire of revolt in Bohemia. A series of uprisings, known as the "Hussite wars," attacked not only the Church, but the Emperor and the feudal lords. The Hussites were finally suppressed, but their influence spread far and wide.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the "secular clergy"? What is meant by the "regular clergy"? What is meant by the "bishop"? Why was the sacrament of ordination of especial importance for the authority of the Church?
2. In what cases did the Church courts have jurisdiction? What was the objection of the lay authorities to their jurisdiction?
3. What were the two great weapons of the Church to enforce discipline? Give two notable instances in which one of them was employed.
4. What was a Crusade? In what sense may it be said that the Crusades were wars between East and West? What other great conflicts between East and West preceded the Crusades? In what ways were the Crusades a success? Discuss from (1) religious, (2) military, (3) political, (4) cultural, (5) commercial point of view. In what ways were they a failure? Discuss similarly.
5. What was the significance of Canossa? Who won in the end?
6. Compare the medieval and modern attitudes toward heresy and the relation of Church and State.
7. Identify: Innocent III, Great Schism, Hus, Lollards, Inquisition, Waldensians.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

CHURCH DISCIPLINE. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (abridged ed.), pp. 159-65; *Transcripts and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*, IV, no. 4, pp. 27-33; Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 382-83.

INVESTITURE. Article in *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

CANON LAW. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 582-92.

THE CHURCH UNDER INNOCENT III. Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book for Medieval History*, pp. 208-33.

THE HUSSITE WARS. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 222-42.

CHARACTER AND RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES. Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 248-56; Barker, "The Crusades," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 12th ed.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW ECONOMIC WORLD

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales.

— TENNYSON'S *Locksley Hall*

RISE OF THE TOWNS

Prosperity of Italy. In northern Europe, where feudalism flourished most vigorously, commerce was unimportant. But in the Mediterranean region, feudalism was not so highly developed as in the north, and there were many towns where trade flourished. Constantinople was, at first, the center of the Mediterranean trade with the East. With its decline, Italian ports, especially Venice, became the great trading centers. Venetian fleets of merchant ships traded with the region of the Black Sea, with Egypt, with Asia Minor, and with North Africa. Venice possessed a string of safe harbors on the route to the Orient. Florence was important for its industry as well as for its commerce. After freeing themselves from the control of the Holy Roman Emperor, the northern Italian towns became self-governing communities.

Commerce in northern Europe. Poor roads, lack of bridges, treacherous streams, robber knights, all combined to hamper commerce in northern Europe. Despite these drawbacks, the great demand for Eastern products created markets for their sale, especially at the more important towns where international fairs were held. The law which governed transactions at these fairs was not local law, but international commercial custom, known as the "law merchant," which was the origin of commercial law as practiced in England and America.

The merchant guild. As commerce became more important, local merchants banded together in associations, or guilds, to restrict outside competition and to control inter-town trade. They were found in the towns, many of which had become virtually city-states, by securing a "charter" from the lord of the region.

A charter gave a town local self-government, generally on condition that the lord was given a sum of money annually. So prominent were the merchant guilds in municipal government that it was difficult to say where the former ended and the latter began. Sometimes, towns would form a sort of union to protect their interests, as in the case of the famous Hanseatic League. The latter consisted of the North German towns, the leaders being Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, which controlled the commerce of the Baltic.

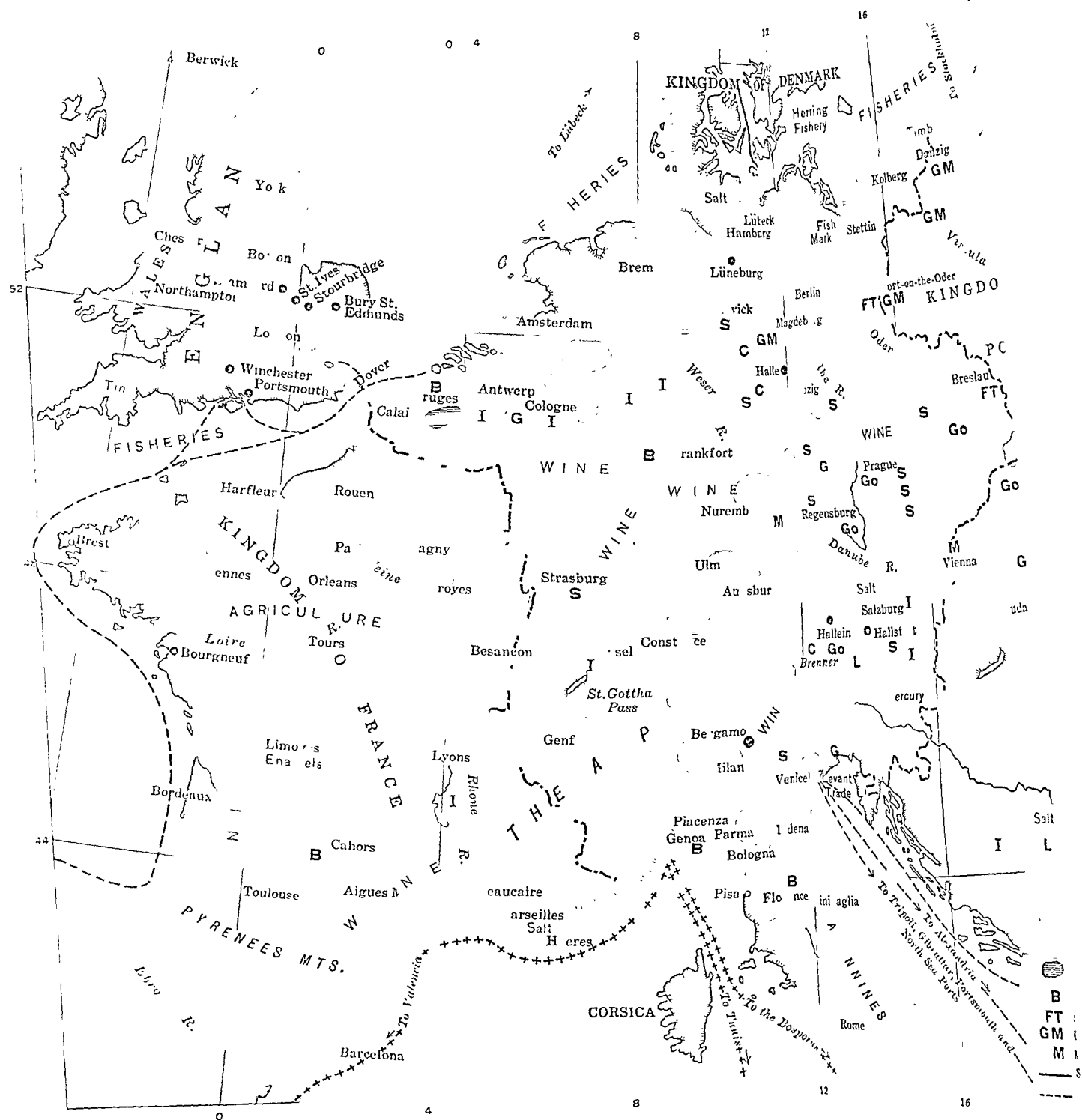


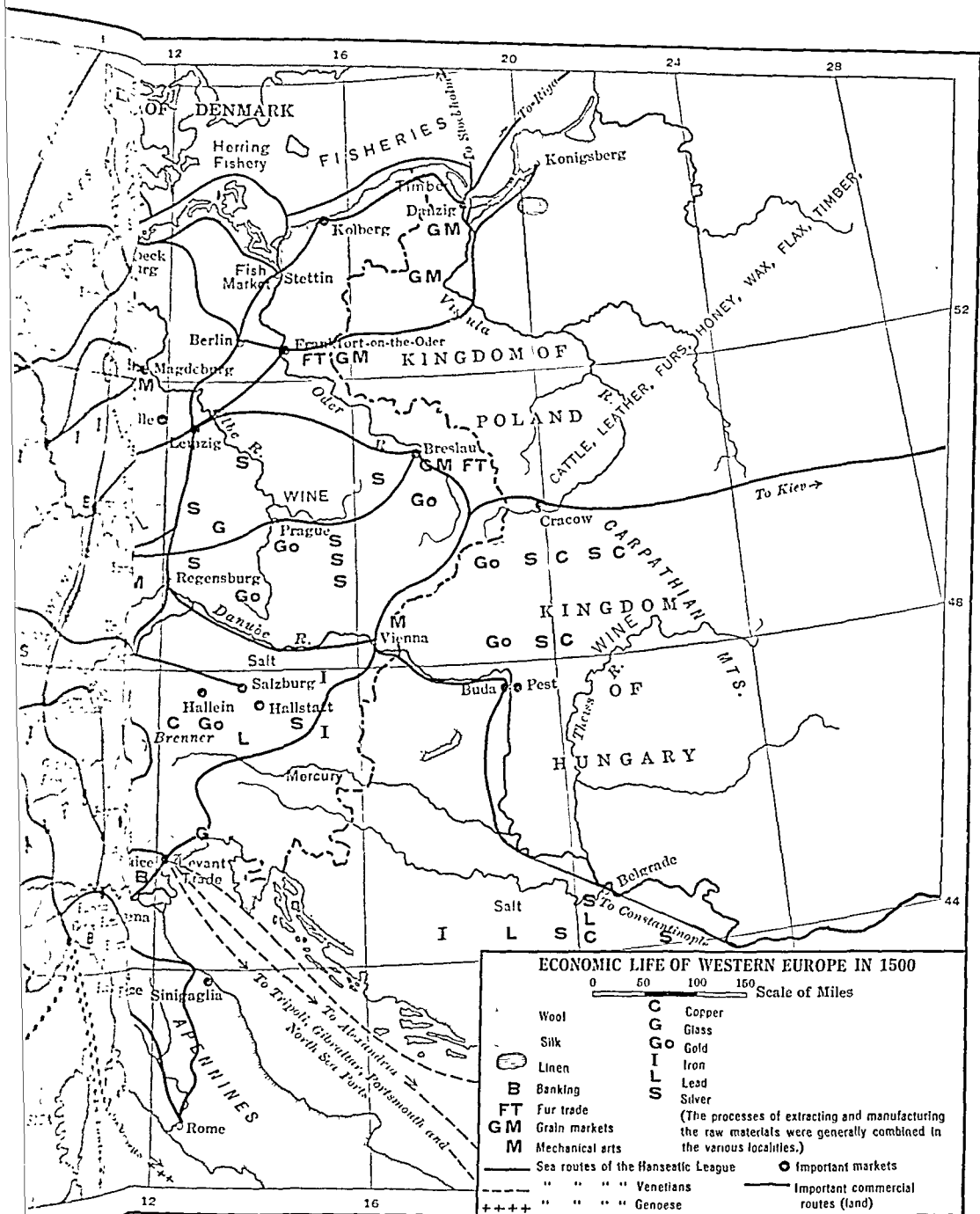
GUILD CRAFTSMEN

Goldsmith and dyer, from old wood engravings

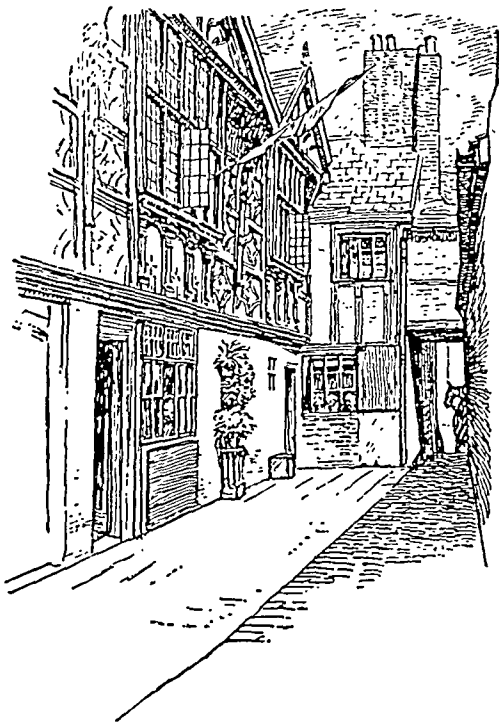
Under the guild system there was to be no competition and no profiteering. The guild forbade its members to "corner" the supply of a particular article, or to buy goods before they were put on the market, or to buy wholesale at special prices. These restrictions were made in order that goods might be sold for a "just price," which allowed for a moderate profit.

The craft guild. In former times the laborer owned the tools that he used. In modern times he works the machinery owned by the capitalist. Those who were engaged in the same sort of work formed a craft guild, which consisted of "masters," who had acquired expert knowledge of their trade, after many years of training and experience. One entered a trade as an "apprentice" to a





master, who taught the young man his craft. After the apprentice had acquired sufficient skill, he became a "journeyman," and was entitled to work for wages. Those journeymen who were especially skillful, or especially fortunate, were admitted to the guild as masters, and therefore had the privilege of establishing their own shops. As soon as the journeyman class became relatively large, few looked forward to being masters; most of them remained as wage-earners. The guild was all-powerful in the craft. It regulated prices, wages, hours, character of the material used, styles, methods, even the food of the workmen. The rules of the guild forbade the introduction of new tools or better processes by an individual, lest it would give him too great an advantage over his fellows. On the other hand, their standard of workmanship was very high. Poor work was severely punished by fines. Articles were hand-made by skilled artisans, and were durable and often very beautiful.



MEDIEVAL HOUSES IN CHESTER,
ENGLAND

Town life. The population of the European cities in early modern times did not compare with that of ancient Rome. To-day they would rank as small towns by the side of New York, London, Berlin, and Chicago. Paris, the largest, boasted a population of some 300,000 during the fifteenth century. London had a population of about 40,000. A town of 5000 was considered a fairly large city. On entering the gate of a medieval town, gen-

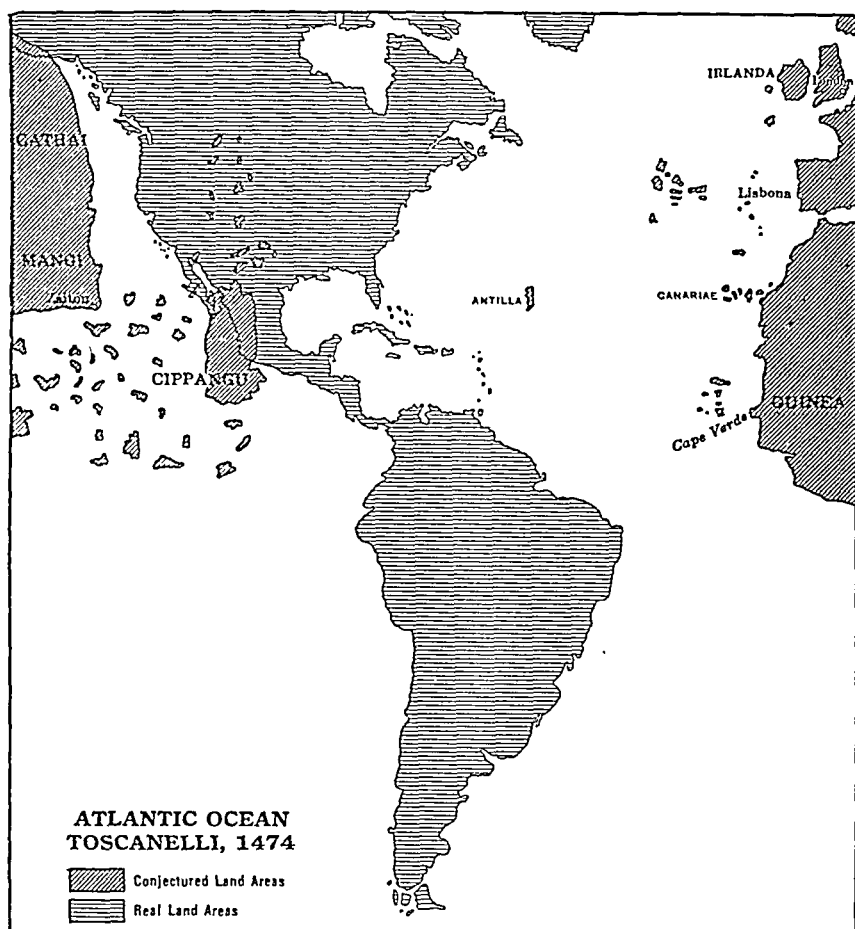
erally enclosed by high walls, one would have difficulty in making progress along its narrow, crooked streets, littered with filth. Yet the quaint houses with colored roofs and overlapping upper stories gave a highly picturesque effect. Walking through the streets at night was a daring adventure, as they were poorly lighted, improperly policed, and menaced with lurking rogues. The old towns persisted well into the nineteenth century, when their picturesqueness gave way to the demands of modern progress.

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

The passing of the Mediterranean. In Venice, at an annual ceremony known as "The Wedding of the Sea," the chief magistrate would cast a ring of gold into the Adriatic and haughtily exclaim, "We have wedded thee, O Sea, in token of our rightful and perpetual dominion." From time immemorial the Mediterranean had been the world's highway of commerce. But the new route to India and the discovery of America shifted commerce to the Atlantic. The Mediterranean lands thereupon fell into decay. The great marts of the World, Venice and Genoa, became small towns inhabited by poor people.

The East in European imagination. Late in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, returned to Europe with wonderful tales of his experiences in the Far East. The Eastern ruler, Kubla Khan, was surrounded with all the wonders of a king of romance. As a writer has observed, Marco Polo "created Asia for the European mind." The people of early modern times pictured the East as an earthly paradise, wherein was the magical tree of the sun that grew the even more magical apples of the sun and moon; and wherein was a miraculous fountain which gave perpetual youth to him who could bathe in its waters.

Portuguese discoveries. The Portuguese, because of their peculiarly favorable position on the Atlantic highway, early took up the quest for a safer and more economical route to the East. Their plan was to sail westward, then southward round Africa, and finally eastward to India. By the middle of the fourteenth century daring Portuguese navigators had reached the Azores, seven hundred and fifty miles from Portugal, and one third of the way from Gibraltar to New York. The conquest of the Atlantic was only a question of time. In 1497, a Portuguese explorer,



Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, continued up the east coast of Africa, and struck out across the Indian Ocean to India. He returned from the East with a cargo worth sixty times the cost of the expedition.

Discovery of America. About this time a Genoese sailor, named Christopher Columbus, proposed a more direct route to the East by sailing due west across the Atlantic. He did not know that two vast continents separated the old world of western Europe from the old world of the Far East. The story of the discovery of America (1492) is too well known to be retold here.

Following Columbus came Magellan, a Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, one of whose ships circumnavigated the globe (1519-22).

Effects of the Commercial Revolution. The direct outcome of great voyages and discoveries was a Commercial Revolution. A new world, the Americas, had been discovered and was rapidly appropriated by the European nations. An old world, China and India, was rediscovered and brought into direct commercial relations with the West. Africa, or rather its western coast, was opened up to the evil slave trade. An era of colonization set in and the Europeanization of the world began.¹

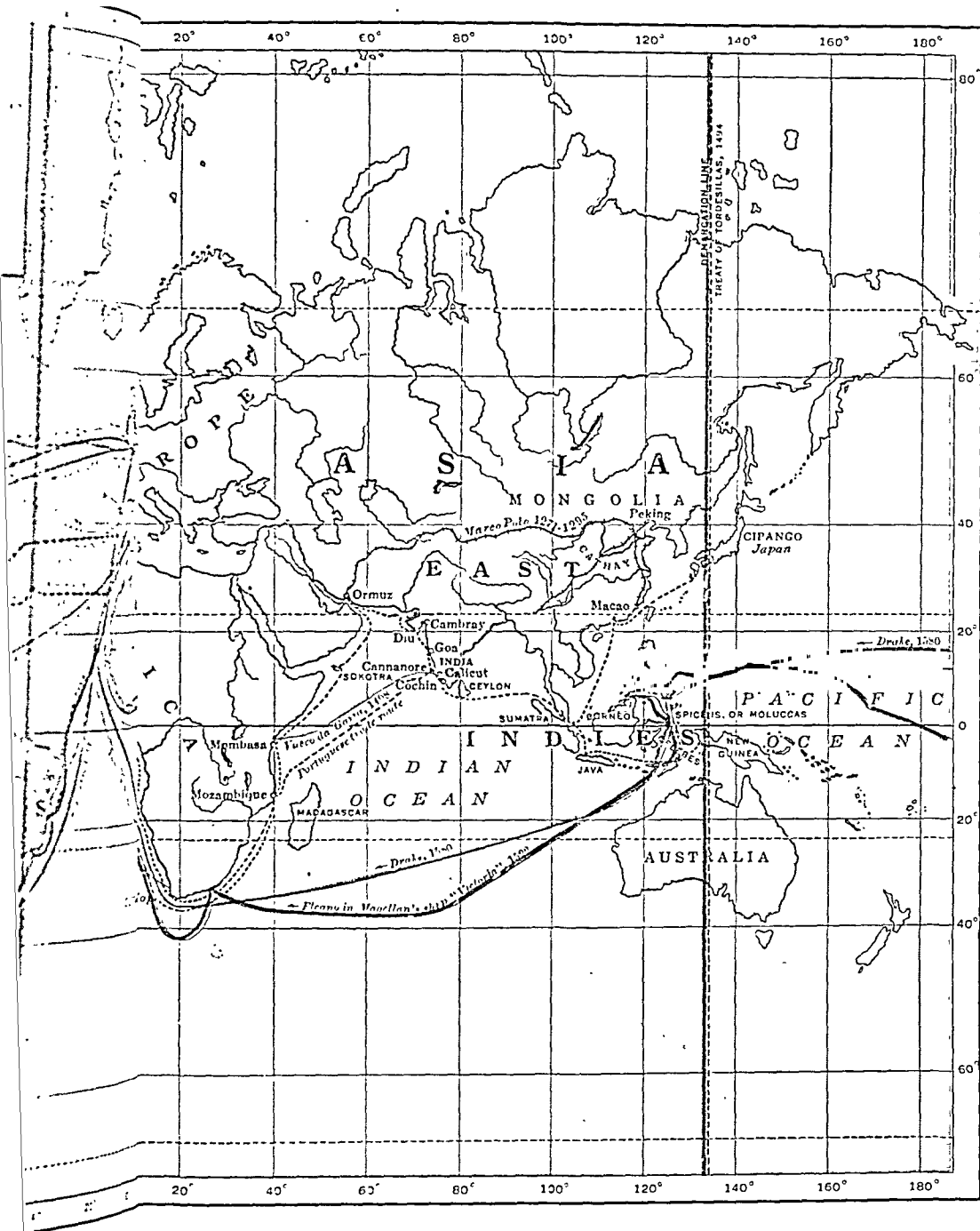
Influence of the new lands on Europe. The new countries which were opened up by exploration influenced greatly the life and thought of Europe. From America came new products — the potato, maize, the tomato, and even the turkey, which, despite its name, hails from Mexico. The old East forced Europe to imitate her products or surrender forever the chance of industrial competition. The making of glassware and of paper, the manufacture of cotton goods, of dyestuffs, and of perfumes, were all processes introduced from Eastern lands. Stimulated by the discoveries overseas, ship-building grew rapidly; and the supremacy in that industry passed to the European countries bordering on the Atlantic. A new era of colonization was ushered in when the European nations partitioned the New World into colonies. It marked the beginning of colonial imperialism which profoundly influenced world history, leading to wars and finally to the World War.

THE FINANCIAL REVOLUTION

Trade with the new regions produced marked changes in the methods of financing industrial and commercial enterprises.

The bank. Up to the sixteenth century precious metals in Europe were scarce. Much of the gold and silver was hoarded or used for ornamental purposes. Business men found great difficulty in getting credit because of the usury laws, which forbade Christians to charge interest on money borrowed. Money-lending was generally confined to the Jews, who were outside the church fold. When commerce developed in Italy there was great need of credit, and the usury laws were modified. The quantity of silver and

¹ See pp. 545-84, Part II.



gold which poured in from the New World greatly increased the money supply. Merchants engaged in foreign trade had need of large sums for their colonial enterprises. Their needs were met by the development of banks, which loaned money deposited by those who had a surplus.

New business methods. The banks made it possible to do business more safely and more quickly. Through the device of the *bill of exchange*, where

A (in London) owed B (in Genoa), and
C (in Genoa) owed D (in London),

A would be authorized to pay D; and C to pay B; thus avoiding the transportation of money in both directions. Another device was the "check," a written piece of paper, by which a depositor in a bank transferred some of the money owed him by the bank to the person to whom he owed money. The risks of shipping were largely reduced by the development of insurance. Business was now conducted in a more systematic way by the development of bookkeeping, facilitated by the introduction of Arabic numerals in the thirteenth century. As commercial enterprise became larger, more capital was needed. It was raised by allowing a number of people to share in the undertaking. This method originated the "joint stock company." The "merchant adventurers," as they were called, formed trading companies, and received profits in the enterprise in proportion to the shares which they held. Shares could be sold to any one, and the stockholder had nothing to do with the actual trading enterprise. As time went on, it was found advisable to protect the individual shareholders when the company lost money. In more modern times the company was made liable for its debts only to the extent of the property which it owned, and the shareholders could not be sued personally for these debts.

Effect on agriculture. To compete with the products of the New World, the European farmer grew only those products which he could raise better and more cheaply. This change meant the end of the manor, which could no longer be self-sufficient as it could not profitably grow all the farm products. With the increase of money, it became customary for the peasant to pay his lord money instead of dues and services. A rent-paying tenancy marked a great step forward in the history of the European

peasant, as it bore no marks of personal servitude. By the sixteenth century, serfdom had virtually disappeared from England and Italy. In France remnants of the system persisted until the French Revolution. In Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, and in far-off Japan, serfdom lingered until the nineteenth century.

Decline of the guilds. The Commercial Revolution was followed by the decline of the guilds. So great was the demand for labor that guild restrictions were defied, and men were hired to do work on new terms. As money could be borrowed easily, business men purchased large quantities of raw materials and hired many laborers. It was not, however, until much later that the capitalist era was fully developed with the coming of the factory.

Rise of the bourgeois. The new wealth produced a new rich class, which vied with the lords in the display of luxury. The merchant, the banker, the lawyer, the physician, became identified with a new social class known as the "bourgeois," or townspeople, who viewed with impatience the monopoly of political power in the hands of the landowners. They joined hands with the king to destroy the political power of the feudal lords, and to establish a strong central government to maintain order in the country. The bourgeois grew in power, and finally supplanted the aristocrat as the supreme power in the State.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What relation to the text have the lines from *Locksley Hall* at the beginning of the chapter? Compare the effect which the opening of railways had on modern economic life with that of the opening of new trade routes in early modern times.
2. Compare a merchant guild with a modern retail merchants' association.
3. Compare a craft guild with a modern trade union.
4. Compare living conditions in a typical medieval town with those in your city in regard to (1) housing; (2) sanitation; (3) police supervision; (4) transit; (5) population.
5. Why was it that "where feudalism flourished most vigorously, commerce was unimportant"?
6. Why was it said that Marco Polo "created Asia for the European mind"?
7. What were the beneficial influences of new lands on Europe? What were the harmful influences? What were the harmful influences of European life on the new lands?
8. What was the Financial Revolution? Explain four business devices introduced during that era.

9. Why did a rent-paying tenancy mean the decline of serfdom?
10. What were the advantages of the joint-stock company and the corporation over individual ownership? Is the corporation in greater or less use to-day than in 1700? Why?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- TOWN LIFE.** Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 317-34; Crump and Jacob, *Legacy of the Middle Ages*, pp. 435-65; Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval Europe*, pp. 325-39; Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 206-31; Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 154-78.
- TRADE OF VENICE.** Brown, *The Venetian Republic*, pp. 75-81.
- GUILD MERCHANT.** Knight, *Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages*, pp. 205-19.
- FAIRS.** Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 63-69; Knight, pp. 199-205.
- CRAFT GUILDS AND LABOR.** Knight, pp. 219-39; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 64-73; *Renard and Weulersse, *Life and Work in Modern Europe*, pp. 86-96.
- DECLINE OF THE GUILDS AND GROWTH OF INDUSTRY.** Tickner, *Industrial and Social History*, pp. 348-51; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I, pp. 441-47; *Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, pp. 179-91; *Renard and Weulersse, pp. 72-86.
- MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD.** Jacobs, *The Story of Geographical Discovery*; *Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III, pp. 508-19.
- MARCO POLO.** *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (Everyman's Library); Bolton, *Famous Voyagers and Explorers*, pp. 73-119. In modern imaginative literature: Donne Byrne, *Messer Marco Polo*; Eugene O'Neill, *Marco Millions*.
- THE FINANCIAL REVOLUTION.** Cunningham, I, pp. 142-61; Tickner, pp. 358-71.
- EMANCIPATION OF THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.** *Boissonnade, pp. 191-226; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, pp. 69, 393-94, 402-03.
- Map question:** Locate the "West Indies," Cadiz, Plymouth (England), Java, Porto Bello, Spice Islands, Straits of Magellan, Drake's Bay, Bristol, San Salvador.

CHAPTER XII

THE NATION, THE KING, AND THE LAW

The social states of human kinds
Are made by multitudes of minds,
And after multitudes of years
A little human growth appears
Worth having, even to the soul
Who sees most plain it's not the whole.

— The Parson in John Masefield's *The Everlasting Mercy*

FOUNDATIONS OF THE MODERN STATE

IN three important ways do the governments of to-day differ from those of ancient times or of the feudal age.

Nationalism. The first and most apparent difference is that the state is now the nation. The word "nation" signifies a limited geographical area, wherein a people, owing allegiance to a central government, are marked off from their neighbors by language and by traditions. The sentiment of loyalty and devotion which the citizen bears toward the nation is different from the attitude which a man from Gaul had toward the city of Rome during the Roman Empire, or the attitude of a serf toward his manor in the feudal age.

Democracy. A second important difference is that, to-day, government is controlled by the will of all the people who are sovereign. Neither in ancient nor in medieval times did democracy exist in the modern sense, which comprehends a representative assembly with supreme power, elected by universal suffrage.

Rôle of the law. A third characteristic is the new rôle of law. In ancient times, law consisted of a brief set of commands, believed to be divine, which could not be changed and which existed for all time. When a king issued a decree, he had no idea of overthrowing this fundamental law; he believed that he was really interpreting the law and applying it to particular cases. Law is no longer so sacred that it cannot be altered when it is out of date; it is constantly changing to meet the ever-changing needs of the community. Consequently, there is now greater protection of life and property and greater response to social needs.

FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONALISM

The king as nation-builder. During the Commercial Revolution, when the growing trade was breaking down feudal barriers, the kings of England, France, and Spain were beginning to consolidate their dominions at the expense of the feudal lords. When all the people became subjects of the king, obeyed his law, and spoke his language, they formed a nation. Slowly and gradually the people began thinking nationally instead of locally. As they were being woven together, they began to regard their neighbors as fellow countrymen, not as "foreigners," and their locality as part of a grander unity, the nation.

Consolidation of the British Isles. The fact that England is situated on an island accounts, in large measure, for her early rise to nationhood. During the ninth century, Wessex conquered the other six petty kingdoms, thereby laying the territorial foundations of the future English nation. William the Conqueror (1066-87) and his successors established a central government, stronger than any on the Continent, by compelling all the feudal lords to acknowledge that they held their land directly of the king. In addition to England, the Norman kings held land in northern France, including the Duchy of Normandy. By inheritance and marriage, Henry II, a grandson of William the Conqueror, added considerable territory in southern and eastern France. King John lost Normandy and all his French possessions north of the Loire as a result of a war with the French King, Philip Augustus. The final exclusion of the English from France was not complete, however, until the sixteenth century.

Wales. The consolidation of what is to-day known as Great Britain was a slow process. The Welsh, a Celtic race, were not subdued until the reign of Edward I, at the end of the thirteenth century. The latter's son was the first "Prince of Wales," a title that has ever since been borne by the heir apparent to the British throne.

Scotland. Scotland was divided by geographical as well as by racial differences. The Highlands were peopled by Celts who spoke Gaelic; and the Lowlands, largely by invaders from England who spoke English. Both Highland and Lowland Scots, however, united to resist the attempts of the English kings to conquer them. In 1314, under Robert Bruce, the Scots rose and defeated the English at Bannockburn. Scotland and England

were entirely independent of each other until 1603, when James VI of Scotland ascended the throne of England as James I.¹

Ireland. The English kings endeavored to conquer, not only the entire island of Britain, but also its sister island, Ireland. During the reign of Henry II, English knights invaded Ireland (1169). Though the Irish chiefs acknowledged the King of England as their "lord," the connection of England and Ireland during the Middle Ages was slight. At Dublin, in the English "Pale," or zone, there was a parliament which, in theory, had jurisdiction over all Ireland, but in fact only over the English settlers in the Pale. The Irish continued under the rule of their tribal chiefs. The Tudor kings sought to bring Ireland more thoroughly under their rule. In 1494, in the reign of Henry VII, a law was passed by the Irish Parliament, called the "Poynings Act," which declared that no Parliament could meet in Ireland, and no bill could be submitted to it, without the consent of the King and Privy Council of England. During the reign of Henry VIII, Ireland was completely under the control of England whose kings were now "Kings of Ireland" as well.²

Consolidation of France. The territory which is now France seems to be peculiarly fitted by geography to become a unified nation. Mountains and seas form its natural boundaries; therefore, the French were the first Continental people to achieve nationhood. In 987 a new dynasty appeared on the throne, when Hugh Capet supplanted the Carolingians. His feudal domain, the original duchy of France, was only a small stretch of inland country centering about Paris. Successive rulers gradually stripped the neighboring barons of their territories. An important addition was made by Philip Augustus (1180-1223), who confiscated the English possessions north of the Loire.

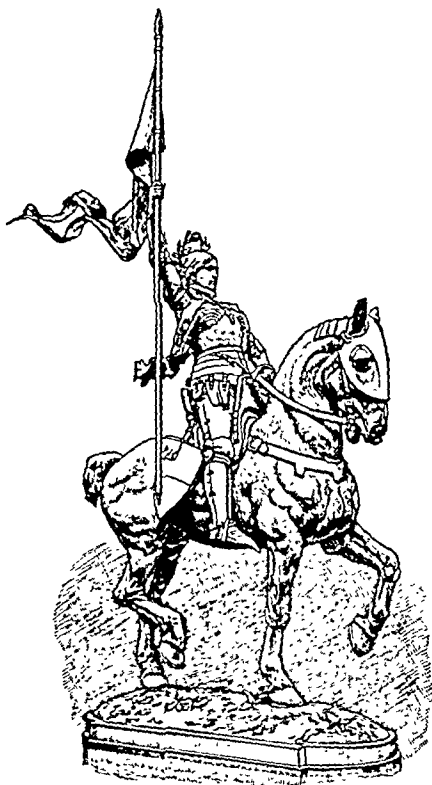
The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The Hundred Years' War between the kings of England and of France resulted in the exclusion of the former from the Continent; it was the greatest step in the consolidation of the French nation. The cause of the war was a quarrel between the two kings over the large English possessions in southwestern France. It was not fought continuously as there were long intervals of peace. During the first period, the English invaded France and defeated the French at the battles of Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). The war was

¹ See p. 207, Part II.

² See p. 209.

renewed early in the fifteenth century, when the English gained possession of almost all of France north of the Loire, except the important city of Orléans.

Joan of Arc (1412-1431). It was at this time, when the fortunes of France were at a low ebb, that an astounding event took place. As out of a colorful page of a medieval book of saints and martyrs, a young French peasant girl, named Joan, stepped forth to save the besieged city of Orléans. She declared that voices from Heaven had bade her save France. Her simple faith influenced the weak and indolent Charles VII, who gave her command of an army. Under Joan's inspiring leadership the French troops compelled the English to raise the siege of Orléans (1429). Joan of Arc was later captured by the English, who charged her with being a witch. She was tried by a church court, found guilty, and suffered death at the stake. But her exploits had turned the tide against the English; by 1453 they abandoned all of France with the exception of Calais.



STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC

Consolidation of Spain.

The Iberian Peninsula, apparently isolated by mountains and sea, has been one of the most frequently invaded lands in history. The Iberians, the Celts, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Moors, in turn, conquered the land. During the Middle Ages a war lasting centuries took place between the Moslem Moors and the Christian Spaniards. By the close of the thirteenth century the Moors held only Granada. A process of consolidation be-

gan among the Christian kingdoms established in the peninsula. In 1230 Leon and Castile combined to form the kingdom of Castile. By the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in 1479, these two kingdoms were united. In 1492 Moorish power in Spain ceased with the fall of Granada. The entire peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, was then consolidated under one rule.

Disunion in central Europe. In contrast to England, France, and Spain, there was no consolidation of territory in central Europe. In the first place, geographically the territory was not unified. The Alps marked a natural boundary between Italy and Germany. In the second place, the Emperor was unable to consolidate the territory under his personal rule. When he lost his hold on Italy, he did not succeed in strengthening his hold on Germany. Bitter conflicts between the popes as the champions of Italy and the Hohenstaufen dynasty as the champions of Germany weakened the cause of unity in both countries. The position of the Holy Roman Emperor was for long, elective, not hereditary. Owing his office to the Electors of the Empire, great barons, and bishops, the Emperor perforce was under their control. A weak ruler, then, meant a disunited people. It was not until the nineteenth century that both Italy and Germany achieved nationhood as a result of a conquest and consolidation.

Switzerland. Because of the weakness of the emperors, other governments came to the fore. An example is the Swiss Confederation, which was formed by a secession of various cantons from Austria. Although, by 1499, the Confederation was practically independent of the Holy Roman Empire, it had no real federal government until the nineteenth century. For three hundred and fifty years it was a mere league of cantons.

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

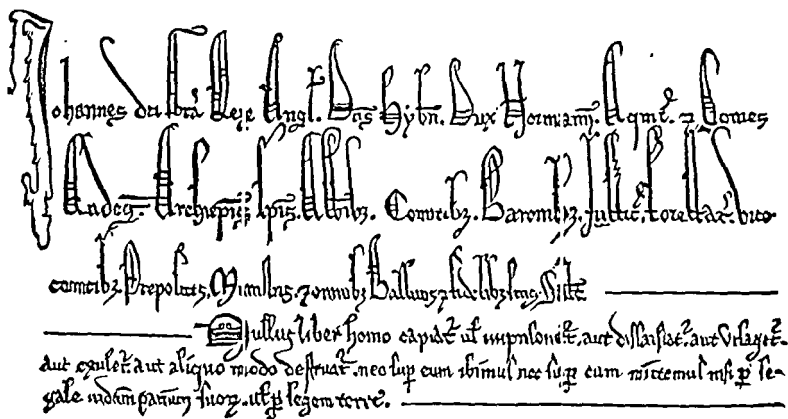
Rise of monarchy. In the early days of monarchy the King acted as the chief authority in the State, but he was not an absolute monarch in practice. He was checked by the feudal privileges of his vassals and by the power of the Church. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century a struggle went on between the feudal barons and the King, which ended in a victory for the latter. Then another struggle began between the King and the Church, known as the Protestant Revolution. Again the King triumphed, and with his triumph came absolute monarchy.

The Great Council. As monarchy developed, new organs of government appeared that were destined to destroy it and establish popular rule. The first to appear was the "Great Council." Originally it was an assembly of the great barons, who acted as advisers to the King. In England, a small group within the Great Council began to carry on the most important business of state. This group, known as the *Curia Regis*, or Court of the King, was personally selected by him, and, as time went on, included men who were not feudal barons. As the King's business expanded, special committees of the *Curia Regis* took care of special work. Three committees transacted the judicial business of the King; the King's Court, Common Pleas, and Exchequer.

The same process was taking place in France. From the reign of Louis IX (1226-70), the judicial business of the King's Council was in the hands of a supreme court selected by the King, called *Parlement*. Other royal officials, called *bailli*, enforced royal regulations, supervised the King's financial affairs in local districts, and set up royal courts which overshadowed the feudal courts. The King's justice was breaking down feudal justice.

Magna Carta. The growth of the power of the King roused the fury of the barons who feared for their privileges. In England they rose in rebellion against King John, who had taxed them in defiance of their rights as vassals. In 1215, John was forced, at Runnymede, to yield to the demands of the barons and to accept a document known as *Magna Carta*, or the Great Charter which, later, was hailed as marking the birth of English liberty. The barons who drafted it would have been surprised to learn that they had conferred rights upon the masses, who were far from their thoughts. *Magna Carta* is a class document, most of its provisions being devoted to the preservation of feudal privileges. No feudal dues were to be levied without the consent of the Great Council. This clause did not prohibit taxation without representation, as the Great Council did not represent the people of England, but the great landowners. Another notable clause provides that "no free man shall be imprisoned . . . except by the legal judgment of his peers according to the law of the land." Its real meaning was that individuals could be tried in the feudal courts instead of in the King's Courts; later, it came to be regarded as guaranteeing trial by jury. Furthermore, this privilege was restricted to "free-

men" in the feudal sense, meaning landowners; at least five sixths of the population were excluded. "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice," John was forced to promise. The most important clause provides for a council of barons to act as a permanent check on the arbitrary acts of the King, thus laying down the principle that the King was below, not above, the law. Three kings, Edward II in 1327, Richard II in 1399, and Charles I in 1649, were removed on the ground that they had violated the fundamental law of the land.



FACSIMILE EXTRACT FROM MAGNA CARTA

The last three lines complete, when translated, read: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned . . . or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him or send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land"

Origin of Parliament. Representative government appeared definitely, for the first time, during the thirteenth century. In England the system was known as "Parliament," or conference; on the Continent, as the "Estates," or assembly of the classes. To-day Parliament is the supreme power in the State, and is composed of representatives elected by the citizens of local districts. When it first appeared, it neither had supreme power nor did it represent the people. It was an offshoot of the Great Council that came into being to aid the King in finding ways and means to raise taxes. The members represented "classes," the merchants of the city, or "bourgeois," and the small landowners in the country, or the "gentry." It is a common fallacy that parliaments arose in response to a popular demand for self-government.

Lords and Commons. In England, Parliament consists of two

houses, Lords and Commons. The House of Lords is the modern survival of the Great Council of the barons; the House of Commons is an offshoot of the Great Council. During the thirteenth century the Council became increasingly important. When it met with the King, it was called "Parliament." Its members were the barons, the clergy, and the King. Without the King, there could be no Parliament. Two important steps were taken in the development of that body. In 1265 two knights from each county, and two citizens from each of the important towns were chosen as representatives to meet with the nobles and clergy. The Parliament which met in that year was the outcome of an uprising, and was not official. In 1295 King Edward I officially included these county and town representatives, known as "the Commons." Though the "Model Parliament" of 1295 was not the first representative body in history, it marked the beginning of a permanent and virtually continuous parliamentary existence in England. For this reason England has been called the "Mother of Parliaments." In the fourteenth century, Parliament divided into two houses; the barons and the higher clergy forming the House of Lords, and the knights and the merchants, the House of Commons. This bi-cameral or two-chambered legislative assembly formed the pattern for legislative assemblies throughout the world.

In the course of its early development Parliament gained two important rights. The first was the right to tax, and the second, the right to make laws. At the beginning of the fourteenth century it was generally conceded that there could be no taxation without the consent of the representatives of the nation; the Commons even gained the right to originate tax bills. During the reign of Edward III (1327-77) the Commons secured the recognition of the principle that its consent was necessary to the validity of a law. In addition, Parliament gained certain special privileges, such as the right of freedom of debate and the freedom of its members from arrest.

The Estates-General. The most important parliament on the Continent was the Estates-General, called in 1302, by Philip the Fair of France. In his efforts to tax the clergy¹ the King wished to have the nation behind him. He therefore called upon the Third Estate, or Commons, to elect members to meet with

¹ See p. 122.

the First Estate, or clergy, and the Second Estate, or nobility. It was a parliament of three houses, two of which had to consent to the passing of a law. During the Hundred Years' War the Estates-General demanded that it be convened regularly and that its consent be necessary to the raising of taxes. But the kings of France refused to yield to these demands, and the Estates-General sank into insignificance. After 1614 it was not summoned at all until the historic year 1789. Although representative assemblies were established everywhere in western Europe, only the English Parliament managed to survive.

Absolute monarchy in France. Absolutism reached its highest development in France. In the latter part of the fifteenth century Louis XI, a crafty and faithless ruler, crushed a conspiracy among the barons and confiscated their lands. Centralization of government progressed, and the King became more and more powerful as the lords became less and less. Under Louis XIII (1610-43), Cardinal Richelieu, his minister, ruthlessly suppressed all opposition to the royal authority. Feudal castles were destroyed, and feudal lords deprived of their political privileges. Royal officials, known as "intendants," were appointed, generally from the middle class, to supervise the collection of taxes and the enforcement of law in the local districts. The stage of thorough absolutism was now set for the entrance of that stellar autocrat, Louis XIV.¹

Limited monarchy in England. In England, on the contrary, Parliament was gaining ground. During the Wars of the Roses, in the fifteenth century, when two families, the Lancastrians and the Yorkists, struggled to seize the crown, the power of Parliament expanded rapidly. Both sides needed its aid to legalize their acts. During this period of civil strife kings were actually set up by Parliament. With the coming of the Tudor dynasty in 1485, the power of the King rose once more. The Tudors, notably Henry VIII and Elizabeth, ruled with a high hand. However, they never openly defied Parliament, but influenced that body to support their policies by corrupt means. "Though God," Elizabeth told the Commons, "hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves."

¹ See p. 177, Part II.

tracts. When they were used in criminal cases, they comprised what was known as the "petit jury," consisting of twelve men sworn to decide the guilt or innocence of the accused. Trial by jury was later hailed as the corner stone of English liberty. And it has become part of the heritage of America.

International law. With the growth of nations there arose a necessity of a system of law to regulate their relations. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, attacked the evils then prevalent in international relations. "I saw," he wrote, "prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. Recourse was had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were thenceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint." In his book *On the Laws of War and Peace*, published in 1625, Grotius formulated a set of rules for international conduct. In the eyes of "international law" each sovereign state was independent and equal, but governed by rules of conduct binding on all the states in the great society of nations.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Compare democracy in the United States to-day with that in ancient Greece; under the Roman Republic. Was there democracy in England in 1500? In France? Discuss.
2. What factors made it possible for England and France to achieve nationhood before Germany? Show that in each of the three early nations of Western Europe (England, France, Spain), consolidation was achieved by the conquest by one petty kingdom of the rest of the territory.
3. What is the meaning of "Parliament"? What was the position of the king in the medieval English Parliament? Was Parliament in the Middle Ages really a representative assembly of the nation? Explain. Compare the Parliamentary system of representation in 1400 with the system in the House of Representatives in the United States to-day. Account for the decline of Parliament in France and its growth in England. What was the relation in early modern times between the English Parliament and (1) Ireland; (2) Scotland?
4. Show how the House of Lords to-day is the real King's Council surviving from medieval times.
5. What ideas of Magna Carta are incorporated in the Declaration of Independence? In the Constitution of the United States?
6. Compare the work of the Chancellor in developing a new system of

law called equity with that of the Roman Prætor who handled the cases of non-Romans. Is there a separate court of equity in your State? Do you think that trial by jury is as necessary and as valuable to-day as in 1500? Discuss. Of what importance is the common law to Americans?

7. Do you think that "international law" is law in the ordinary sense? Discuss. What courts of international law are in existence to-day?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT. White, *Making of the English Constitution*, pp. 298-325; G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, pp. 169-215; Maitland, *Constitutional History of England*, pp. 1-23; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents in English Constitutional History*, nos. 23, 33-35, 46.

TUDOR MONARCHS AND PARLIAMENT. Adams, pp. 240-64; Cross, *England and Greater Britain*, pp. 278-92; Innes, *England under the Tudors*, pp. 45-48, 171-86, 423-24.

GROWTH OF ROYAL POWER IN FRANCE. Thorndike, *History of Mediæval Europe*, pp. 490-510.

LOUIS XI. Kitchin, *History of France*, II, bk. I, pp. 24-34, 66-72; Duruy, *History of France* (English translation), pp. 251-74; Masson, *Story of Mediæval France*, pp. 281-303.

HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Thorndike, *History of Mediæval Europe*, pp. 511-30.

JOAN OF ARC. Biography by F. C. Lowell; interesting view in Introduction of G. B. Shaw's *Saint Joan*.

MAGNA CARTA. Adams and Stephens, pp. 44-52; Adams, pp. 121-43.

THE COMMON LAW. White, pp. 220-38; Maitland, pp. 1-23; Adams, pp. 98-120, 144-68; Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, Introd.

CHAPTER XIII

RENAISSANCE

Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!

SHELLEY, *Ode to the West Wind*

RENAISSANCE, meaning rebirth, is the name given to a cultural movement in western Europe that took place from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. It arose first in Italy, where it reached a great height during the fifteenth century. The historian Michelet well describes the Renaissance as "the discovery by man of himself and of the world." It was indeed a great era of growth and of change: intellectual, artistic, religious, and political. As one writer has said, "on all sides there was a loosening of bonds, and a widening of horizons, 'deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind.'" On the one hand, the discovery of the New World had quickened man's imagination and heightened his ceaseless ambition for political and commercial dominion. On the other hand, the new scientific discoveries completely revolutionized man's knowledge of the earth and of his own body. The rediscovery and renewed study of classical antiquity increased man's power of self-expression and his interest in humanity.

THE NEW SCIENCE

Survivals of superstition and ignorance. Medievalism was dying, but superstition and ignorance continued. Many curious ideas were current. People regarded the natural world and the life of man as controlled by magical powers. Various plants and animals were credited with marvelous powers, and absurd medical prescriptions were accepted as cures for disease. Belief in magic and the black arts was widespread. Persons believed to be witches, generally old women, were put to death with fearful torture. Any unusual event, such as an eclipse, aroused terrible fears of impending doom.

Science breaks with the past. What is now called the scientific attitude of mind was developed during the Renaissance. It

repudiated superstition of all sorts. It refused to accept the theories of the ancient sages without investigation and experiment. Palissy, a sixteenth-century inventor, wrote: "I am . . . only a simple, humble-minded, ill-educated handicraftsman, but I read in the books of the heavens and the earth more than all the books of the philosophers could tell me." Francis Bacon,



A DISPENSARY

From a twelfth-century dispensary manuscript in Trinity College

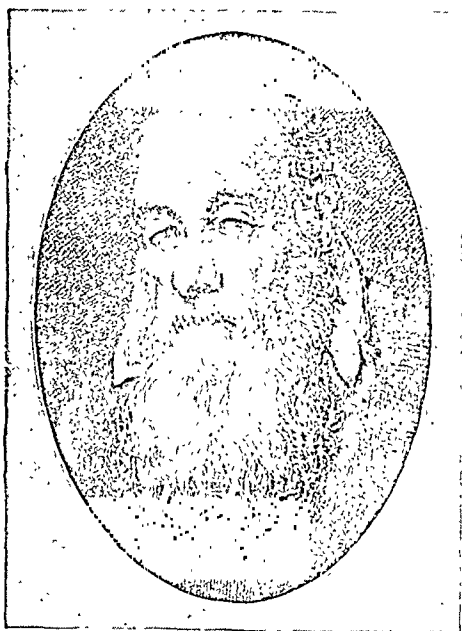
the famous philosopher of Elizabethan England, attacked scholars for having withdrawn "themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and the observations of experience and [for having] tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits." The result of the new point of view was manifest in the work of three great men who revolutionized scientific thought.

Copernicus (1473-1543) and the new astronomy. Copernicus, who was either of Polish or German descent, came to the conclusion that the Ptolemaic system¹ of astronomy was wrong. In his view, the earth was not the center of the universe, but a planet that, with other planets, revolved around the sun. This notion, Copernicus frankly admitted, was "against the received opinion of mathematicians and the common sense of mankind."

Galileo (1564-1642). An Italian, Galileo, was the most creative mind in physics and astronomy during the sixteenth century. "To give us the science of motion," wrote a contemporary historian, "God and Nature have joined hands and created the in-

¹ See p. 42.

telle of Galileo." He was the first to employ the telescope in order to extend the knowledge of astronomy. He obtained proof



GALILEO

of the general correctness of Copernicus's theory. In addition, he made discoveries in the realm of physics which approached those of his great successor, Isaac Newton. Both Copernicus and Galileo were denounced by the Church for their scientific theories.

Harvey (1578-1657). An Englishman, William Harvey, made a capital discovery, the circulation of the blood, which revolutionized the study and practice of medicine. He demonstrated that the blood flows throughout the body, starting from the heart through the arteries and veins, and back to the heart again.

"Nay, even in wasps, hornets, and flies, I have with the aid of a magnifying glass, and at the upper part of what is called the tail, both seen the heart pulsating myself, and shown it to many others," he declared. The development of the microscope made possible modern biology with its knowledge of the structure and function of the body cells.

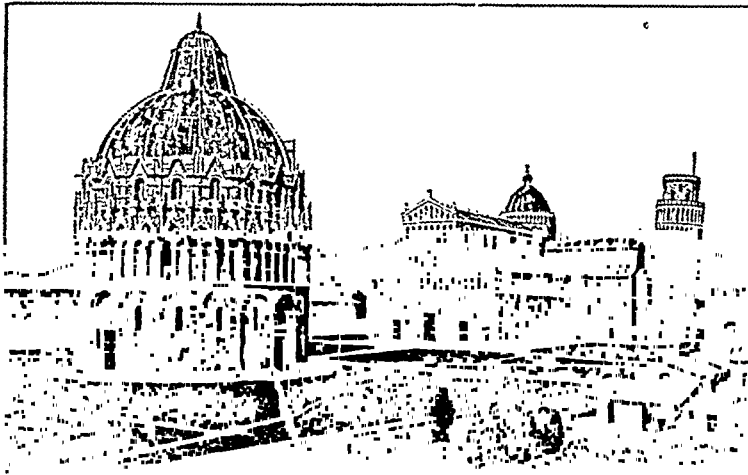
Prolongation of human life. The development of medical science since the Renaissance has been one of the wonders of modern civilization. During the Middle Ages, unsanitary conditions and improper medical knowledge accounted for the fact that the average life of a person was only twenty years. Medical science of the last four centuries has added greatly to the span of life by decreasing infant mortality and by checking infectious diseases.

THE NEW LITERATURE

The humanists. Humanism was a new literary movement which developed during the Renaissance. It found inspiration.

in the study of the so-called "humane," or classic works of Greece and Rome. No longer was theology revered as the "Queen of the Sciences"; the humanists found much more to admire in the life of man, his ideas, his problems, his interests, his strivings. Man of the Renaissance awoke one spring morning, and found that it was good to be alive.

Italy, "the eldest daughter of civilization." Unlike the lands in the North, Italy had not entirely broken with antiquity even



BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

during the darkest period of the feudal age. In Italy city life flourished greatly, owing to the Mediterranean trade. In Venice, Florence, Genoa, Milan, and Rome, a prosperous class appeared which encouraged art and literature. Often an artist or writer found a wealthy "patron" whose generosity enabled him to pursue his work. Italy became the center of the Renaissance. To Italy came enthusiastic humanists from all over western Europe, eager to drink from her wells of new knowledge. They returned to their own countries, where they spread the ideas of the new movement.

Dante (1265-1321). The Italian poet, Dante, was the greatest and last of the medieval writers. At the same time he was the herald of the new dawn. His *Divine Comedy*, completed shortly

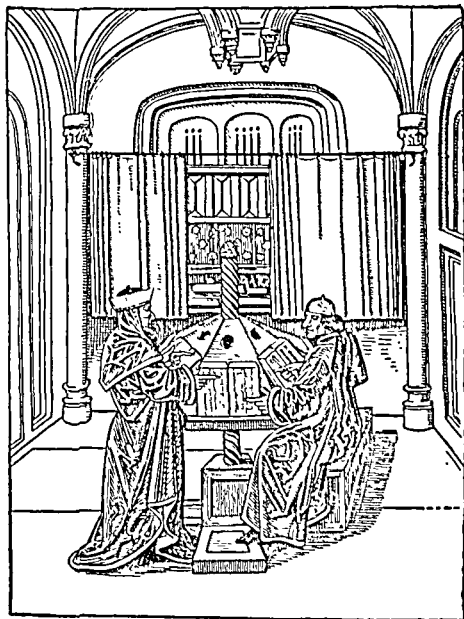


DANTE

enthusiastic revival of interest in the classics. For, one writer asks, what should a man of letters in the fourteenth century read "when he disliked the law and detested scholasticism? — What, indeed, except the Latin classics, especially when he was a poet, and born with a love of literary form?" Petrarch devoted himself assiduously to the study of the ancient writers, and attempted to master the classic style, particularly that of Cicero. Untiring in his search for the manuscripts of Greek and Latin authors, Petrarch set a new standard for critical scholarship. Nevertheless, in modern times Pe-

before his death in 1321, is a description of the other world, and presents in exalted poetic form the medieval view of life. The publication of the *Divine Comedy* marked a new era; it was written in Italian, the language of the people, not in Latin, the language of the learned. Dante may be said to be the father of the Italian language in that his poem is the first important book in that tongue.

Petrarch (1304-74). The father of humanism was the Italian, Petrarch, to whose influence was chiefly due the



PETRARCH AND BOCCACCIO
DISCUSSING

From a miniature in the British Museum. Boccaccio, friend and disciple of Petrarch, is famous for his Italian short stories, and is the father of Italian prose

trarch is admired more for his early poetry, written in Italian, than for his more learned works written in Latin. His Italian sonnets set a standard for the love poetry of many nations.

Erasmus (1466?-1536). Desiderius Erasmus was the prince of the humanists of his day. He was a Dutchman, who became a great European figure, "a citizen of the whole world." Erasmus did much to encourage the study of the classics. In 1516 he published the *New Testament* in the original Greek, with a translation in Latin that was so elegant and so scholarly that the volume was a literary sensation. Erasmus had a humorous and biting pen. In his *Praise of Folly* he ridiculed the hair-splitting arguments of the scholastics, and exposed the vices of evil priests. Erasmus steadfastly maintained that he attacked abuses in the Church, but not the Church itself; yet he more than any one else prepared the mind of Europe for the Protestant Revolution. "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it," was the saying.



ERASMUS

Rabelais (c. 1490-1553). The great French exponent of the new spirit was the monk and physician, Rabelais. With tumultuous delight he gives voice to the life, scholarship, and ideals of France in the sixteenth century. In his *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, Rabelais, in the guise of boisterous joviality, attacks the vices of his day, especially hypocrisy and bigotry. Scholastic learning was a leading target for his satire. His hero, Gargantua, becomes stupider and stupider, the more he is subjected to medieval learning; the author, therefore, takes him in hand and gives him an intensive education in the arts, industry, business, and the professions. He advises his readers to live free from care and from bitterness, "in peace, joy, health, making yourselves always merry."

Shakespeare (1564-1616).
"The sixteenth century loosed the
tongue of northern Europe."



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

In England this golden gift of expression was especially developed in the drama, and in William Shakespeare she produced the greatest of modern dramatists. Shakespeare's plays are real, lifelike, and entirely of this world. He grappled with the mental conflicts of the individual. Macbeth sees the roads of good and evil before him, but is forced by a will stronger than his own to choose the evil way. Hamlet is powerless to act because of his intense thinking about consequences. Falstaff breathes good-natured, genial tolerance of this world's cowardice, moral weakness, and vanity. Sometimes Shakespeare penetrates the unreality of life.

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

Cervantes (1547-1616). A national Spanish literature developed. Cervantes immortalized, in his *Don Quixote*, a burlesque on the chivalry of the feudal age. The old order was passing, and the new order derived much enjoyment at the expense of its predecessor. The adventures of Don Quixote and his faithful squire, Sancho Panza, reveal with insight the life of the common people of Spain.

Invention of printing. The invention of printing ranks among the greatest discoveries in history. Printing with movable type had been used for centuries by the Chinese, but there is no evidence to show that it was made available to Europeans. About 1450, Johann Gutenberg, a German, set up the first printing press. The invention spread rapidly throughout Europe, and cheapened

and repose. It has been said of his great picture, the Sistine Madonna, that her "eyes are deeper than the depths of water stilled at even." Michelangelo treated his themes with all the



MOSES

Statue by Michelangelo in Church of Saint Peter in Chains, Rome

vigor of a Hebrew prophet. He portrayed man's body with unsurpassed beauty. In the field of sculpture he ranks with the greatest of the Greeks; his most famous works are the Tomb of the Medicis and the statue of Moses. Of these creations it was said: "They are like the Bible, like Shakespeare, like the Phidian Parthenon or the Cathedral of Chartres. Each thoughtful person shall appreciate and draw from them according to his understanding; and residue will still be there!"

Spread of the fine arts. Artistic expression was not confined to Italy. The Flemings and the Dutch developed schools of painters who rivaled the Italians. Among the most famous were Rubens (1577-1640) and Rembrandt (1606-69). Rubens painted with a sweeping brush.

Masses of color, great, sweeping lines, and majestic figures characterize his paintings. Rembrandt developed a new technique of portrait painting by means of stressing certain features and hiding others through the skillful use of light and shade. In Germany, the artistic Renaissance was represented by the renowned painter and engraver, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and by Hans Holbein the Younger (1479-1543). In Spain, Velasquez (1599-1660) was the full-rounded, complete painter, whose richness of color won him universal admiration.

The new music. Music was another form of self-expression which developed in Italy during the Renaissance. An instrument, known as the "three-stringed rebeck," received a fourth

string and became the violin. The invention of the pianoforte was still to come in the eighteenth century, but a forerunner appeared in the harpsichord. Palestrina (1526-94), the first of the great composers, produced the highest type of church music. His work was the fruit of several centuries of experiment in what is called "choral counterpoint." Grand opera, also begun in Italy, was originally intended to revive the ancient Greek drama with its accompanying music and dancing. While the fine arts reached maturity during the Renaissance, their younger sister, Music, was only at the threshold of a notable career. It was not until later in the seventeenth century that music made its really great contribution in the works of the German, Johann Sebastian Bach, "the immortal god of harmony."

The new architecture. Renaissance architecture was essentially an adaptation, to new uses, of classical forms, such as the Roman dome and arch and the Greek column and frieze. The dome, surmounted by a cupola, was extensively used in churches; famous examples are St. Peter's in Rome and St. Paul's in London. Renaissance styles were widely used in the chateaux of France, in the villas of Italy, and in the manor houses of England. Common were the adaptation of arches for windows, and columns for doorways. The interiors, having large wall and ceiling space, were decorated with rich wood carvings, colorful frescoes, and graceful friezes.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. How do the lines from Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* at the beginning of the chapter depict the relation of the Renaissance movement to earlier civilization? Discuss.
2. "Man of the Renaissance awoke one spring morning and found that it was good to be alive." What does this sentence really mean?
3. What was the essential difference between the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and that of Copernicus?
4. Compare the ancient, medieval, and modern attitudes toward scientific investigation. Do you know of any superstitions prevalent in your own neighborhood to-day?
5. Explain humanism. Wherein was it a rebirth of ancient culture?
6. Is there any relation between highly developed city life and commercial prosperity on the one hand and notable achievements in the fine arts, literature, and science on the other hand? Discuss with reference to (1) Athens in the Age of Pericles, (2) Alexandria in the

- Hellenistic Period, (3) Constantinople in the early Middle Ages, (4) North Italian cities in the Renaissance.
7. What great writer or writers broke away from the use of Latin to employ (1) Italian, (2) French, (3) English?
 8. Would you prefer to attend a high school which had the humanist curriculum to one which had the modern curriculum? Give reasons for your answer.
 9. Which illustration in this chapter appeals to you most? Why?
 10. Do you think that music plays an important rôle in civilization? Discuss. In what way was grand opera really a phase of the humanist movement?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- "THE SPIRIT OF THE RENAISSANCE." Symonds, *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 1-13; *Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*; Sichel, *The Renaissance*, pp. 7-24.
- MEDIEVAL SCIENCE. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 303-40; Libby, *History of Science*, chap. IV; Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization*, pp. 341-44.
- COPERNICUS. Lodge, *Pioneers of Science*, pp. 2-31.
- GALILEO. Libby, pp. 75-78; Lodge, pp. 80-107.
- HARVEY. Libby, pp. 79-80.
- MICHAELANGELO. E. V. Lucas, *A Wanderer in Rome*, chap. x; *Faure, (Pach), *History of Art*, II, pp. 115-32.
- LEONARDO. Goodyear, *Renaissance and Modern Art*, pp. 132-38; *Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, II, 291-306; *Faure, II, pp. 63-78.
- RAPHAEL. Goodyear, pp. 139-49; *Faure, II, pp. 102-14.
- PETRARCH. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 524-28; Robinson and Rolfe, *The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*; Whitcomb, *A Literary Source Book of the Renaissance*, pp. 14-21.
- ERASMUS. Whitcomb, pp. 163-79; *Taylor, I, 155-82; Smith, *Erasmus*; Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus*; Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus*.
- INVENTION OF PRINTING. De Vinne, *The Invention of Printing*.
- ELIZABETHAN DRAMA. *Taylor, II, 238-66.
- GROWTH OF VERNACULAR LITERATURE. Symonds, pp. 242-76.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

THE sixteenth century witnessed an uprising against the Roman Catholic Church known as the "Protestant Revolution." It began in Germany and spread through western Europe. For over a century wars raged between Catholics and Protestants, civil wars, foreign wars, and a general war which devastated many countries and left a heritage of hate. Opposition to the Church was not new; almost from its foundation, heretics had challenged the authority of the Church and even its doctrines. Always had they been suppressed. But in the sixteenth century opposition to the Church was far more general, far more uncompromising, and, what is most important, it received the support of the powerful monarchs of the time. For once "the secular arm" was employed against the Church in favor of the heretics.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

New religious ideals. During the Middle Ages popular sentiment was steadily growing in favor of a simpler faith. The heresies of the Waldensians, of the Lollards, and of the Hussites were instances of a desire to bring to the people a faith with few doctrines and a church with little authority. The heretic, John Hus, made a vigorous effort to bring the Bible to the masses. As a result of his campaign, according to a hostile contemporary: "Furriers, shoemakers, tailors and that class of mechanics by their frequent attendance at sermons and their zealous reading of the Scriptures that had been translated into the vernacular tongue, were led to open discussion with the priests before the people; and not men only, but women also, reached such a measure of audacity and impudence as to venture to dispute in regard to the doctrines of the Scriptures, and maintain these against the priests." The medieval attitude toward religion was one of unquestioning acceptance of church doctrines. "Reason was called a barren tree, but faith was held to blossom like a rose." The new critical scholarship of the humanists challenged many of

the church doctrines on the ground that there was no support for them in the Scriptures.

Efforts to Reform. Apart from ministering the faith, the Church was a great organization with many officials, high and low, who exercised tremendous powers in both civil and religious matters. Its wealth was enormous. Naturally enough many abuses had crept in. Corrupt men were appointed to high office. Not infrequently a man would hold many offices at the same time. The church courts had become notorious for their favoritism. There were serious financial abuses in the Church. When a bishop or abbot took possession of the lands attached to his office he had to pay a year's income to the Pope. Often an archbishop paid huge sums to the Pope when he received from the latter the insignia of his office. Many efforts were made to reform the Church in "head and members" by popes and councils, notably by the Council of Constance in 1414. But all these efforts failed. Their failure exasperated many devout Christians.

The Pope, the King, and the Nation. The national sentiment which arose in the sixteenth century was bitterly hostile to the claims of the Pope to political power. The Church was an international State with the Pope as a sort of super-monarch. The absolute monarchs resented being lieutenants of the Pope. They likewise resented the exemption of the vast property of the Church from taxation, the privileges of the clergy, and the power of the ecclesiastical courts. Friction between the rulers and the Pope frequently arose over the appointment of church officials. There was now a growing national sentiment among the people to which the kings could appeal in case of a conflict with the Papacy.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

Martin Luther (1483-1546). The river of revolt came from many streams. But in the life of one great leader of this movement are seen those ideas which spurred on the revolt; and which explain its influence in history. This leader was Martin Luther. In his boyhood Luther had been brought up in the humble, laborious, and rude surroundings of a German miner's home. He began to study law, but he came to believe that only by putting aside worldly ambitions could he attain happiness. He entered a monastery and became a monk. At the age of twenty-five he was a professor of theology in the University of Witten-

EUROPE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, 1519

Boundary of the
Holy Roman Empire

Hebburg Dominions

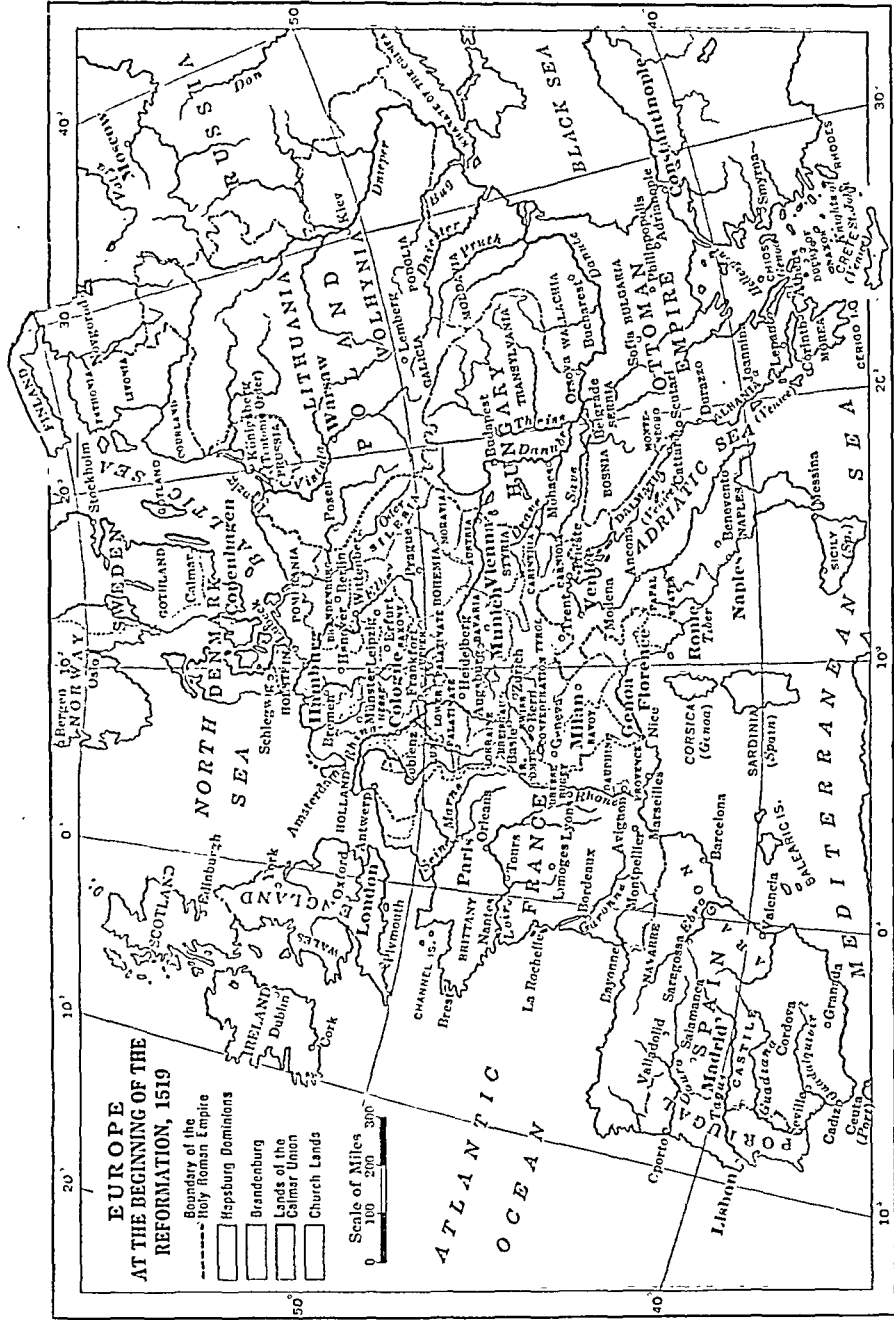
Brandenburg

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ATLANTIC
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berg. A visit to Rome produced a great impression on his mind. There he saw the Church in all its magnificence and power, and he left the Eternal City, a returning pilgrim deeply moved by religious feeling. Luther first attracted public attention by publishing, in 1517, the famous *Ninety-Five Theses*, in which he denounced the practice of granting indulgences, i.e., remitting punishment for sin which otherwise would have to be suffered after death. Indulgences were granted by the Pope or his representative for good works, such as prayer, going on a pilgrimage, aiding the unfortunate, and so on. Indulgences applicable to the dead were granted, by which one might lessen the torment of a soul in purgatory. Luther's attack on indulgences was followed by an even bolder attack on the authority of the Pope. In 1519, in a public debate with a noted



MARTIN LUTHER

Catholic champion, named Eck, Luther declared that popes and general councils of the Church could err. He was driven to make a public admission that he sympathized with Hus and other heretics. "We are all Hussites, without knowing it," he announced. This defiant statement was an open admission of heresy, and Pope Leo X commanded the German monk to retract or suffer excommunication. Luther's reply was to burn the papal "bull" (edict) in the market-place of Wittenberg (1520). His open challenge to the Pope made him the hero of the hour. "Nine tenths of Germany shouts for Luther," a papal legate wrote.

Edict of Worms. But Luther had to reckon with Emperor as well as with Pope. In 1521, Emperor Charles V summoned him to defend himself before an assembly or "diet" of the Empire, at Worms. Luther accepted the summons, but refused to retract any of his statements because, as he declared, it would be "dis-

honorable to act against one's conscience." In the Edict of Worms the Emperor outlawed Luther and his followers and forbade their writings. Would Luther now suffer the fate of Hus? He found a powerful friend in his ruler, the Elector of Saxony, who caused Luther to be "kidnaped" and hidden in a castle where he remained for a year. During that time he finished his famous translation of the *New Testament* into German.

Luther's doctrines. Luther's religious doctrines marked a sharp break with Catholic theology. The Church maintained that one could obtain salvation, not only by one's individual faith, but also by one's good deeds ("good works") in conjunction with faith. Luther believed in the doctrine of "justification by faith"; that by faith alone could one obtain salvation. He discarded indulgences, pilgrimages, and other "good works." Another fundamental doctrine of Luther was the "right of private judgment," by which he meant the right of each one to interpret the Scriptures according to his own reasoning. The Catholics maintained that only the Church, speaking through the Pope, could interpret the Scriptures. Luther repudiated the practices as well as the doctrines of the Church. He opposed asceticism of all sorts, and was particularly hostile to the monks. "What you do in your house," he declared, "is worth as much as if you did it in Heaven for our Lord God." He renounced his monastic vows and married a former nun, who had renounced her vows.

General discontent. Luther's revolt fanned into a flame not only religious but political and social discontent. Many of the German princes espoused Luther's cause as a means of becoming independent of the Emperor. Many of the knights espoused his cause as a means of becoming independent of the princes. The peasants, particularly, beheld in Luther their champion; they wanted freedom from serfdom and from dues and services. Once the religious revolt gained headway, new revolutionary elements appeared that proclaimed doctrines far more radical than those of Luther.

Charles V favors unity. Charles V, the most powerful monarch of his day, strongly opposed Luther and his followers. He was convinced that the breakdown of religious unity would mean the end of his empire and of his authority. His dominions included most of western Europe and of the New World. Through his mother, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he inherited

Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish possessions in America. Through his father, a son of the Emperor Maximilian I, he became ruler of Burgundy, of the Netherlands, and of Austria. Although a Hapsburg, Charles was Spanish rather than German in his sympathies. Above all he placed the interests of his dynasty. Lutheranism would have the effect of establishing nationalism in religion and in government, which was opposed to everything for which the Hapsburgs stood. Largely for these reasons Charles V determined to suppress all religious opposition.

He called another imperial diet, which denounced Luther and all his works. The Lutheran princes, a minority in the assembly, drew up a protest. Those who signed it were then called "Protestants," a name which came to be generally applied to those Christians who do not accept the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. Fortunately for the Protestants, Charles's attention was distracted by a war



CHARLES V

with France and by a war with the Turks. When, in 1547, he was ready to strike, Protestantism had become firmly entrenched in Germany.

The religious revolt succeeds. The conflict which followed resulted in a compromise, which was really a victory for the Protestants. By the Peace of Augsburg (1555), the ruler of each German state was given the right to determine whether he and his subjects should be Lutheran or Catholic. The religion of the prince thus became the religion of the people. An authoritative statement of Luther's doctrines was drawn up by Melancthon, a famous humanist and friend of Luther, and became known as the "Augsburg Confession." The North German states accepted the Augsburg Confession; and the South German states remained

loyal to the Catholic Church. This division has continued to the present.

The social revolt fails. The growth of social dissent resulted in a great uprising of the German peasants, whose condition was becoming steadily worse. Dues and services were made harder, and free peasants fell heavily into debt and lost their farms. A powerful revolutionary movement swept through Germany. The peasants organized and issued demands for reform, the most notable being the Twelve Articles. They fondly believed that Luther would support their claims, for had he not defied the most powerful authority in the world? He surely would champion the popular cause against lords and princes as he did against bishops and popes. But they were soon undeceived. Luther came out with a violent denunciation of the Twelve Articles which, he declared, violated the rights of the lords and was sheer robbery. What he favored was "spiritual," not "bodily" freedom; a serf could be a good Christian just as a prisoner could. A great uprising of the peasants followed which seriously threatened the feudal order in Germany. But the poorly armed and badly-led peasants were no match for the armies of the princes, and the uprising was suppressed with great cruelty.

THE CALVINISTS

John Calvin (1509-64). Luther's attack upon the Church encouraged reformers in all lands. In France appeared John Calvin, who went far beyond Luther in his religious views. Calvin insisted that nothing of the old Church should be retained which was not expressly authorized by the Bible, and that the laity should be given a share in church government. Calvinism taught that God determines the fate of every one from birth, and that man achieved salvation, not because of anything he could do about it, but because he had been one of the "elect" arbitrarily chosen by God. In the hands of the "elect of God" the welfare of the community should rest; hence Church and State were to work hand in hand for the salvation of mankind.

Calvinism in Switzerland. While Lutheranism was largely confined to northern Germany and Scandinavia, Calvinism became an international religion. Calvin fled from France and sought shelter in the city of Geneva, which became the center for an aggressive Protestant movement that sent forth powerful cur-

rents to many European lands. In Geneva, Calvin became a kind of Protestant pope. He was a man of austere habits as well as of uncompromising ideas, and he severely condemned nearly all forms of amusement. Calvinists were opposed to dancing, to the theater, and to sports, particularly to any form of activity on the sabbath.

In the Netherlands, Scotland, England, and America. Calvinism was adopted by the inhabitants of the northern provinces of the Netherlands. They thereupon rose up against their ruler, Philip II, King of Spain. Under their heroic leader, William the Silent, the Dutch fought bravely against the might of Spain. By the end of the seventeenth century they gained their political independence. They established as their national religion what became known as the "Dutch Reformed Church." In Scotland John Knox, a vigorous follower of Calvin, succeeded in overthrowing Catholicism and in establishing the Presbyterian Church as the state religion. In England Calvinist doctrines were championed by the Puritans, whose influence was widespread. During the seventeenth century, a considerable number left England and established settlements in New England, where their faith became known as the "Congregational Church."¹

In France. Calvinism gained converts among the middle class in France. During the second half of the sixteenth century, fierce wars raged between the Catholics and the "Huguenots," as the French Calvinists were called. The conflict became exceedingly bitter, and it culminated in the terrible Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day (1572), in which thousands of Huguenots were wantonly slaughtered. In 1589 a Huguenot king, Henry IV, ascended the throne of France. In order to unite a land torn by civil strife, he decided to embrace Catholicism, the religion of a majority of his subjects. "Paris is worth a mass," he is said to have remarked. To quiet the Calvinists he issued the celebrated "Edict of Nantes" (1598), according toleration to the Huguenots. Later, in 1685, the Edict was revoked by Louis XIV, and the revocation was followed by the emigration of Huguenots to England, to Germany, and to America.

In Germany: the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). Despite the Peace of Augsburg, religious strife continued in Germany. In the first place, the Calvinists constituted a thriving portion of the

¹ See pp. 207, 208, Part II.

German people to whom toleration was not extended. In the second place, the settlement of 1555 did not put an end to the seizure of property of the Catholic Church by Protestant princes. War began between Catholics and Protestants which, at first, was confined to Germany; later it became a general war involving nearly all the nations in western Europe. The Thirty Years' War, as it was called, was fought with a bitterness and savagery characteristic of the wars of religion. It started first in Bohemia, where the Protestant nobles revolted against the Emperor. The Protestants were badly defeated, and their faith was almost entirely stamped out in Bohemia. The King of Denmark now came forward as the champion of Protestantism; but he, too, was badly defeated. At this low ebb in the Protestant fortunes, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, intervened. He invaded Germany and, in alliance with the Protestant princes, reconquered most of it for the Protestants. But the latter soon suffered reverses, and to their side came a Catholic country, France. Her famous minister, Cardinal Richelieu, desired to extend the boundaries of France at the expense of the Hapsburg Emperor who, as the champion of the Catholic faith, had been fighting the Protestants. French aid resulted in the triumph of the Protestants over the Empire.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648). The Peace of Westphalia, which closed the Thirty Years' War, had important consequences for the religious and political history of Europe. By its terms: (1) Calvinists were given privileges similar to those of Lutherans; (2) the Protestant princes in Germany were to retain the church lands which they had held in their possession since 1624; (3) France received nearly all of Alsace; (4) Sweden gained possessions in northern Germany; (5) Brandenburg, the basis of the future Prussia, secured much territory in Germany; (6) Switzerland and the United Provinces (Holland) were formally recognized as being independent of the Empire and of Spain respectively. The Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Wars of Religion; however, it also marked the beginning of the rivalry of the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons which, in the following century, was to result in dynastic wars. As most of the battles of the Thirty Years' War were fought in Germany, that country was so fearfully devastated that it did not fully recover until the eighteenth century.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

In many countries the Protestant party identified itself with the cause of nationalism, and the result was that Protestant churches tended to become national churches as distinguished from the international Catholic Church.

Henry VIII. The most outstanding example of the national church is the Church of England. When Luther announced his breach with Catholicism, he had the sympathy of many Englishmen, who were inclined to favor his doctrines. For centuries past there had been great resentment in England against papal interference in English matters. This feeling came to a head in the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), the second of the Tudors, a headstrong monarch who was determined to be the absolute ruler in England, against all opposition from within and from without. The incident that led to the separation of England from the Catholic Church was a divorce. Henry desired to be divorced from his wife, and he demanded of the Pope that the latter should declare his marriage to her null and void. But the Pope was not inclined to grant the demand. Thereupon Parliament, which was controlled by Henry, passed an Act of Supremacy (1534), according to which the King was substituted for the Pope as head of the Church in England. As head of the Church, Henry appointed its bishops, who were now ministers of the Anglican, not of the Catholic Church. An ecclesiastical court nullified Henry's marriage, and he promptly married another woman, Anne Boleyn, who became the mother of Elizabeth. Parliament passed other laws against the Catholics, who were compelled to accept Henry's church or suffer dire penalties. The monasteries were demolished, their property confiscated, and devotees exiled.

Further changes. In the reign of Henry's son and successor, Edward VI, the doctrines and ritual of the English Church were made to conform to Protestant ideas. A new prayer book was introduced. Confession was abolished. On the death of Edward, his sister Mary, who was a devout Catholic, ascended the throne. Parliament now nullified the anti-Catholic laws, and England re-entered the fold of the Roman Church. It was now the turn of the Protestants to suffer persecution.

Elizabeth (1533-1603). Mary died in 1558 and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. The latter had no strong religious convictions; she did have a very strong desire to be Queen of Eng-

land. The Catholics championed the claims of Elizabeth's cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, who was a staunch Catholic. Elizabeth became a Protestant, and thereupon received the powerful support of the Protestant party, which included most of the upper and middle classes. Parliament, ever obedient to the will of the Tudors, now nullified the Catholic laws of Mary, and England became Protestant once more.



QUEEN ELIZABETH

Elizabeth ranks in history as the greatest queen in modern times. She never married, and is therefore known as the "Virgin Queen." No English monarch made a more vivid impression upon the imagination of the English people than Elizabeth. She appeared at a time when England was starting on her career as a world empire, hence the great exploits of her reign are associated with her name. She was

shrewd in council, cautious in diplomacy, and bold in war. At the outset of her reign Elizabeth faced many serious perils, both domestic and foreign, but she managed, with the aid of her able ministers, Walsingham and Cecil, to triumph over all her enemies.

The Armada. A great national spirit was aroused in England by the threats of Philip II, King of Spain. He was incensed against Elizabeth because she refused to restrain the English seamen who cruised about the "Spanish Main" in South America, raiding towns and capturing Spanish vessels. Moreover, Philip, who had succeeded the Hapsburg emperors as the Catholic champion, hoped to reclaim England to his faith. In 1588 he brought together a great fleet, the Armada, which he launched against England. The English people were roused tremendously against threatened invasion, and Elizabeth became immensely popular as the champion of the national cause. Many ships of

the Armada were destroyed by severe storms, and the remainder were defeated by the English fleet. England emerged from the war with Spain as a great power.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

The Council of Trent, the Index, and the Inquisition. The Protestant Revolution threatened the very life of the Catholic Church. So widespread was the movement that, at one time, it was triumphant in almost every country in western Europe. The Church now realized that, unless drastic reforms were made and a bold counter-attack was launched against the Protestants, Catholicism was in mortal danger. A reform movement began within the Church, known as the "Counter-Reformation" or the "Catholic Reformation," which successfully turned the tide in favor of the ancient faith. At the great Council of Trent (1545-63) the Catholic doctrines were reaffirmed and the Protestant doctrines were condemned. Drastic reforms put an end to many corrupt practices. Immorality among the priesthood was severely punished. A list of forbidden books was drawn up, called the *Index*, consisting of those works considered hostile to Catholic ideas, which the faithful were forbidden to read. The Inquisition redoubled its activity, especially in Italy and in Spain, where many suffered torture, imprisonment, and death.

The Jesuits. A new monastic movement appeared to save the Church and to preach its doctrines throughout the world. It was the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, the most powerful missionary organization the world has ever seen. Its founder was a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) who, in his younger days, had been a soldier. While he was convalescing



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

from a wound, he read books dealing with the lives of the saints, and was fired with the ambition to emulate their deeds. Like Saint Francis he set forth in the service of the Lord, and he soon gathered about him a number of disciples. In 1540 Loyola and his followers were recognized by the Pope as a new Catholic order, called the Jesuits. Its organization was military in character. Obedience, according to Loyola, was the mother of all virtue and happiness. The head was known as a "general," whose orders were obeyed unquestioningly. The Jesuits set up schools and colleges and an elaborate system of missions. Largely through the efforts of Jesuit missionaries, Poland, Bavaria, and Belgium remained Catholic. They spread the faith among Indian tribes in North and South America, and among the various peoples in Asia.

RESULTS OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

Religious diversity. The Protestant Revolution resulted in the breakdown of religious unity. But it was not to result in a united Protestant world against a united Catholic world, for Protestantism split up into many sects. In the history of the divisions and subdivisions of Christianity, there is a gradual trend away from higher centralized church government, elaborate ritual, and orthodox belief to more radical faiths with little ritual and less government. On the extreme right stands the Roman Catholic Church, with its hierarchy of officials, its ritual, and its sacraments. Next, is the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church as it is called in this country, with a similar set of officials, though without a pope, and with a similar elaborate ritual, though without the mass. Farther to the left is the Lutheran Church with somewhat less organization and ritual. Then come the Methodists, who are governed by a representative body, or General Conference, and by local assemblies; laymen and ministers share in government. The Calvinist churches, usually called "Reformed" or "Presbyterian," depart still more radically from Catholic theology and government; they are governed by synods, or district councils of ministers. Of the Calvinist group, the Congregationalists represent a more complete break with elaborate central church government; each congregation is governed by a lay board of trustees, and is independent of outside control. The more Protestant, the more emphasis is laid on

preaching and the less on ritual in the services; and the government is more in the control of the laity and less in that of the clergy.

The new toleration. The Protestants did not stand for religious freedom, but for religious independence. They believed as strongly as did the Catholics that their doctrine was the only true doctrine, and denounced as heretics those who differed from them. Nevertheless, the Protestant Revolution, by breaking the monopoly of religion enjoyed by the Catholic Church, did usher in first the period of toleration, which was later followed by the period of religious freedom. The early victories of the Protestants did not secure toleration, or the right to freedom of worship, for all religious sects, but only for Lutherans and Calvinists; and then only in those countries whose rulers espoused these faiths. Whether a state became Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist depended upon the will of the ruler, whose faith determined the faith of the people. The first great act of toleration was the famous Edict of Nantes in 1598, already described. It granted freedom of worship to those who did not accept the state religion. The English Toleration Act of 1689 was the next great step; it gave toleration to the Dissenters, or those Protestants who were not members of the Anglican Church. By the end of the eighteenth century the tide had definitely turned in favor of complete toleration. A new era in religious freedom began with the provision in the Constitution of the United States (1787) prohibiting Congress from making any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Separation of Church and State proclaimed the idea of religious *equality*; toleration did not mean religious equality; for several centuries following the Protestant Revolution those who were "tolerated" did not have civil rights: they did not hold public office and they were forbidden to follow certain occupations; moreover, they were taxed for the support of the Established Church.

Triumph of nationalism and secularism. Politically the Protestant Revolution resulted in a victory of the State over the Church. In the Protestant countries, northern Germany, Britain, Holland, and Scandinavia, the government dictated the doctrines of the Church, appointed its officials, and controlled its organization; the Church was practically a department of the State, whose head was the prince. A system of national Protes-

tant churches took the place of the international Catholic Church. Protestantism greatly advanced the cause of "secularism," by which is meant the control of life's activities by the civil, not by the religious, authorities. Church property was confiscated; monasticism forbidden; church courts abolished; and marriage, divorce, and inheritance put under government control. In the Catholic countries, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, southern Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Poland,¹ the power of the Pope was diminished. Treaties, known as "concordats," between the Pope and the Catholic princes, gave to the latter considerable control over the church organization: the king was given the right to nominate high church officials and to regulate the church taxes. Secularism, however, made little headway in Catholic countries until the French Revolution. The greatest political beneficiaries of the Protestant Revolution were the kings, who now became absolute monarchs, undisputed masters in both Church and State.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. The period of religious upheaval in the sixteenth century has generally been called the "Protestant Reformation"; in this book it is called the "Protestant Revolution." Which do you think better characterizes the era? Why?
2. "Reason was called a barren tree, but faith was held to blossom like a rose." How does this sentence represent the orthodox attitude toward heresy? Contrast this with Abélard's attitude; with the Renaissance attitude.
3. State three political causes of the Protestant Revolution.
4. Why were the reformers in a stronger position to carry out their reforms in the sixteenth century than were the heretics in the thirteenth?
5. What is meant by "indulgence," "justification by faith," "the right of private judgment"?
6. What non-religious reasons did Charles V have for opposing Luther?
7. What political and economic changes occurred during the sixteenth century?
8. What were the terms of the Peace of Westphalia as regards (1) Calvinists, (2) Lutherans, (3) France, (4) Brandenburg?
9. How did the Protestant Revolution in England differ from that on the Continent? Why did Elizabeth restore Protestantism?

¹ Ireland remained Catholic. Switzerland was divided, some of the cantons being Protestant, others Catholic.

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10. What action was taken by the Catholic Church to stem the tide of Protestantism?
11. Trace the gradual trend of Protestant denominations away from church government, elaborate ritual, and orthodox belief, giving specific examples.
12. "The Protestants did not stand for religious freedom, but for religious independence." Discuss.
13. In what ways did the Protestant Revolution advance the cause of secularism?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- GERMANY ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLT. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, I, pp. 228-50.
- MARTIN LUTHER. Smith, *Life and Letters of Martin Luther*; Smith, *Age of the Reformation*, pp. 62-74; McGiffert, *Martin Luther*, pp. 76-100; Janssen, *History of the German People*, III, pp. 79-99; Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation*, pp. 225-29; Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 403-30; *Readings in European History* (abridged ed.), pp. 258-79.
- THE PEASANT WAR. Robinson, *Readings*, pp. 281-93; Henderson, I, pp. 308-32; McGiffert, pp. 250-61.
- CALVIN AND THE GENEVAN REFORMATION. Walker, *The Reformation*, pp. 225-76; **Cambridge Modern History*, II, pp. 342-76.
- KNOX AND THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. Walker, pp. 313-34.
- HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION. **Cambridge Modern History*, II, pp. 416-73; Green, *Short History of England*, pp. 320-56; Cheyney, *Short History of England*, pp. 289-310; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, nos. 143-50, 153, 154.
- ELIZABETH. Read: "Good Queen Bess," *American Historical Review*, XXXI, pp. 647-61; Cheyney, pp. 330-81; **Cambridge Modern History*, III, pp. 328-63.
- LOYOLA. *Catholic Encyclopædia*, VII, pp. 639-44; Walker, pp. 369-89.
- SPANISH INQUISITION. *Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, I, pp. 145-229; Griffis (Motley), *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, pp. 103-13.

PART II
MODERN TIMES IN EUROPE

MODERN TIMES IN EUROPE



SECTION I

DIVINE RIGHT MONARCHY

Triumph of king over lords. A political result of the Protestant Revolution was the great increase in the power of the king. In the Middle Ages political power was largely in the hands of the feudal lords and the Catholic Church; the king had a dignified office but little power. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries a struggle went on between the lords and the king, which resulted in the triumph of the latter. The once haughty barons became fawning courtiers or officials in the pay of the king on whose good will they were now dependent. The triumph of Protestantism meant the loss of the political power enjoyed by the Church, and made the latter as dependent upon the good will of the king as were the nobles. In Protestant countries the king was the head of the national Church; he determined its faith and appointed its officials. In Catholic countries the Pope, not the king, was the head of the Church; yet the king had to be consulted in the appointment of officials and in ecclesiastical policies. The king was now supreme. His once powerful opponents, the nobility and clergy, were now his humble servants. His subjects, "the people," obeyed him implicitly as the head of the nation.

Decay of parliaments. Absolute monarchy was the new government everywhere in Western Europe. Parliaments, which had appeared during the thirteenth century, had all but disappeared by the seventeenth. In those days parliament was not elected at stated intervals, but was called by the king at his pleasure. He generally called it when he needed money, and dismissed it after money was voted. In time he managed to get control of taxation and refused to call parliament, which he regarded as a nuisance. Only in England did parliament survive; but even there its function, until the English Revolution, was merely advisory.

Divine right justifies absolutism. That one person should govern millions of his fellow men could not appear reasonable even to the dullest; therefore absolutism had a supernatural explanation to justify it. This gave rise to the famous doctrine of "divine right of kings." The king, it was asserted, was no ordinary mortal, but the image of God on earth, whose authority came from God alone; hence the "king could do no wrong." At coronations, a religious ceremony was performed during which a priest poured holy oil on the king's head, to signify that he was the "Lord's anointed." If a king was good, it meant that God was kind to his people; but if he was wicked, it meant that the people were being punished for their sins. "What virtue there was in the word 'king'!" says a modern writer, Anatole France. "A man who suffered some wrong would murmur, 'Ah, if the king knew it!' The ill came from the king's not knowing. He had bad information, or he had evil counsellors, or he was too young or too old." Under no circumstances whatever were the people to rebel, for the king was answerable to God, not to the people, for his conduct. Rebellion was not merely a crime, for which the laws prescribed punishment, but a sin for which one would surely be punished in the hereafter. Both the Catholic and Protestant clergy preached the doctrine of "divine right," and enjoined obedience upon the faithful. "God who has given kings to men," said Louis XIV, "has willed that they should be revered as his lieutenants, and has reserved to Himself the right to review their conduct."

Government by the few. In those days government was generally regarded as a "mystery" which only those who were initiated, the king and his advisers, could penetrate. For the people to inquire as to the origin of laws and to have something to say about making them was regarded as presumptuous. This attitude still survives to some extent in "secret diplomacy."

CHAPTER XV

SUPREMACY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

DOMESTIC POLICIES OF LOUIS XIV

Louis XIV (1638-1715). In 1643 there came to the throne of France one of the remarkable monarchs of modern times, Louis XIV. He reigned for seventy-two years, and so influential was he in the life of Europe that this period is called the Age of Louis XIV. When Louis asserted that he ruled by the grace of God, one could almost believe him, for he was every inch a king. Handsome, gracious, dignified, exquisitely refined, he made the impression at all times of being a superior person. "He was as dignified and majestic in his dressing-gown as when dressed in robes of state," said one of his courtiers. Louis took "the profession of reigning" very seriously by attending conscientiously to the business of State. He had a keen mind and a genius for diplomacy. Of his power as king he held



LOUIS XIV

no uncertain views, and the famous saying "*l'état, c'est moi*" (I am the State), has popularly been ascribed to him.

Colbert (1619-83). Among the many able ministers who served Louis, Colbert stands preëminent. He was a man of business; efficient and industrious, he devoted all his energies to making France a prosperous nation. To facilitate commerce he built a canal connecting the Bay of Biscay with the Mediterranean. He literally spanned France with splendid highways. Through his efforts the French East India Company was organized. He

founded the Gobelin tapestry factory as a government enterprise, and did much to promote the silk industry which made France the leading silk manufacturing country of the world. He promoted industry through government regulations and subsidies. Good work was rewarded and bad work punished, with the result that the fame of French craftsmanship spread far and wide.

Mercantilism. Colbert was the champion of Mercantilism, a system of economic thought that influenced the policies of nations for two centuries. The chief idea of Mercantilism was that the wealth of a nation consisted of the amount of gold and silver that it possessed. These metals could be obtained only by having a "favorable balance of trade"; namely, by exporting more goods than were imported. The balance due for exports was paid in coin by foreign nations. To encourage exports the government gave bounties; to discourage imports it laid heavy tariff duties.

Colonies administered for the benefit of mother country. Mercantilism had much to do with the colonial policies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The great rush for colonies was not due to a desire to annex territory, for in those days only European territory was considered important enough to be annexed; nor to a desire to find an outlet for overcrowded nations, for the population of Western Europe was then very small and grew slowly. The chief motive of colonial enterprise was to get rich quickly and safely; the very idea of a colony was conceived of in terms of trade and industry. A colony was the one sure way of always having a "favorable balance of trade"; it increased the exports and decreased the imports of the mother country by sending to the latter raw material in exchange for manufactured products. Lest a colony should want to sell its raw material to a foreign country, or perhaps start manufacturing on its own account, the mother country forbade her colony to trade with any one but herself, and restricted its right to establish manufactures. Another aspect of Mercantilism was the Navigation Laws.¹ To encourage shipbuilding and to protect their commerce, the nations ruled: (1) that all trade between a colony and a mother country had to be carried by the ships of the latter; (2) that most of the crew had to be of the nationality of the ship; (3) that certain foreign articles could be imported only in native ships; and (4) that severe harbor restriction be imposed upon foreign ships.

¹ England did permit her colonies to transport their goods in their own vessels.

Mercantilism a policy of restriction. Mercantilism was based upon the principle that a nation could prosper only at the expense of other nations. It therefore bristled with restrictions of all kinds that were not removed until the Industrial Revolution taught another principle: that a nation could prosper only when other nations, its customers, prospered.

FOREIGN POLICIES OF LOUIS XIV

Ambitions of Louis XIV. In the time of Louis XIV, France was the largest, the most populous, the richest, and the best organized country in Western Europe. Unfortunately for the world, Louis saw in the power of his country an opportunity for still greater power. He began a series of aggressions against his neighbors that led to many wars which devastated Europe for a generation. The fundamental principle of Louis's foreign policy was to make France supreme in Europe and himself the dictator of international affairs.

Doctrine of natural frontiers. To hide his true motives Louis asserted the doctrine of natural frontiers; namely, that France's natural boundary on the east should be the Rhine, the Jura Mountains, and the Alps, which would protect her from invasion. Throughout his reign Louis tenaciously endeavored to annex the Spanish Netherlands, as Belgium was then called, Franche Comté, Alsace-Lorraine, and the left bank of the Rhine; these annexations would have extended France to her "natural frontiers."

1. War with Spain (1667-68); William of Orange (1650-1702). On some pretext or other he seized the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté. Spain, to whom these regions belonged, was too weak to resist. But the Dutch were now alarmed; they feared that Holland, too, would fall a prey to Louis's vast ambitions. In 1672 there came to the head of the United Netherlands, as Holland was then called, a descendant of William the Silent, called William of Orange. Quiet, dogged, and as able a diplomat as Louis, William became the latter's chief opponent. He saw clearly the designs of the French king, and he succeeded in persuading almost all the nations of Europe to ally themselves against France. During this period the famous doctrine of the "balance of power" became and has remained the leading principle of European diplomacy down to our day. "Balance of power" is a policy of European politics whereby those nations, whose inde-

pendence is threatened by the career of conquest of another nation, combine to make war on the aggressor. For all to be free no nation should dominate the affairs of the Continent.

2. War with Holland (1672-78). In 1672 French armies invaded Holland, but were compelled to retreat. In 1681 the French invaded Germany and seized the city of Strassburg. Germany, then divided into many tiny states, lay helpless before Louis. City after city was captured, and the French were rapidly advancing toward the Rhine.

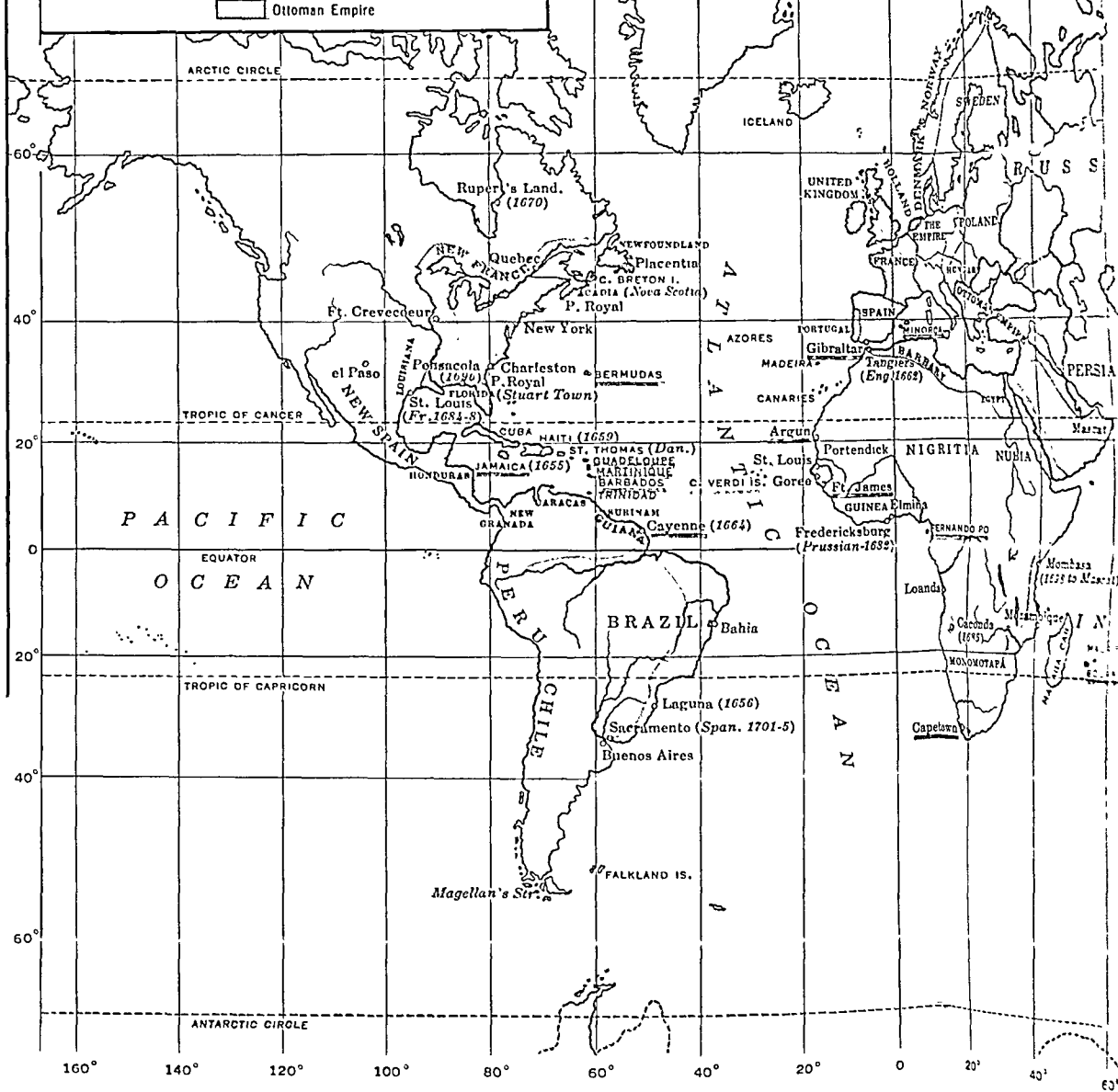
Coalition against France. The success of the French alarmed all Europe. William, constantly at work cementing a coalition against France, was greatly aided by two important events. In 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, and began a bitter persecution of the Huguenots. The Protestant nations now regarded Louis as the "armed hand of the Church," the successor of Philip II. A revival of the wars of religion was threatened. William had no difficulty in persuading the Protestant nations of the Continent to join the coalition that he was planning. The leading Catholic monarch was the Holy Roman Emperor, the Hapsburg overlord of Germany, to whom the Bourbon dynasty, represented by Louis, was a deadly rival. Louis's invasion of Germany was a challenge to Hapsburg influence, and so the Emperor joined the coalition. England had been neutral in the wars of Louis because her kings, Charles II and James II, were secretly in his pay. But when, in 1689, William of Orange succeeded James II, England immediately joined the coalition.

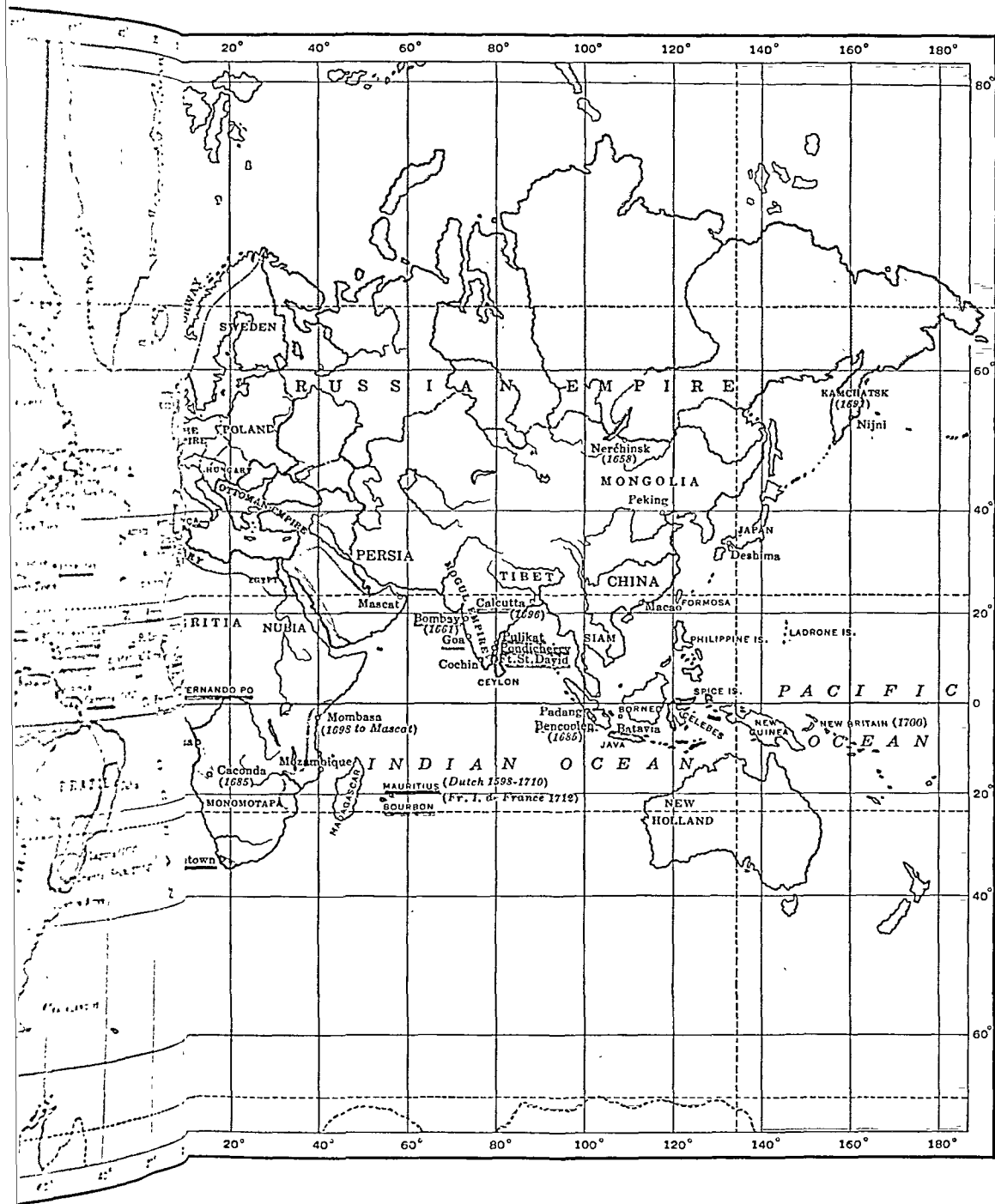
3. War of the Palatinate (1688-97). War began in 1688. French armies invaded the Palatinate and laid waste that German region. For ten years fighting went on mainly in Germany. The contest, known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg, found an echo in America where it was known as King William's War. The struggle was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), according to which France had to give up all her conquests except Strassburg.

4. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13). Louis was foiled, but not disheartened. He saw an opportunity to extend his influence in Spain, where the King had been induced to name Louis's grandson, Philip, as his successor. But Europe feared that the grandfather in France and the grandson in Spain would join hands and virtually unite both countries. "There are no

THE COLONIAL DOMINIONS
OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS
AT THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT
1713-1715

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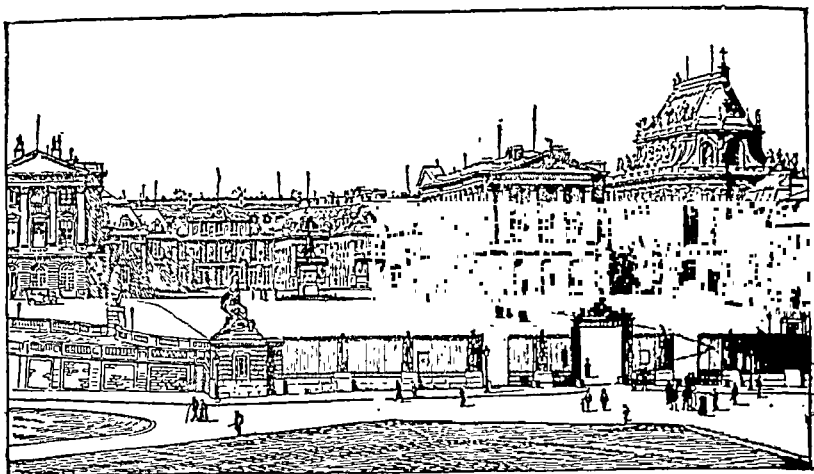
more Pyrenees," said Louis to Philip when he became King of Spain. What followed was a gigantic struggle, the War of the Spanish Succession, in which France and Spain fought against the Grand Alliance composed of nearly all the other nations in Europe. Fighting also took place in America where it was called Queen Anne's War.¹ Led by the great English general, the Duke of Marlborough, the Allies won many notable victories over the French, the most famous being the Battle of Blenheim (1704). The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) brought to an end a war which had desolated Europe. The chief provisions of the treaty were: that Philip was to remain King of Spain, but under strict guarantee that France and Spain would not be united; that, from Spain, the Emperor Leopold I would get Belgium, which was to be called the "Austrian Netherlands"; that, from France, England was to get Newfoundland, Acadia (Nova Scotia) and a clear title to Hudson Bay Territory; and, from Spain, England was to get chiefly the city of Gibraltar, commanding the entrance into the Mediterranean.

Gains of France. As a result of the many wars of aggression Louis gained Franche Comté, Alsace, part of Lorraine, as well as much "glory." But the drain in men and money exhausted the country, and France sank to the position of a second-rank power, from which she did not rise till the advent of Napoleon.

COURT OF LOUIS XIV

The courtiers. It was during the reign of this extraordinary monarch that there came into prominence an institution known as the court. About the King a charmed circle was formed, consisting of the royal family, the great lords, the high officials in Church and State, and any one upon whom the favor of the King chanced to fall. The courtiers had the best chance of being favored by the King and of influencing his policies. A custom had arisen of giving "pensions," incomes from public funds, to those whom the King designated as worthy of being rewarded by the State. Pensions were given to the King's favorites for any but worthy reasons. Many sinecures, offices in the King's household, were created with nominal duties, such as giving the King a napkin when he sat down to dinner or holding the stirrup as he mounted his horse, but with large salaries paid from the public treasury.

¹ William III died on the outbreak of the war and was succeeded by Anne.



FAÇADE OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

This gigantic palace and park were created by Louis XIV and enlarged by his successor. In one of these buildings is the Hall of Mirrors where William II was proclaimed German Emperor in 1871. In this same hall, in June, 1919, was signed the Treaty of Versailles, which sealed the death warrant of imperial Germany.

Versailles, a royal city. The residence of the court was at Versailles, a suburb of Paris. This royal city was built with a lavish magnificence that made it renowned throughout the world. To-day it is a kind of museum city with its palaces, parks, squares, picture galleries, fountains, canals, driveways, statues, that delight visiting tourists. The life of the court was a daily round of pleasure; the courtiers were on a permanent holiday. Immense sums were spent on luxurious living, on clothes, houses, food, servants, balls, parties, theatricals. Thirty men waited on the King at dinner. Eighty servants were in attendance on a baby prince. This "conspicuous waste," it was believed, produced a sense of awe among the masses by giving them the idea that their rulers were superior people who lived wonderful lives. "Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture," says H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History*, "went a strange race of gentlemen in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high heels, supported by amazing canes, and still more wonderful ladies, under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through all this postured the great Louis, the sun of this world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate."

Immorality of the court. The conduct of the courtiers aroused much comment; they were models of immorality as well as of extravagance. The only thing that shocked them was bad manners. A code of etiquette existed that was obeyed more faithfully than the Ten Commandments. This code was very complicated, and one had to study and practice it diligently. A breach of etiquette was a sure sign that the person guilty of it "did not belong," and he was promptly ostracized.

The King's power over his courtiers. All influential persons in France came to the court. The governor left his province, the bishop his diocese, the general his army, the judge his court, the lord his castle, to bask in the sunshine of the King's presence. A smile, a nod from him meant position and fortune; a frown, "disgrace" and humiliation. The worst thing that could happen to a courtier was "to fall into disgrace," by which was meant to lose the favor of the King. The unfortunate was expelled from the court, and deprived of his pension and position. Not infrequently was disgrace followed by suicide.

Louis's court model for other rulers. The French court became the model for all the other courts of Europe. From the Tsar of all the Russias to the princelet of a tiny state in Germany all monarchs imitated Louis as best they could; and as a consequence French etiquette became the standard of good manners throughout Europe.

Louis patron of arts and science. To Louis all the world was a stage with himself as the chief actor, and he determined to play his part well as the *grand monarque* of the *grande nation*. To his court were invited Molière, Racine, and Corneille, the great French dramatists whose work became so renowned that the French drama became the standard for all Europe. Believing that the promotion of literature and science would shed luster on his reign, Louis founded the Academy of Sciences and the Royal Library, then the greatest in the world. The French language



A NOBLEMAN OF THE
TIME OF LOUIS XIV

was considered so elegant that it was used by educated people in Europe, much as Latin had been during the Middle Ages. The language of European diplomacy became entirely French; all treaties and all negotiations were in that tongue. To some extent the language of war became French, and to this day such French words as "general," "lieutenant," "cavalry," "rendezvous," "battalion," and "reconnaissance" are universal. French methods, French ideas, French manners, French literature, French manufactures were given such great prestige by Louis that his country was regarded as the leader of Europe in the arts of peace and war.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why was government in the age of Louis XIV considered a "mystery," whose secrets were known only to a few? Why is it not so to-day?
2. What was the doctrine of "divine right"?
3. Why was it possible for Louis XIV to expound the doctrine of divine right and not for the President of the United States?
4. "Louis was in fact as well as in name ruler of the nation . . . and his rule stands out as a distinct epoch in French history." Explain.
5. What were the policies and achievements of Colbert?
6. What are the chief principles of Mercantilism? How do modern nations follow some of these principles?
7. Point out the possible weaknesses in the Mercantilist theory.
8. What was Louis's doctrine of natural frontiers? What European nations still adhere to that doctrine?
9. What is meant by the "balance of power"? Why was it proclaimed in the time of Louis XIV?
10. What wars did Louis XIV wage? What states were his main opponents? What states were the chief gainers? What were the effects of the wars on France?
11. Describe the life of the courtiers at Versailles.
12. What were pensions? Why cannot the President of the United States give pensions to his favorites? Why could the King of France?
13. Louis XIV has been called the patron of art and science. Explain.
14. "In all matters of culture, as well as in war and diplomacy, Versailles was . . . the envy and admiration of all Europe." Explain.

Map questions. Locate Franche Comté, the Palatinate, Augsburg, Blenheim, Utrecht, Lorraine.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

LOUIS XIV. Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 209-12, 231-33; Wakeman, *Europe 1598-1715*, pp. 184-93; Perkins, *France under the*

Regency, ch. v; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 1-12.

COLBERT. Adams, pp. 212-16; Wakeman, pp. 193-205; Perkins, ch. IV.

MERCANTILISM. Day, *History of Commerce*, ch. XVIII; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, ch. IX.

WARS OF LOUIS XIV. Adams, pp. 216-29; Wakeman, chs. X-XI, XV; Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despots*, chs. II-III; Perkins, chs. III, VII-VIII.

THE COURT. Perkins, *France under Louis XV*, I, ch. I; Maclehose, *Last Days of the French Monarchy*, chs. II-IV.

FRENCH CULTURE DURING THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, pp. 141-48, 552-57; Duruy, *History of France*, ch. LIV.

CHAPTER XVI

RISE OF RUSSIA

PETER THE GREAT

Byzantine and Tartar influence in Russia. Until the eighteenth century "Europe" meant what is now called Western Europe. The eastern part, Russia, was not well known, and was vaguely considered to be part of Asia. The inhabitants were Slavs, speaking a language that bears no direct relation to the Latin or Germanic tongues. During the tenth century they had been Christianized by missionaries from Constantinople, and to this day their church is "Greek," not Latin. Their conversion brought them into contact with Byzantine civilization and its



PETER THE GREAT

highly despotic government to which they clung so tenaciously until the twentieth century. In the thirteenth century Russia experienced a great misfortune in being invaded and conquered by Tartar tribes from Asia. For two centuries the Tartars ruled the land, where they introduced Asiatic customs and manners that persisted long after the invaders were expelled.

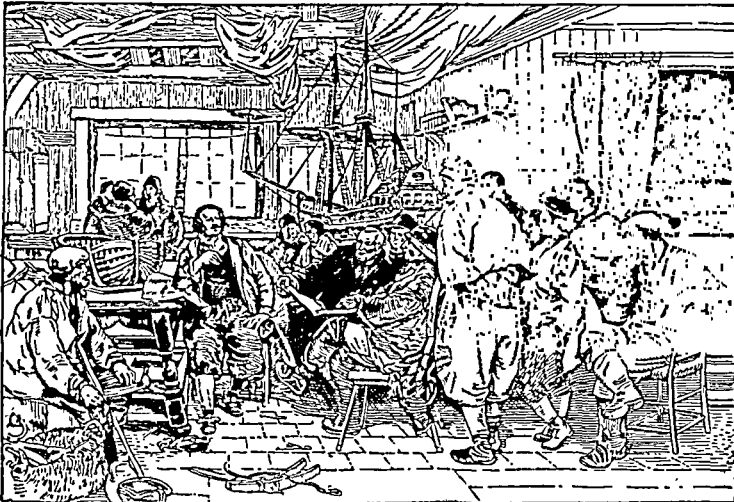
Peter the Great (1672-1725).

It was not until the advent of the most famous of all the tsars, Peter the Great, in 1696, that Russia became truly a member of the European family of nations. The Westernization of Russia is a remark-

able story, not unlike the Westernization of Japan in the nineteenth century, but more interesting in that it was largely the work of

an extraordinary person, Tsar Peter. A stalwart Russian, rough in his manner, a hard drinker, and at times subject to fits of brutal ferocity, Peter was yet a man of vision. He saw clearly that if his countrymen were to progress they must follow the ways of the West, and with iron determination he literally forced them into the path of modern civilization.

Peter journeys West. Peter spent several years traveling in Germany, Holland, and England. He was eager to learn everything that he could: how ships were built, how children were taught, how clothing was made, how soldiers were trained, how pictures were painted. He associated with any one who could teach him the Western arts; and he even worked as a common laborer in a Dutch shipyard the better to learn the art of shipbuilding for which the Dutch were famous. Many educators, architects, administrators, mechanics, scientists, shipwrights, and soldiers from Western Europe came to Russia at the invitation of Peter to help him reform the institutions of his country.



PETER THE GREAT AS A SHIPWRIGHT IN HOLLAND

From a painting by Cogen.

Introduces Western customs. Like all ardent reformers the Tsar was impatient; but as he was an absolute monarch he could carry out his ideas quickly. He realized that customs and man-

ners are important in the life of a people; and he therefore compelled many Russians to change their ways. By command of the Tsar, long, flowing garments were cut short; long-bearded men were shaved; women were taken out of a kind of harem; compulsory marriage was forbidden; men and women were allowed to associate freely in public. The government was completely remodeled: the administration was centralized; the old feudal army was abolished and a new military system established; a new navy was built; the Orthodox Church, as the Russian branch of the Greek Church is called, was made subservient to the Tsar, who became its head.

Founds St. Petersburg. To many conservative Russians the "father of modern Russia" was an evil spirit, an Antichrist, who was leading his country to perdition. A rebellion broke out, which, however, was crushed by Peter with savage cruelty. To be more free to reform, the Tsar moved the capital from Moscow, a city of old memories and traditions, to a new city, St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), which he built on modern lines with streets, squares, parks, palaces, and public buildings.

Expansion westward. The wholesale introduction of Western civilization was one way to bring about reform, but Peter realized that Russia must be in constant contact with the West in order to continue her progress. In his day she was almost landlocked, having but one port, Archangel, which was ice-bound most of the year. Russia had "to make a window" through which she could communicate with the West. Peter wanted a "window" on the Baltic in order to be in touch with Northern Europe; and another one on the Mediterranean in order to be in touch with Southern Europe. He therefore began a policy of expansion westward and southward that was consistently followed by his successors down to Nicholas II, the last of the Romanovs.

War with Sweden. The Baltic was then a Swedish lake, having Swedish territory on nearly all its shores. Peter waged a series of wars against Sweden with varying fortunes. Charles XII, the young King of Sweden, was a remarkable soldier, who succeeded in defeating the Tsar several times, but at the Battle of Poltava (1709), he was himself badly defeated. Russia annexed Livonia, Esthonia, and Karelia, securing thus a Baltic outlet.

CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine the Great (1729-96). Peter's most important successor was Catherine II, also called "the Great," who came to the throne in 1762. She was a remarkable woman, who shares with Elizabeth of England the distinction of being one of the great woman monarchs of history. Catherine had a keen mind, and she played the game of politics as ably as her famous contemporaries, Frederick the Great and the Earl of Chatham. She was hard and cold, and thoroughly unscrupulous in public and private life. Curiously enough; she was deeply interested in the radical philosophy of her day, and read the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot with enthusiasm.



CATHERINE THE GREAT

Her "enlightened" despotism. Catherine was acclaimed as an enlightened despot, a monarch in sympathy with the progressive ideas of the time, who would exert her power in favor of drastic reforms. But her career as a reformer was short. She did appoint a commission to revise the laws and to establish a modern enlightened code, but when opposition appeared she dropped the matter. In 1773 there took place a great uprising of the serfs under a popular leader named Pugachov. After the uprising was suppressed Catherine expressed herself as being in favor of emancipation, but she took no steps in that direction. The most that can be said for the Tsarina as a reformer is that she made several attempts to put through progressive measures, but her efforts ended in failure.

Her aggressive foreign policy. In her foreign policy Catherine was more energetic and more successful. She made war on Turkey and gained considerable territory bordering on the Black Sea. Her greatest acquisition came through the Partition of

Poland which will be described later. Altogether her career was typical of the aggressive, unscrupulous monarchs of the eighteenth century who brought misery to their subjects and yet pretended to be "enlightened."

Emergence of Russia. By the end of the eighteenth century Russia had emerged from obscurity and had become a great European power. Her remarkable rulers had begun the process of modernizing her people and her institutions which was to have important results in the future history of Europe.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. That Russia was separated from Western Europe before the coming of Peter the Great was due to two circumstances. What were they?
2. Why did Peter travel in the Western countries? What reforms did he introduce into Russia?
3. Tsar Nicholas II, deposed in 1917, was not only the political, but also the religious head of Russia. Account historically for the second part of the statement.
4. What did Peter mean when he said Russia needed "a window"?
5. Peter has been designated as the father of modern Russia. Why?
6. "Peter's reign is notable for the . . . definitive establishment" of the autocratic power of the Russian Tsar. Justify the statement.
7. How did Catherine II continue the domestic and foreign policies of Peter the Great?

Map questions. (See also map on page 528.) Locate Moscow, St. Petersburg, Poltava, Esthonia and Livonia.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

BACKWARDNESS OF RUSSIA. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, I, ch. xx; Howe, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, chs. v-vi.

PETER'S TRAVELS IN THE WEST. Rambaud, II, pp. 27-39; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 57-63; Motley, *Peter the Great*, pp. 19-27.

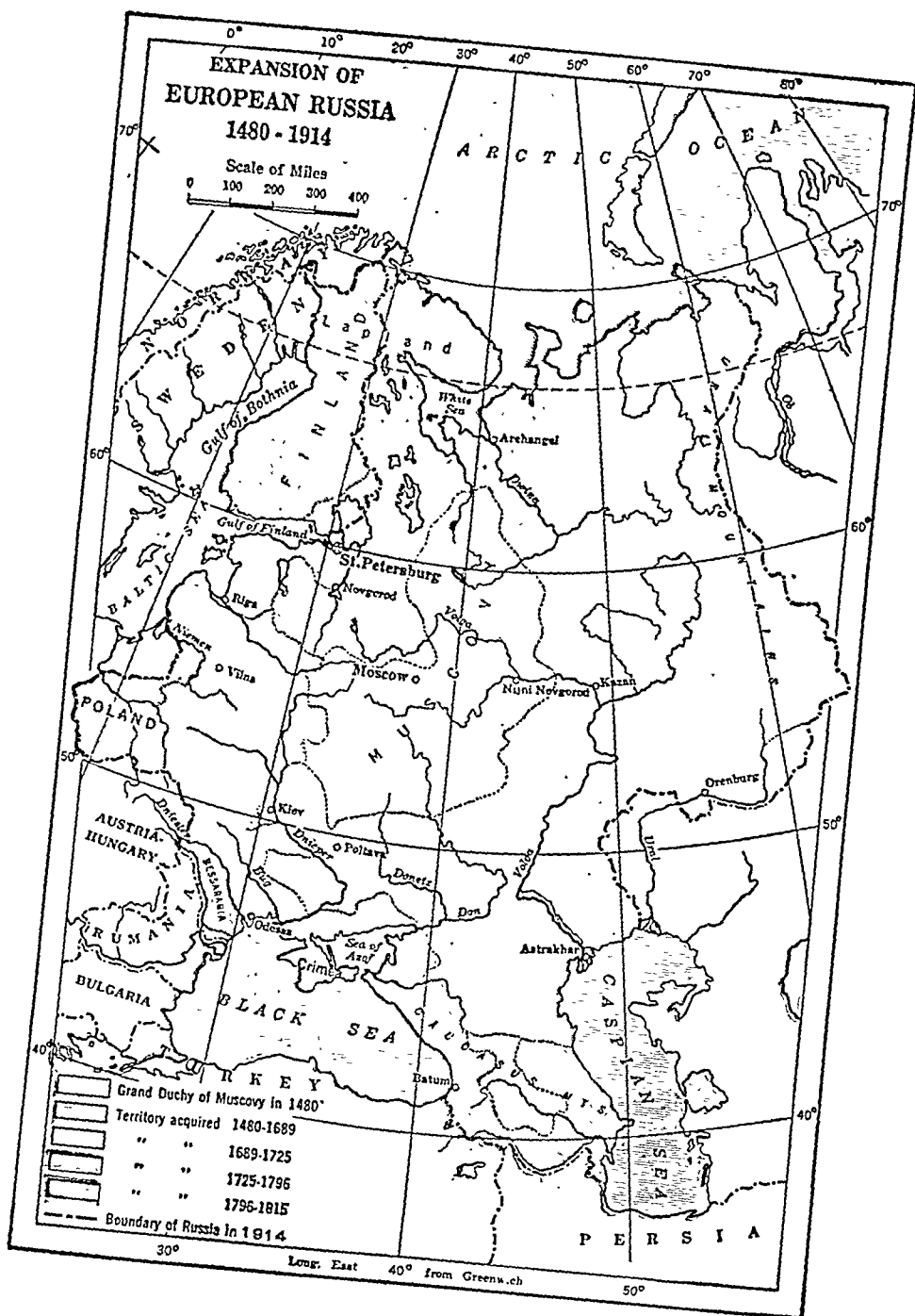
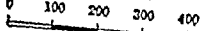
PETER'S REFORMS. Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despots*, pp. 99-105; Rambaud, II, pp. 76-101; Morfill, *Russia*, pp. 141-45; Howe, ch. VIII; Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, pp. 292-308.

THE FOUNDING OF St. Petersburg. Rambaud, II, pp. 101-05; Howe, pp. 91-92.

CATHERINE II. Rambaud, II, chs. ix-xi; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, pp. 379-88; Morfill, ch. ix; Howe, chs. xi-xii; Bain, ch. xix.

EXPANSION OF
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
1480 - 1914

Scale of Miles



CHAPTER XVII

NATIONAL AND COLONIAL RIVALRIES

RISE OF PRUSSIA

The Hohenzollerns. In 1415 a new family named Hohenzollern became the rulers of the Electorate of Brandenburg, one of the small states in the Holy Roman Empire.¹ This family attracted little attention outside of Germany until the advent of Frederick the Great, when it became one of the powerful dynasties in Europe ranking with the Hapsburgs, Bourbons, and Romanovs.

Their territorial gains. The Hohenzollerns were an ambitious family, and it was their proud boast that each ruler left his country larger than he found it. Brandenburg soon began to expand eastward and westward. In 1614 it annexed Cleves and Mark, and so got a footing in the Rhine region. In 1618 the Elector inherited the Duchy of Prussia (later called East Prussia), a region once Slavic, but which had been conquered and Germanized by the Teutonic Order. One of the famous Hohenzollerns was Frederick William, called the Great Elector, a shrewd and able ruler who managed to annex part of Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden.

Kings of Prussia. The Hohenzollern possessions were now fairly considerable, and lay scattered from the Rhine to the Niemen Rivers. Next to Austria, Brandenburg was the most impor-

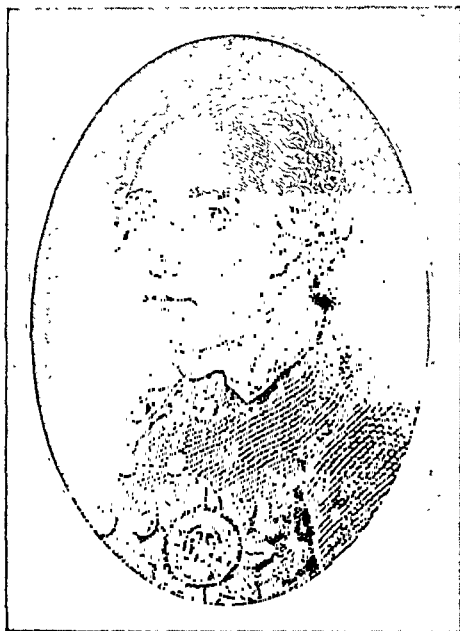


PRUSSIAN SOLDIERS

¹ A map of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century did not show a united nation, as it did at the end of the nineteenth. There were over three hundred states varying in size from a knight's fief to large states, such as Prussia and Austria. Each was virtually independent, but all were members of the Holy Roman Empire, a very loose confederation headed by the Emperor, who was of the Hapsburgs, ruler of Austria. In theory, seven German princes, designated as "Electors," had the right to choose the Emperor; in fact, the office was hereditary.

tant state in the Empire; and in 1701 the Elector received a new title, that of "King" which was conferred upon him by the Emperor. He chose to be called "King in Prussia" because Prussia, being outside the jurisdiction of the Empire, gave him a feeling of greater independence. The Hohenzollerns were no

longer merely rulers of little Brandenburg lost in Germany, but of the Kingdom of Prussia, a state of the second rank in the Europe of the time.



FREDERICK THE GREAT

Frederick the Great (1712-86). The most famous of all the Hohenzollerns was Frederick II, called the Great, who ascended the throne in 1740. Among those who determined the history of Europe during the eighteenth century, Frederick occupies a foremost place. It was his genius as soldier and statesman that raised Prussia to the rank of a great power. Like Louis XIV he took his position very seriously; a king, in his opinion,

was the "first servant of the State," and should therefore attend to his duties diligently. He was intensely interested in the intellectual movement of his time, and nothing delighted him so much as to be in the company of Voltaire, whom he invited to his court. He shared Voltaire's views on religion, and refused to persecute any one for conscience' sake. Yet Frederick was utterly unscrupulous in his diplomatic relations, and cynically avowed it. "In diplomacy," he remarked, "I do what I like and then find pedants to justify my actions."

War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). Frederick was passionately ambitious to expand his domains. No sooner was he on the throne than he invaded Austria and seized Silesia. The Hapsburg ruler was Empress Maria Theresa, who resolved to defend her domains against her "bad neighbor," as she called

Frederick. The War of the Austrian Succession which followed, originally a dynastic struggle between the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, resulted in involving nearly all Europe and even America, where it was called King George's War. "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America," is Macaulay's judgment of Frederick's conduct.

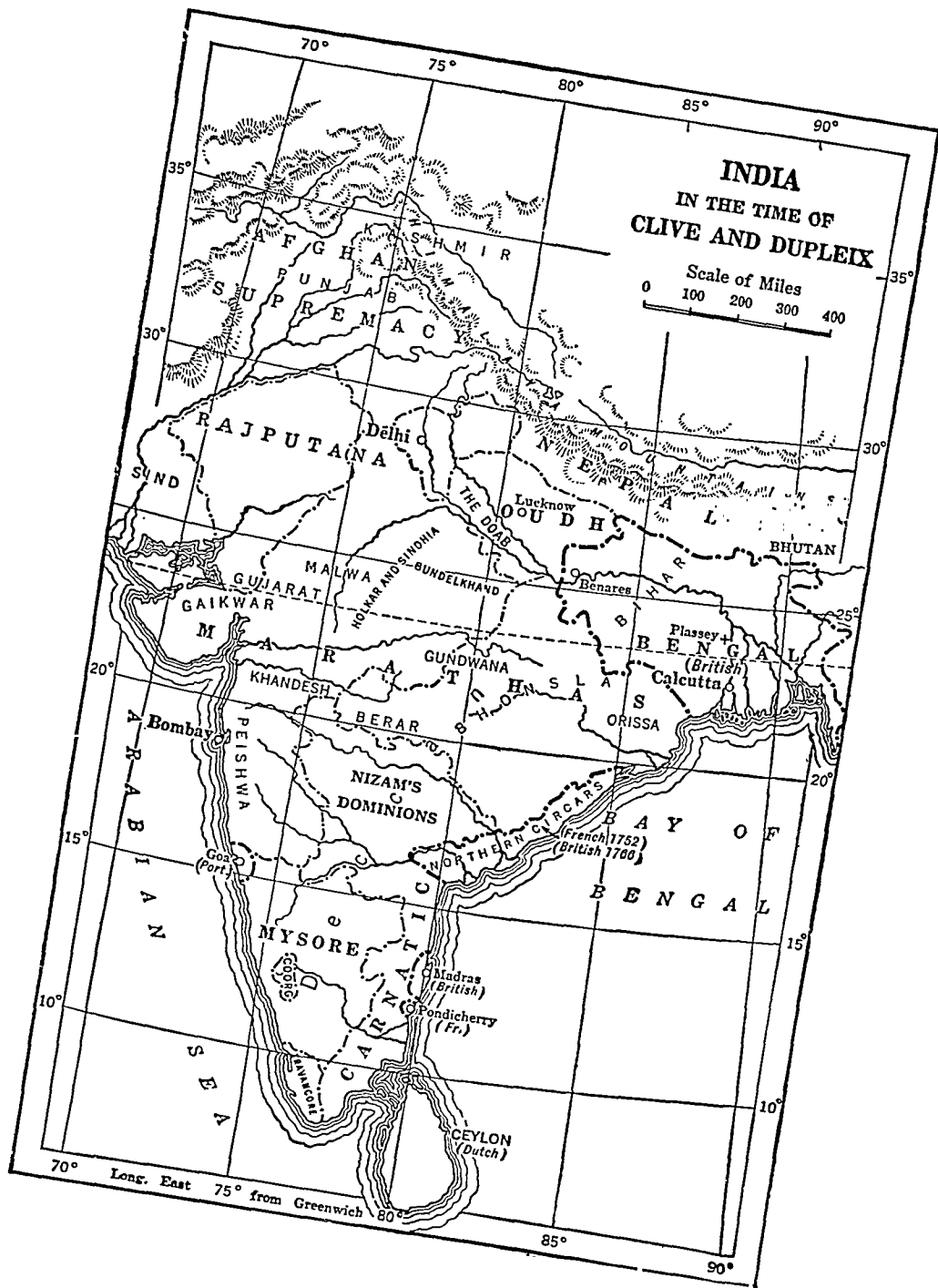
The Seven Years' War (1756-63). The next struggle was the Seven Years' War, which was a world war, involving Europe, Asia, and America. At first Prussia opposed single-handed Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden; later England joined Prussia. Frederick won a number of remarkable victories, the most notable being the Battle of Rossbach (1757), which gave him great renown. In spite of his triumphs he was in a desperate situation, being pushed hard by the Allies. But Russia unexpectedly made a separate peace which brought the war to an end. The Treaty of Paris (1763) confirmed Prussia's annexation of Silesia.

COLONIAL RIVALRY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

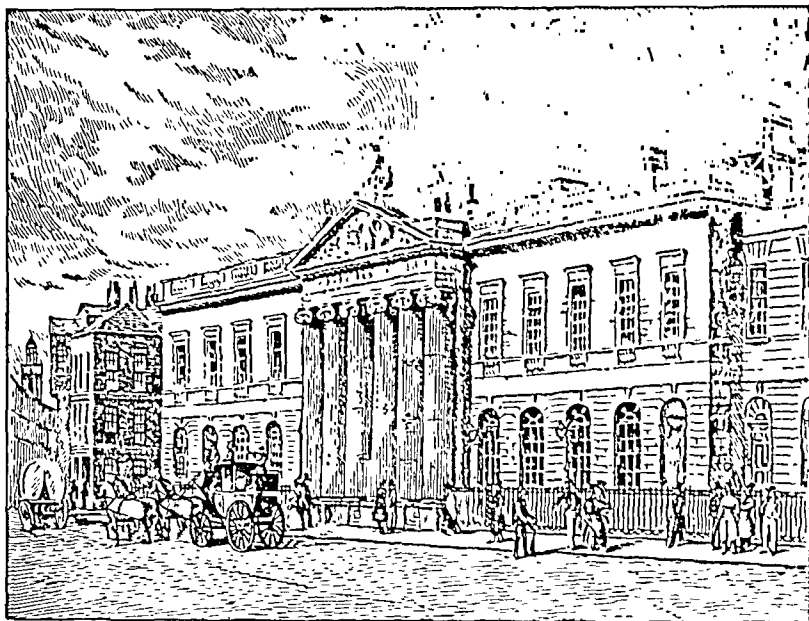
France and England fight for colonial supremacy. The triumph of Prussia in Europe marked also the triumph of England overseas. Throughout the eighteenth century a world-wide struggle took place between England and France for colonial supremacy. During the wars of Louis XIV and Frederick the Great, Europe paid little attention to the fighting that went on between the French and English colonists in far-off America and India. But the outcome in these regions was to be immensely important in world history.

Their possessions in North America. As the result of exploration and settlement in America the French held the valley of the St. Lawrence and the region of the Great Lakes; in addition they had forts and trading posts along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The English held the Atlantic seaboard. Both nations had possessions in the West Indies.

In India. The colonial struggle concerned populous India as well as sparsely inhabited America. How India fell under European control is a strange story. In the seventeenth century the English and French East India Companies established settle-



ments in India where they traded peaceably with the natives. The government of India was then in a chaotic condition. In theory it was an empire, but the Great Mogul,¹ as the emperor was called, had only nominal control over the vast population of India. The various regions were governed by his viceroys, called nawabs (nabobs), and by Indian princes, called rajahs. The European settlements, which were constantly increasing, were governed by their Companies.



THE MANSION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN LONDON

From an old print.

Policy of Dupleix. In 1741 there came to India as head of the French Company a remarkable man named Dupleix, who conceived an ambitious and brilliant plan of making his Company the dominant power in the land. He entered into alliances with Indian rulers, whose armies he organized and equipped on the European model. As the commander of large armies of "sepoys," as the European-trained Indian soldiers were called, and as the ally of the native rulers, Dupleix succeeded in making French influence supreme in India.

¹ In the sixteenth century India had been invaded and conquered by Moham-medans, who established the empire of the Great Mogul with the capital at Delhi.

COLONIAL RIVALRY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE 197

Policy of Clive. The English Company became alarmed. It was certain to be crowded out by the French, who were making every effort to restrict the business of the English merchants. A young clerk, named Robert Clive, employed by the Company, evolved plans similar to those of Dupleix. He also organized sepoy armies, and persuaded the English Company to ally itself with Indian princes. Clive proved to be as daring and brilliant as Dupleix, and the English Company was soon in a position to dispute French influence in India. In the middle of the eighteenth century the English were dominant in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; the French, in Surat and Pondicherry.

William Pitt (1708-78). The English statesman who had a clear idea of the importance of the colonial struggle with France was William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham. Soon after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War he was in control of England's policies, and he promptly joined Prussia, not indeed because he favored Frederick's ambitions but because England's colonial rival, France, was on the other side. Pitt energetically aided the English colonists in America, where the struggle was called the French and Indian War. It was brought to a close by the triumph of the English under General Wolfe, who defeated the French under General Montcalm at the Battle of Quebec (1759). The struggle was also waged in India, but not by the English and French alone.



WILLIAM PITT
(EARL OF CHATHAM)

On one side were Indian armies, led by French traders and adventurers; on the other side were Indian armies, led by English traders and adventurers. In the Battle of Plassey (1757) Clive won a great victory over the French and their allies.

Colonial supremacy of England. The Treaty of Paris ended

for a time France's career as a colonial power. She was compelled to give to England all her possessions in North America and in India, retaining a few stations here and there. The British Empire of our time came into being largely as a result of the struggle that ended in the victories of Quebec and Plassey.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Colonies oppose England. During the French and Indian War the English colonists had aided the mother country in winning a vast territory, and England had aided the colonists against the French and the Indians. To help pay the expenses of the war taxes were levied in the colonies by the English Parliament. A strong opposition arose in the colonies against these taxes on the ground that Parliament had no right to tax them because it did not admit representatives from the colonies. "No taxation without representation" was the slogan. This question agitated both England and America, and was the immediate cause of the conflict known as the American Revolution.

Restrictions on colonial business. There were, however, deeper causes. Chief among them was the Mercantile System, which regarded a colony merely as a source of benefit to the mother country. England enacted a number of laws which greatly restricted the manufacture, in the colonies, of those articles which she produced. Through the Navigation Laws she restricted the commerce of the colonies with foreign countries by compelling colonial exports and imports to be shipped through British ports, where they had to pay heavy duties; furthermore, no foreign ships could be used to carry colonial products.

Self-government in the colonies. Politically, the colonies had been semi-independent long before they declared their independence. During the seventeenth century the struggle between King and Parliament distracted England's attention from the colonies. This "wholesome neglect" gave an opportunity to the latter to administer their affairs without much interference by the mother country. During the eighteenth century England came to realize the importance of colonies, and challenged France for the mastery of America and India. Her victory over France gave to England a world-wide empire which she tried to bind together through acts of Parliament. In doing so she roused the opposition of the Thirteen Colonies, who, long accustomed to self-

government, resented the interference of the mother country in their affairs.

Whigs and Tories. In a sense the American Revolution was part of the struggle against the attempt of King George III to restore the royal power. In both England and America there were Tories who upheld the king, and Whigs who opposed him. In Parliament itself the cause of America was vigorously espoused by Chatham and Burke, the most influential statesmen in England.

The American Revolution. On July 4, 1776, the famous Declaration of Independence, written by Jefferson, was issued by the Continental Congress representing the Thirteen Colonies. A conflict began which continued for seven years with varying fortunes. Under the command of Wash-



GEORGE III

ington, the American armies won notable successes, but they found it increasingly difficult to cope with England, whose command of the sea enabled her to send large armies to America. France had been watching the conflict with great interest. At first she secretly aided the Americans financially; later, in 1778, she openly espoused their cause, and declared war against England. French armies and fleets greatly helped the Colonies in their desperate and unequal struggle. France's action may be explained partly on the ground that she sympathized with the struggling Americans, and partly on the ground that she wanted to revenge herself against England who had triumphed over her in the Seven Years' War. Hostilities ended in 1781, when a large British army under General Cornwallis surrendered to the French and American forces. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, recognized the independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

World influence of America. The American Revolution has

had a deep and abiding influence. It was the first popular uprising that succeeded in establishing permanently a democratic republic. The extraordinary development of America is one of the great facts in world history. A continental nation emerged, possessing vast resources and inhabited by an energetic, progressive people, which was destined to play a great rôle in the world.

Influence of the American Revolution in England. The success of the Revolution had a marked influence upon England. It nullified the efforts of King George to restore the royal power; and once more the king became the puppet of Parliament.¹ A later generation in England recognized the debt that their country owed to the American Revolution which freed them from King George's tyranny. Recently a statue of George Washington was erected in London. The Revolution was partly responsible for the collapse of the Mercantile System. A more liberal attitude was adopted toward colonies, whose interests were now considered independently of those of the mother country.

In France. The French Revolution, in its early and more moderate phases, owed not a little to the influence of the American Revolution. Enthusiastic friends of America like Lafayette, and enthusiastic friends of France like Franklin and Jefferson greatly influenced the democratic movement among the French people. The American state constitutions with their Bills of Rights were widely circulated in France, and familiarized many with the ideas of liberty and equality.

In Latin America. The success of the Americans inspired hope among the South American colonists, who were far more tyrannically governed by Spain and Portugal than the Americans had been by England. In 1819 a revolutionary movement began throughout the entire continent, which was led by Simon Bolívar, a native of Venezuela. Spain, distracted by dynastic wars at home, offered weak resistance; by 1830 Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay, Mexico, and the Central American States were acknowledged as independent. In 1822 Brazil seceded from Portugal and set herself up as an independent empire; later, in 1889, she became a republic. The independence of Latin America almost completed the political separation of the New World from the Old.

¹ See page 220.

PARTITION OF POLAND

Poland, a state of many races. While some of the European nations were seizing territory in America and Asia, others were doing the same thing on their own continent. Toward the end of the eighteenth century a great international crime was committed, the memory of which has never faded from the mind of Europe. This crime was the Partition of Poland. Before this event Poland was the name given to a large region stretching from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. Although they were the ruling race, the Poles were a minority in the country; the majority consisted of subject races, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Germans. Of Slavic origin and closely related to the Russians in race and language, the Poles nevertheless differ from them in ideals and culture, much as the Italians differ from the French. This is largely due to the fact that the Poles are Roman Catholic in religion, hence more "Western" than the Russians.

The "Liberum Veto." The government of Poland was an anomaly. In theory it was a republic, nominally a kingdom, in fact a feudal oligarchy of the most medieval kind. The king was not an hereditary ruler, but was elected by a Diet, consisting of landed aristocrats. Each and every member of the Diet had an extraordinary privilege, the *liberum veto*, whereby he could defeat any measure before that body. Any member could also "explode" the Diet; namely, bring about a dissolution before its term had expired.

Anarchic conditions in Poland. Feudal anarchy reigned in the country. The nobles conducted private war as in the Middle Ages. The Diet was flouted and ridiculed. Foreign nations were constantly intriguing in Polish affairs, especially when a king was to be elected. In time of war foreign armies marched through Poland, disregarding her neutrality. Many wondered how a country so weak could exist. It is related that a Polish king thus addressed his people: "Poles, you owe your preservation not to laws, for you know them not; nor to government, for you respect it not; you owe it to nothing but to chance."

Dynastic rivalries. In 1733 a crisis arose due to the fact that the throne was vacant. France had a candidate in Stanislas Leszczynski, a Pole who was the father-in-law of Louis XV. Russia had a candidate in Augustus, Elector of Saxony. The election by the Diet of Stanislas resulted in a civil war that lasted

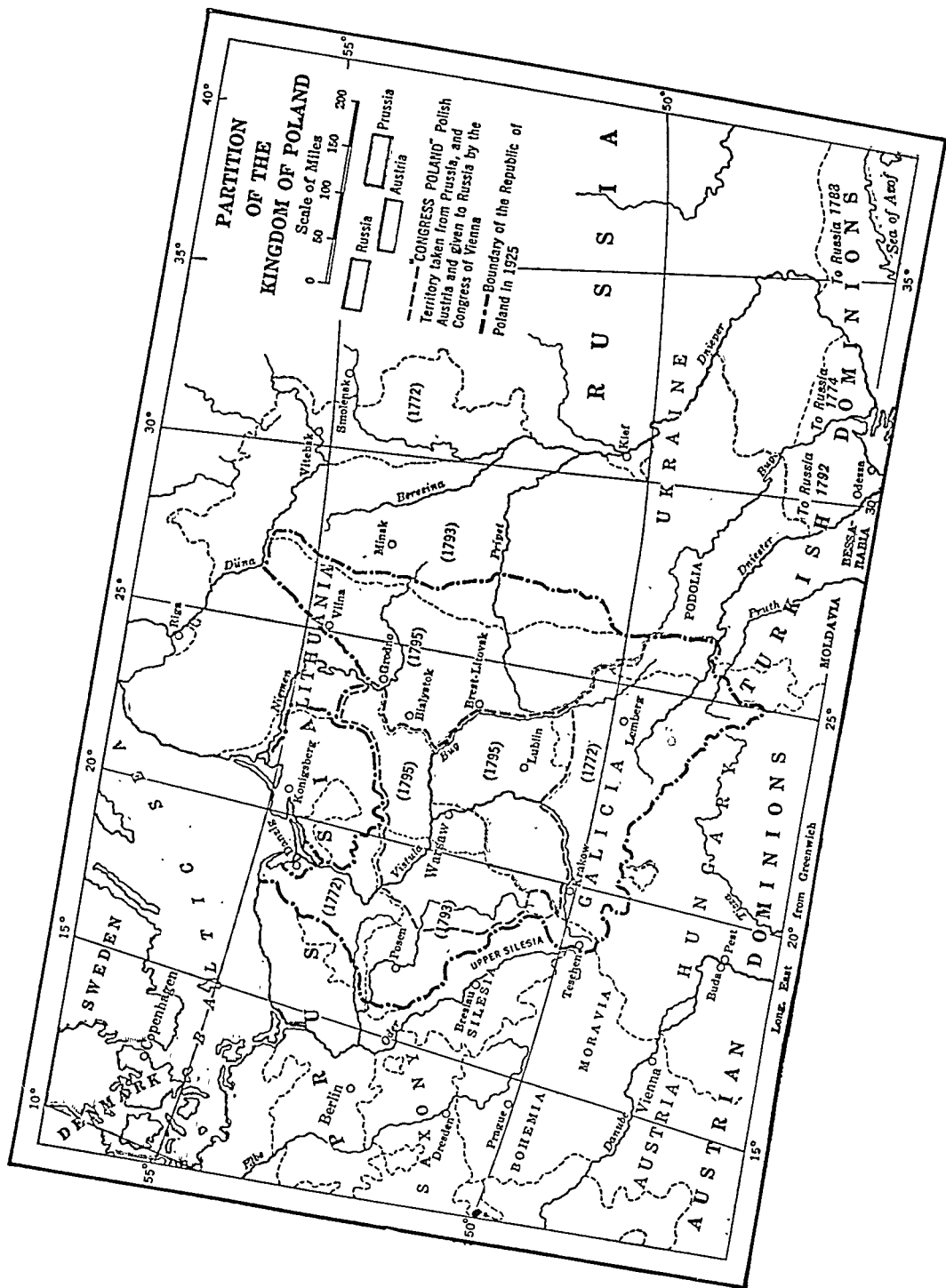
until 1736, when a new Diet elected Augustus, who was accepted by the country. When the latter died, in 1763, the Diet chose a Pole, Stanislas Poniatowski, who was destined to be the last king of his country. Stanislas desired to abolish the *liberum veto* and to reform the government, which alarmed Poland's neighbors, who feared that if Poland was reformed she might become a powerful state, something not at all to their taste.



A CARTOON OF THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772

Catherine II, Joseph II, and Frederick II are pointing on the map of Poland to the portions which each proposes to take. The King of Poland is attempting to hold his falling crown on his head.

The three Partitions. Catherine the Great proposed as a solution of the problem that the government of Poland be abolished and her territory partitioned among her neighbors, thereby removing a center of disturbance. Frederick the Great fell in with the scheme; so did Maria Theresa of Austria, though reluctantly. In 1772 Russia, Prussia, and Austria sent an ultimatum to the Diet demanding that it cede certain territory to each of them, and they made ready to invade Poland in case of a refusal. The Diet was forced to yield. The first partition caused a profound sensa-



tion, and the Allies were everywhere denounced as robbers who had pounced upon a weak neighbor. "Never in my life have I suffered such pangs, and I feel ashamed to show my face," said Maria Theresa. "She is always in tears, yet she is always ready to take her share," commented the cynical Frederick on the Empress's remorse. Catherine's cruel comment was that Poland was now Russia's "doormat" to Western Europe. In 1793 the second partition occurred, which gave more territory to the Allies; and in 1795 came the final partition, and Poland passed out of existence as an independent nation.¹

The Polish Question. The Polish Question, which arose from the Partitions, was one of the grave problems of the nineteenth century. The nation was no more, but the people continued to exist, though under three different flags. A great national feeling arose among the Poles, who fervently believed that the day would come when Poland would once more take her place among the nations of the world.

JOSEPH II AND BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM

Benevolent despotism. The eighteenth century prided itself on being the Age of Reason. Absolute monarchy by divine right could not appeal to the many educated men of the day who were free thinkers. Could it then be justified on practical grounds? A justification was found in what was called enlightened, or benevolent despotism. According to this theory an absolute monarch should use his power solely for the welfare of his subjects, to enact laws based upon the most enlightened views of the day, to further tolerance and good will, to reward merit, and to promote prosperity. Frederick the Great, Catherine the Great, and Joseph II of Austria are usually taken as examples of benevolent despotism. Just why Frederick and Catherine should be so honored it is hard to say, for they were benevolent only to the upper classes and despotic to the lower. Neither did anything to abolish the glaring evils of their time, being far more interested in making war in order to annex territory.

Joseph II (1741-90). Joseph II does in the fullest measure deserve to be called a benevolent despot. He was a great admirer of Rousseau whose works he read with rapture. When he became

¹ Later, in 1815, the Congress of Vienna redivided Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. See page 314 and map, page 315.

emperor in 1765 he resolved to make "philosophy the legislator" of the Hapsburg dominions. Personally Joseph was a man of ex-



JOSEPH II

ceptionally fine nature, simple in his life, thoughtful of others, free and open-minded, industrious, and a true lover of mankind. He traveled through his domains, and personally studied the condition of his subjects, most of whom were serfs whose wretched lot aroused his compassion.

His radical reforms. A series of edicts were issued by Joseph that caused a stir in the world of his day. Serfdom was abolished in some places, and the burdens of the peasants reduced in others; the nobles were deprived of many of their privileges, and ordered to pay taxes; a code of law was adopted which abolished tor-

ture of prisoners and restricted the death penalty. In no field was Joseph more radical than in that of religion. Although a devout Catholic, he issued a series of anti-clerical edicts. He deprived the Church of privileges, and suppressed many monasteries. He actually favored religious *equality* of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Greek Catholics, and even of the Jews. "Once grant freedom of belief," he declared, "and there will be but one religion, the good of the State to which all citizens will devote themselves." Joseph also tried to centralize the government of his dominions, and to nationalize the many races that inhabited them. He therefore abolished local rights and privileges enjoyed by Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands, and ordered that German be the official language of all the Hapsburg territory.

Opposition causes repeal of reforms. Joseph's reform activities aroused the bitterest opposition of the nobles and clergy, who became active in stirring up the people against the Emperor. An

uprising actually took place in the Austrian Netherlands, and one was brewing in Hungary, where the Emperor's centralizing activities were deeply resented. There was so much discontent that Joseph was compelled to repeal nearly all his reform edicts. He died a broken-hearted man wondering why mankind did not hail him as a deliverer. He did not realize that great reforms, in order to be permanent, must come from the people themselves, not from a despot, no matter how benevolent.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. It has always been the pride of the Hohenzollern family that practically every one of its reigning members has added something to what his ancestors handed down to him." Prove the truth of the statement for the period 1614 to 1763.
2. Would you class Frederick the Great among the enlightened despots? Why?
3. In what respects may Frederick the Great be compared with Louis XIV?
4. The former Emperor of Germany was also King of Prussia. Why wasn't his title King of Brandenburg?
5. The Seven Years' War has been aptly called a world war. Why?
6. What is the significance of the Seven Years' War to the British Empire? To France?
7. The system of economic thought during the eighteenth century was Mercantilism; and it was during the eighteenth century that England and France fought for colonial supremacy. Show the connection between the two statements.
8. Why is it correct to say that the British victory in India was a victory for the British East India Company?
9. Show the part played by each of the following in the Seven Years' War: Dupleix, Clive, Pitt.
10. Poland in the eighteenth century was a disunited state, with a "most ineffectual and pernicious" government. Explain.
11. State the attitude of Frederick, Catherine, and Maria Theresa to the Partitions.
12. How many partitions of Poland were there? Give a reason why the three powers did not destroy Poland in the first partition.
13. A glance at the map of present-day Germany will show that Poland separates East Prussia from the rest of Germany. How can you explain it historically?
14. How has the wrong done to Poland in the eighteenth century been righted in the twentieth century?
15. Explain what is meant by enlightened despotism. Show its weaknesses.
16. Why may Joseph II be called the model of enlightened despotism?

Map questions: Locate the Duchy of Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Rossbach, Calcutta, Delhi, Pondicherry, Plassey, Poland, Lithuania, Galicia (Polish), Posen, and West Prussia. Indicate the territory that was gained by Peter the Great; by Catherine the Great. Indicate the territories of Prussia on the accession of Frederick the Great; on the death of Frederick the Great.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- THE RISE OF PRUSSIA.** Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, ch. I; Marriott and Robertson, *Evolution of Prussia*, ch. III.
- FREDERICK II,** Henderson, II, ch. III; Young, *Life of Frederick the Great*, chs. III-VI; Macaulay, *Frederick the Great*, pp. 1-25, 41-65.
- FREDERICK'S WARS FOR SILESIA.** Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despots*, ch. VII; Henderson, II, pp. 123-46; Macaulay, pp. 27-41; Marriott and Robertson, pp. 119-24.
- THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.** Johnson, ch. VIII; Henderson, II, pp. 146-81; Young, ch. X; Macaulay, pp. 65-103.
- PARTITION OF POLAND.** Johnson, pp. 207-14; Rambaud, *The History of Russia*, II, pp. 192-97, 232-45; Henderson, II, pp. 204-18, 235-38; Phillips, *Poland*, pp. 58-88; Bright, *Joseph II*, chs. I-II; Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, ch. XVIII.
- THE BENEVOLENT DESPOTS.** Hassal, *The Balance of Power*, ch. XIII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 200-20.
- JOSEPH II.** Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despots*, pp. 227-43; Bright, *Joseph II*, ch. VI; Whitman, *Austria*, pp. 261-73.

tan Revolution. During the Tudor period the religious struggle had been between Catholicism and Anglicanism, ending in the complete triumph of the latter. The Anglican, or, as it is called in America, the Episcopal Church, was now the established church



COSTUMES OF ENGLISH
PURITANS

of the nation. Anglicanism was a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism. It was Protestant because it refused to acknowledge the headship of the pope, and because it repudiated certain Catholic doctrines and practices, such as the mass, confession, monasticism, and celibacy of the clergy. It was Catholic because it was governed by bishops, and its services included processions, kneeling, vested choirs, and altars. Puritanism was primarily a movement to make the Anglican Church completely Protestant. "Pure" Christianity, according to the Puritans, meant that a church should be governed by laymen, not by bishops; that a minister should be a preacher, not a priest; that a church building should be a plain structure without crosses, altars,

or stained-glass windows; and that services should be confined to sermons, prayers, Bible reading, and congregational singing. To a Puritan almost anything in a religious service that was symbolic was idolatrous.

The two Puritan parties. Puritanism split into two factions, one composed of those who remained members of the Anglican Church, but with the object of "boring from within" in the hope of converting it into a Puritan Church; and the other, of those who seceded and formed independent congregations. The latter were called Separatists or Independents. James bitterly hated the Puritans whom he regarded as the chief opponents of his autocratic rule. "I shall make them conform themselves," he said, "or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." The famous Pilgrim Fathers were Separatists who left England in order that they might worship as they wished in the New World.

English settlement of Ireland. The reign of James I marked an important development in the history of Ireland. Invaded in 1169 by adventurous knights from England, the Irish chiefs acknowledged the King of England as their "lord." During the Middle Ages the connection between England and Ireland was slight. At Dublin, in the English Pale, there was a parliament which, in theory, had jurisdiction over all Ireland, but in fact only over the English settlers in the Pale. The Irish continued under the rule of their tribal chiefs.

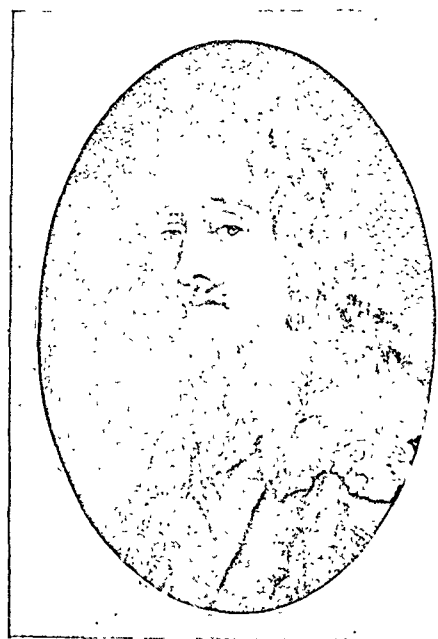
The Tudors extend their rule to Ireland. A change came with the Tudors who wanted to bring the Irish more thoroughly under their rule. In 1494, in the reign of Henry VII, a law was passed by the Irish Parliament called the Poynings Act, which declared that no bill could be submitted to it without the consent of the King and Privy Council of England. In 1541, Henry VIII took the title of King of Ireland. As in England he made war upon Catholicism, and established a branch of the Anglican Church in Ireland.

Plantation of Ulster (1611). The Irish, who were intensely Catholic, rose again and again against the English, who were now their religious as well as national enemies. In the reign of James an uprising occurred in Ulster which was suppressed. All of those who were implicated in the uprising were driven out of the province, and in their place Protestants, chiefly from Scotland, were encouraged to settle in Ulster in order to secure a population loyal to the English. The Plantation of Ulster, as it is called, was the beginning of a policy that was to have fateful consequences in Irish history.

THE PURITAN REBELLION

Charles I opposes Parliament. Charles I succeeded to the throne in 1625. Like his father he was a strong believer in the divine right of kings, but unlike him he was very presentable, being handsome and dignified. In spite of his personal popularity Charles had many disputes with Parliament over taxation; the King wanted money, and Parliament did not wish to give it to him unless he agreed with its views. In order to avoid calling Parliament, Charles resorted to a policy of "forced loans"; namely, that of compelling rich men to "loan" him money which he never intended to repay. To refuse, meant imprisonment

without charge and without trial. But Charles did not get enough money by these methods, and he was compelled to call



CHARLES I

Parliament. In 1628 that body passed a famous resolution, called the Petition of Right, which declared that the consent of Parliament was necessary to all taxes, gifts, and loans; and denounced arbitrary imprisonment and other oppressive practices of the King. The Petition was an open and emphatic assertion by Parliament of its powers.

Personal rule of Charles.

Although Charles had signed the Petition he had no intention of being faithful to it. He boldly resolved to rule without Parliament by levying taxes on his own responsibility. One of the taxes that he levied, called "ship money"

roused a storm of opposition. In former times seaboard towns and counties had been required to furnish ships or money for the navy, but the law had been a dead letter for many years. Charles revived the tax, and even extended it to the entire country. The opponents of the King were in dismay; once he got the "power of the purse" the English Parliament would virtually cease to exist, as was the case of the parliament in France. A wealthy and influential country gentleman, named John Hampden, determined to challenge the right of Charles to collect ship money. He refused to pay the tax, and was prosecuted. His trial attracted great attention, and made him a national hero. However, Hampden was found guilty by the court, and convicted. Charles was elated. He now had sufficient money, and no longer needed to call Parliament. The eleven years from 1629 to 1640 is called the period of Personal Rule, during which the King governed as an absolute monarch. Charles found in the Earl of Strafford and in Archbishop Laud two able ministers who thor-

oughly and rigorously suppressed opposition to the crown in State and Church. The Court of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, begun under the Tudors, were effective instruments of oppression. They had power to accuse, to try, and to judge a prisoner without defense; to be haled before them meant sure condemnation and severe punishment.

Attempts to subject Scotland. Puritans were harried out of the country, and many fled to New England to escape the heavy hand of the King. Charles now resolved to extend his autocratic rule to Scotland. As an Anglican he resented the fact that the established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian. The latter was a compromise between Anglicanism and Puritanism. Instead of bishops the Presbyterian Church was governed by assemblies, composed of laymen, called "elders," and of ministers; its services, too, were more "Protestant" than those of the Anglican Church. Charles made efforts to introduce Anglicanism in Scotland, which roused the Scotch to fury. In 1638 many signed a famous document, called the National Covenant, in which they solemnly swore to defend their faith against the King. An uprising took place, and a Scotch army crossed the frontier into England.

The Long Parliament. Charles now had a war on his hands, always an expensive affair. This situation brought to an end his personal rule; in order to get money to prosecute the war, the King had to call Parliament. It assembled in 1640, and did not formally dissolve for twenty years. The Long Parliament, as it is called, is the most famous Parliament in the history of England. It inaugurated the first revolution of modern times by overthrowing the English monarchy. The Puritan majority, led by John Pym and John Hampden, struck terrific blows at autocratic government. A Bill of Attainder^{*} was passed against the Earl of Strafford, who was then executed. Laud shared his fate. The Court of the Star Chamber was abolished. Parliament asserted its "power of the purse" by declaring illegal all taxes levied without its consent. To avoid being dissolved by the King, it passed a resolution that it could not be dissolved without its consent. Charles had to sign all these measures in order to get money for the Scotch invaders who refused to get out of England unless they were paid. Parliament took another important step in issuing the Grand Remonstrance, an appeal to the people of England

^{*} This was a law declaring a person guilty of treason without trial.

justifying its actions. This was the first time a representative body had appealed to the people over the head of a king.

Cavalier *versus* Roundhead. Charles determined to fight rather than to allow Parliament to seize the reins of government. In 1642 he called upon all loyal Englishmen to support him against a rebellious legislature, and civil war broke out in England. Those who followed the King were mainly the country folk, led by nobles and Anglican clergymen; and those who followed Parliament were mainly the inhabitants of the towns led by merchants and Puritan ministers. It was Cavalier *versus* Roundhead.¹ In the battles that followed, the Parliamentary forces were at first badly defeated.

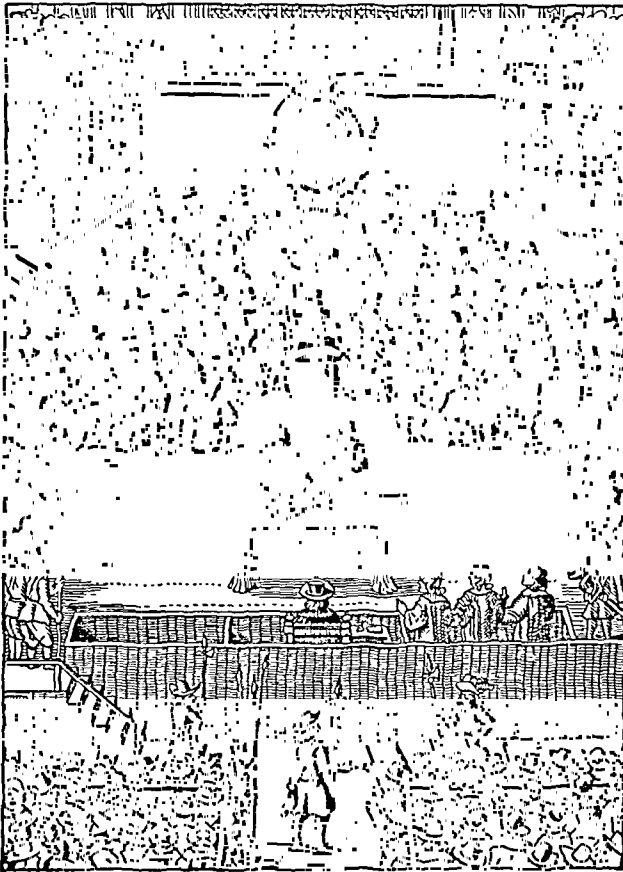
Triumph of Parliamentary forces. Parliament was in a bad situation, and turned to the Scotch for aid. An agreement was made between the latter and the Roundheads to join forces against Charles, on condition that Presbyterianism be established in England. Reënforced by the Scotch the Parliamentary forces turned on the royalist army and badly defeated it at the Battle of Marston Moor (1644). The victory was due largely to the work of a brilliant cavalry officer, named Oliver Cromwell, who commanded a special body of Puritan troops.

Cromwell (1599-1658). Cromwell's prestige rose so high that he was given control of all the Parliamentary forces. He reorganized the army, and the New Model, as the new army was called, was filled with extreme Puritans. Cromwell believed that the dashing bravery of the Cavaliers could be matched by the steadfast courage of God-fearing men who would fight the "battle of the Lord" in the war against Charles. The first trial of the New Model was at the great Battle of Naseby (1645) in which Cromwell routed the royalist army. Charles escaped, but his cause was lost. In 1646 he gave himself up to the Scotch, who delivered him to Parliament. The civil war seemed ended.

Execution of Charles I. What was to be done with the King? His opponents now split into three factions, the Presbyterian majority in Parliament, the Scotch, and the victorious army under Cromwell. Taking advantage of their disputes Charles

¹ "Cavalier" was a popular name for a dashing noble, handsomely dressed and wearing a wig of long, curly hair. "Roundhead" was a term of contempt applied to a plain citizen because he generally wore no wig, and even cut his hair short.

began negotiating with all three factions, which led to a renewal of the civil war. The army realized that no dependence could be put on Charles's promises, and therefore determined to seize control and destroy the monarchy root and branch. Quickly ending the war, they proceeded to "call Charles Stuart to account for the blood that he had shed." In 1648 a body of troops under Colonel Pride was stationed at the door of Parliament, and when those members who favored Charles appeared, they were prevented from entering the building. This incident, known as "Pride's Purge," left Parliament in control of the extreme Puritans from



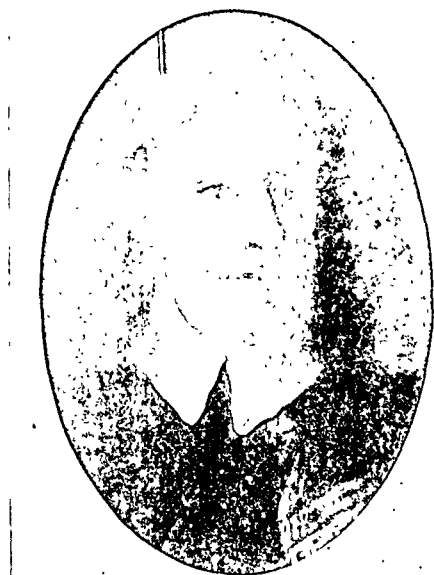
THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I

whom Charles could expect no mercy. In 1649 the Rump Parliament, as the remainder of that body was called in derision, organized a court which tried Charles on the charge of being a "tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation." He was found guilty and was publicly beheaded. For the first time in history a king was tried and executed as a traitor. Many wondered how a king could be tried, for was he not above law? And how could he commit treason, for was he not the nation incarnate? The beheading of Charles was generally regarded as an act of sacrilege for which the regicides would surely suffer divine punishment. Yet it was the first mortal blow against divine right monarchy, and created a profound impression throughout the world.

Cromwell defeats the Irish and the Scotch. A republic was established called the Commonwealth. Executive power was given to a Council of State appointed by Parliament. Ireland and Scotland refused to recognize the Commonwealth, and rose in

favor of the Stuarts, now represented by Prince Charles, a son of the late King. An army under Cromwell invaded Ireland, and suppressed the uprising with great cruelty. The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland followed the precedent of Ulster; many Irish lost their lands which were given to English settlers. Cromwell next turned on the Scotch whom he badly defeated in several battles.

Cromwell, Lord Protector. Cromwell's extraordinary victories made him feared by all, and his political influence rose high. But he was not content to be merely a general under orders from the Rump Parlia-



OLIVER CROMWELL

ment. When, in 1653, that body attempted to make itself permanent, soldiers under Cromwell's orders appeared, and with-

out much ceremony they cleared the hall and locked the door. The army was now in control. It drew up a constitution, the Instrument of Government, providing for a chief executive, called the Lord Protector, and for a Parliament.¹ Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector; and, as Parliament was seldom called, he was an absolute monarch in all but name. In a comparatively short time England had passed through startling changes, monarchy, republic, and now military dictatorship.

Fall of the Protectorate. Cromwell has a great place in English history. As a soldier he ranks with Marlborough and Wellington. As a statesman he showed foresight and ability of a high order. Although devout he was not as fanatical as some of his Puritan followers whose zeal he tried to restrain. The Protectorate did not receive the support of the English people who were accustomed to a government by a king and parliament, not by a general and his army. What made it still more unpopular was the suppression of dancing, prize fighting, athletics, drinking, and other amusements of the people. The Puritan government was as sternly opposed to what they called "godless living" as to royalism. When Cromwell died in 1658, he left as his successor his son Richard who, however, was not strong enough to hold the power that his father had won. The Protectorate was abolished, and the Stuart monarchy was restored in the person of Prince Charles who, in 1660, was recalled from exile and proclaimed King Charles II. Although it was suppressed the Puritan rebellion had a great influence upon the history of English liberty. The terrific blows that it struck at despotism in Church and State, and the great victories of its leader, Cromwell, later made toleration in religion possible, and absolute government impossible, in England.



A LIGHT HORSEMAN
OF CROMWELL'S
DAY

Showing the equipment of
the "Ironsides."

¹ This document is notable as the first written, national constitution in modern history. It lasted, however, only a few years. The American Constitution has the distinction of being the first written, national constitution that became permanent.

REVOLUTION OF 1688

The Restoration. The Restoration was furiously anti-Puritan and enthusiastically royalist. The army was disbanded; the Anglican Church was reestablished; all acts passed since 1642 were declared invalid; and many of the regicides were executed or imprisoned. Severe laws were passed against the "Dissenters," the name given to those Protestants who dissented from the established Anglican Church. They were deprived of civil rights, such as holding public office; and they were not permitted to worship according to their faith except under the severest restrictions. There was as much dread of Puritans during the Restoration in England as, a century and a half later, of Jacobins during the Restoration in France.

Charles II. Charles was a clever, easy-going man of whom it was said that "he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one." He had been in exile, and had no intention of "going on his travels" again. Parliament was on his side, but he realized that he must consult its wishes in the matter of taxes, otherwise he might share the same fate as his father. But he had no love for Parliament. How then could he get money without calling it too often? He solved the problem by an arrangement with Louis XIV, who secretly sent him money in return for keeping England aloof from coalitions against France.

The Habeas Corpus Act. The most important law passed in Charles's reign was the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), one of the foundation-stones of English liberty. This provided for a method of preventing unjust imprisonment through an order, granted by a judge, requiring a jailer to bring a prisoner to court and to state the reasons for his arrest. Habeas Corpus made impossible in England the evil practice of *lettre de cachet* in France.¹

Tory versus Whig. Charles had no legitimate children. His successor was to be his brother, James, who was a Catholic. Several determined efforts were made to exclude James from the throne on account of his faith which failed. The struggle over James gave rise to two political groups: those who were against him, called Whigs, and those who favored him, called Tories. These groups proclaimed different political ideals, and in time became political parties struggling for the control of the government.

James II nullifies acts of Parliament. James became King in

¹ See page 229.

established without consent of Parliament; (4) that members of Parliament should have full freedom of election and of speech; (5) that no excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishments should be imposed by the courts; and (6) that no Catholic could occupy the English throne. The influence of this famous document is seen in the American Constitution and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. In 1689 a Mutiny Act to establish army discipline was passed, but as it had to be renewed yearly, at least, and as Parliament made grants for one year only, annual sessions became necessary. In 1694 a Triennial Act required that no Parliament should last more than three years; later, in 1716, the Septennial Act extended the term of Parliament to seven years. The Toleration Act (1689) gave virtual toleration to Dissenters though not to Catholics, Jews, or Unitarians. In 1695, through failure to renew the former licensing act under which a strict censorship had been maintained, liberty of the press was secured; henceforth it was restricted only by the law of libel and by heavy stamp duties. The Act of Settlement (1701) made sure that no Catholic would reign in England by settling the crown only upon Protestants; on Anne, the Protestant sister of Mary; and after Anne, upon the Electress Sophia of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I, and her Protestant descendants. It required that all sovereigns be Anglicans; it provided also that judges should hold office during good behavior, and could be removed only by Parliament, not by the King.

Conquest of Ireland. Opposition to William III flamed up in Ireland, where James had raised his standard. The Catholic Irish rallied to his side; in addition a French army was sent by Louis XIV to aid the Stuart cause. The Protestants of Ulster supported William of Orange, and for that reason they were called Orangemen. William invaded Ireland with an English and Dutch army, and defeated the Irish and French under James at the Battle of the Boyne (1690). There now took place another great confiscation of Irish land. William gave large estates to some of his followers, and the Irish became tenants on land which had been theirs. Severe laws, called penal laws, were passed, designed to keep the Irish in permanent subjection. Catholics were forbidden to buy land, and their right of inheritance was restricted. All schools had to be under Protestant control. Catholic worship was allowed, but under extremely severe restrictions.

Catholics were not permitted to vote or to hold office. The penal laws were the final step in the conquest of Ireland, which was now completely subject to the rule of England.

Origin of the cabinet system. It was in the reign of William that an important constitutional development took place resulting in the cabinet system, which was to absorb entirely the power of the crown and leave it merely a symbol and a decoration, which it is to-day. Both parties had united to elect William, and he therefore appointed Whigs and Tories to his cabinet. But soon the Tories showed signs of longing for the return of the Stuarts, some even becoming Jacobites, as the partisans of the exiled James were called. But the Whigs remained stout supporters of the Revolution. William therefore began to appoint cabinets consisting of Whigs only. The significant thing about this was that it became a precedent for the King to appoint to his cabinet men of the same party, and that party the one which had a majority in the House of Commons.

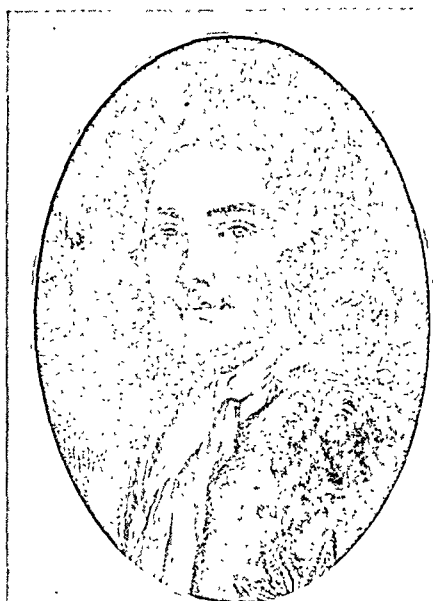
Growth of cabinet system. When William III died in 1702 he was succeeded by Anne. During her reign the crown lost its last vestige of legislative power, the veto; 1707 was the last year when an English monarch vetoed a bill passed by Parliament. Under the cabinet system, which was now fairly well established, the veto was impossible; if the monarch vetoed a bill the cabinet, being responsible for its passage through the Commons, would resign. There would consequently be no government, for no cabinet could exist without the support of the Commons.

Union of England and Scotland. In the reign of Anne England and Scotland were united by mutual agreement, under the name Great Britain (1707). The Scotch Parliament was abolished, and Scotland was given representation in what was now called the *British* Parliament. The union proved beneficial to both countries, who have ever since lived happily under a common government.

The Hanoverians. Anne was succeeded, in 1714, by her cousin George I of Hanover, son of the Electress Sophia, who was the first of the Hanoverian dynasty, which still reigns in England.¹ George I was a German who spoke no English and understood little of English politics. The man upon whom he relied was Sir Robert

¹ In 1917, during the World War the royal family name was changed to Windsor; George V was the first of the House of Windsor.

Walpole, a Whig leader, who really ruled England from 1721 to 1742, well into the reign of George II. Walpole was the first



ROBERT WALPOLE

Prime Minister in the modern sense. A shrewd and corrupt politician as well as a far-seeing statesman, Walpole dominated Parliament which was controlled by the Whigs. Soon it became a tradition that the King must take the "advice" of his ministers in appointing men to office and in directing the policies of the government. By the middle of the eighteenth century the English monarch had actually become a figure-head.

REVIVAL OF TORYISM

George III attempts to restore king's power. When George III became king (1760) he determined to re-

store the power of the crown. It is important to keep in mind that, at no time, did George dream of establishing absolute monarchy in England; what he desired was to restore the *executive* authority which his grandfather and great-grandfather had let slip through their fingers. The King found powerful supporters in the Tories who now abandoned the lost cause of the Stuarts and rallied to his side as the vigorous upholder of the monarchical principle.

The American Revolution foils the King's plans. George resolved on having his way in the appointment of cabinets. By the use of bribery, coercion, and patronage he managed to control Parliament, where a corrupt majority called the "King's friends" supported his policies and his ministers. But the spirit of 1688 was not dead. Bitter opposition arose, and the King and his pliant ministers were denounced as subverters of English liberty. In Parliament the opposition was led by the great philosopher-statesman, Edmund Burke, and by the eloquent Charles James Fox. These Whig leaders demanded that Parliament be reformed

in order to make that body independent of the King's control. The issue was decided in America. When the American Revolution broke out it received the hearty support of Burke and Fox, who saw in the uprising of the colonists, not so much a revolution against England, as a bold defense of the liberties of Englishmen gained in so many struggles against the crown. The success of the Americans brought to naught George's attempt to revive the power of the monarchy. So much feeling was aroused against the King, who was blamed for the loss of the American colonies, that he was compelled to give up his despotic ways.



FOX AND BURKE DENOUNCING
LORD NORTH

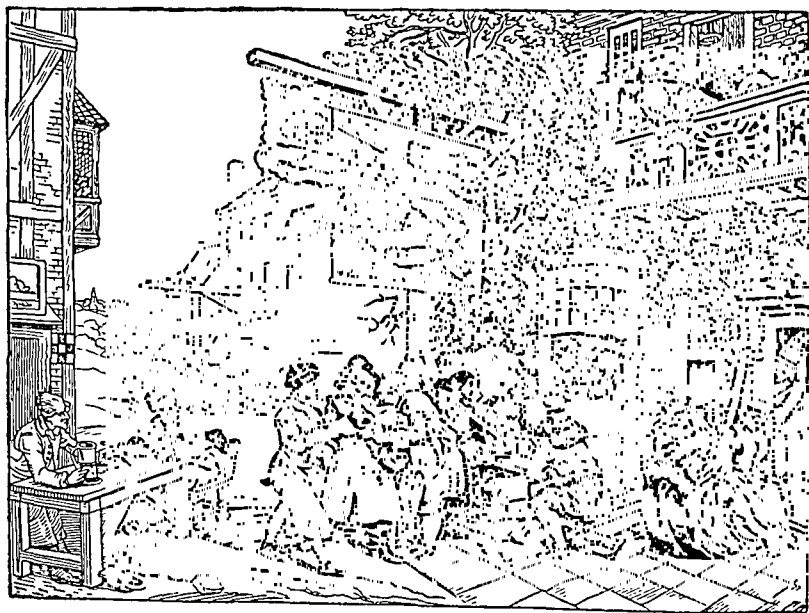
A contemporary English cartoon.

Rise of William Pitt, the younger. The new era saw the rise of a new statesman, William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, who became Prime Minister in 1783, and continued in that office for almost twenty years. A cool, reserved man with a powerful, practical mind, he became England's successful pilot during the storms of the French Revolution and Napoleon. In domestic affairs he was a moderate Tory, opposed to the despotic ways of George, yet even more opposed to the radicalism of men like Fox, who were influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution.

Concessions to the Irish. The reign of George III saw important events in Ireland. Encouraged by the American Revolution, Catholics and Protestants united in an agitation against English rule; the Catholics because of the penal laws, and the Protestants because of the ruinous restrictions on Irish trade imposed by the British Parliament. Under the leadership of Henry Grattan the Irish succeeded in winning a large degree of self-government. In 1782 the Poynings Act was repealed, and the Dublin Parliament assumed jurisdiction in Ireland, subject only to the Crown. Grattan's Parliament, as it was called, abolished many of the penal laws, and gave Catholics the right to vote, though not to

hold office. These concessions were welcomed by the Irish, who were now encouraged to demand complete self-government.

Union of England and Ireland. When the French Revolution broke out, the Irish were greatly inspired by its principles of freedom, and they formed revolutionary societies that agitated for independence. In 1798, when England was at war with France, the Irish revolutionists raised the cry that "England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities." A rebellion of the Catholic Irish took place which recalled the days of Cromwell and William III. The movement was encouraged by France. After the uprising was suppressed, the English determined to keep a tighter hold on the disaffected island. Largely through bribery and coercion the Dublin Parliament was induced to pass the Act of Union (1801) establishing the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. According to its provisions the Dublin Parliament was abolished, and Ireland was given representation in the British Parliament. Unlike the union with Scotland the union with Ireland was not a happy one. The Irish were a conquered people and treated as such by England; hence they did not wish to be "united" with their oppressors.



AN OLD-TIME ELECTION IN ENGLAND

Buying votes for a candidate for the Lord Mayoralty. (After Hogarth.)

England's Parliament not truly representative. At the close of the eighteenth century England was the only nation in Europe that could boast of representative government, of religious toleration, of personal liberty, and of freedom of the press, which she had gained at the price of two revolutions. Yet, strange as it may seem, she was not at all a modern democracy with equal rights to all and special privileges to none. The mass of the English people was hardly affected by these great gains which benefited the upper and middle classes. The common man could not vote; he could not read; he was under the thumb of the lord in the country and of the capitalist in the city. The task of the nineteenth century was to broaden English liberty down to the lowest classes, so that they too might become the heirs of their country's freedom.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. When Louis XIV claimed to rule by divine right one almost believed him; but when James I claimed the same right one was either "amused or irritated." Why?
2. Why were the Puritans hostile to James I?
3. What were the chief differences between Catholics and Anglicans? Between Puritans and Anglicans? Between Separatists and Puritans? Between Presbyterians and Puritans?
4. What were the characteristics of Charles I?
5. The rule of the Tudors was practically absolute. Yet when the Stuarts tried to rule in a similar manner a revolution occurred. Why?
6. Why did Charles I attempt to rule without Parliament? Why was he unsuccessful?
7. What are the chief provisions of the Petition of Right? Of the Bill of Rights? Why are they considered the corner-stones of the English Constitution?
8. What important political reforms did the Long Parliament pass?
9. What classes supported Charles? Parliament? Why?
10. Show the importance in the English revolutions of each of the following: The New Model, Pride's Purge, Rump Parliament, Habeas Corpus Act, Act of Settlement, Mutiny Act.
11. How was the Toleration Act a step toward religious freedom?
12. In what sense may Cromwell's government be taken as an illustration of militarism?
13. "The history of constitutional government under the restored Stuarts is a history of renewed financial and religious disputes." Justify the statement.
14. Why is it said that the English revolutions of the seventeenth century resulted not in a triumph of democracy but in a triumph of aristocracy?
15. What were the immediate causes of the Revolution of 1688?

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16. Explain how the coming of the Hanoverians led to the decline of the royal power.
17. Trace historically the origin and growth of the English cabinet. Why did George III fail to restore the executive authority of the Crown? Who was the first Prime Minister?
18. The Irish Question is a result of religious, agrarian, and political antagonisms between a conquered and a conquering people. Show historically the origins and development of each of these antagonisms.

Map questions: Locate Ulster, the Boyne River, Marston Moor, and Naseby.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

JAMES I. Green, *Short History of the English People*, II, pp. 19-45; Cheyney, *Short History of England*, pp. 383-482; Beard, *Introduction to English History*, pp. 331-46.

THE PURITANS. Green, II, pp. 1-19, 60-71; Cheyney, pp. 404-05.

ENGLISH CONTROL OF IRELAND. Green, I, pp. 562-83, II, pp. 148-50, 166-68, 290-92, 298-300, 450-56; Cheyney, pp. 304, 405-06, 439-40, 455-56, 516-18, 537-39, 606-08; Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. VIII; Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*, chs. XVI-XXVI.

THE PURITAN REBELLION. Green, II, pp. 113-44; Cheyney, pp. 431-52; Harrison, chs. IV-VII; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, pp. 349-59.

CHARLES I. Green, II, pp. 45-59, 71-113; Cheyney, pp. 413-27.

CROMWELL. Green, II, pp. 157-81; Cheyney, pp. 460-64; Harrison, chs. I-III, XI-XIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. Green, II, pp. 145-57; Cheyney, pp. 453-60; Harrison, ch. X; Robinson, pp. 359-62.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1689. Robinson, pp. 365-69; Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. XIV; Green, II, pp. 258-87.

GEORGE III AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Adams, pp. 396-407; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, pp. 322-37; Green, II, pp. 381-419.

THE CABINET SYSTEM. Morley, *Walpole*, ch. VII; Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, pp. 37-39; Adams, pp. 383-96.

SECTION II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

French Revolution constructive. One can hardly exaggerate the importance of the French Revolution in the history of modern times. This tremendous event set loose ideas, systems, parties, principles, and men that created a new world in old Europe. One generally thinks of the French Revolution as a destructive force, but it is a grave error to believe that it merely swept away the existing institutions of the land and reduced order to chaos. The Revolution did indeed destroy the old system, root and branch, but it also created a new and better one, not only in France, but throughout Western Europe, which has lasted to this day. The French Revolutionists, wrote Matthew Arnold, "left their trace in half the beneficial reforms through Europe; and if you ask how, at Naples, a convent became a school, or in Ticino an intolerable oligarchy ceased to govern, or in Prussia Stein was able to carry his land reforms, you get one answer: the French!"

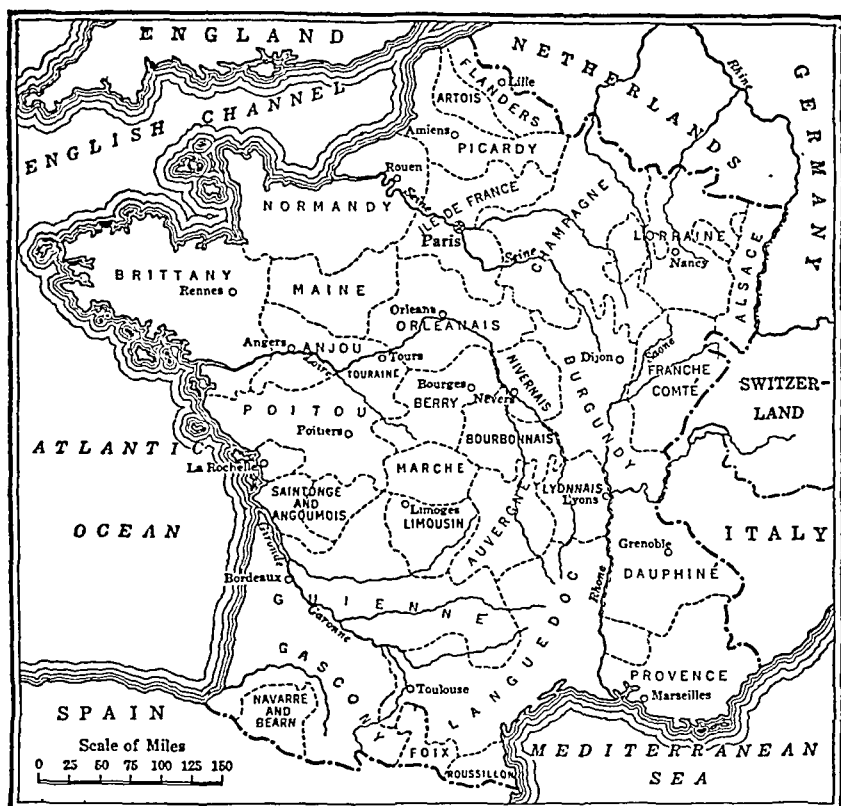
French Revolution social as well as political. Revolutions had happened before; for example, the English Revolution of 1689, and the American Revolution of 1776; but these were fundamentally different from the French Revolution. They were *political* chiefly. The English, in exiling James and choosing William, shifted supreme power from King to Parliament; and the Americans, in winning their independence, shifted their allegiance from the British Crown to the Constitution of the United States. The American Revolution resulted in producing important social and economic changes, but its fundamental aims were political. The French Revolution also was political, for it established a republic in place of a monarchy. But it was something more. It was a *social* revolution also; it made far-reaching changes in the economic, religious, legal, educational, administrative, and even moral institutions of society. Life in France after the Revolution was very different from life before the Revolution; the very characters of the people seemed changed.

International influence of French Revolution. Another striking contrast between the French and the English and American Revolutions was that the former was international, whereas the

latter were national. At first the French Revolution also was national in scope, but its far-reaching reforms exhilarated its supporters and alarmed its opponents. Could not its benefits spread throughout the world? thought its supporters. Could not its evils be suppressed by a world in arms? thought its opponents. The critical situation in 1792 precipitated events; it caused the revolution to burst its national bonds and overflow into Europe. There began an invasion of "thinking bayonets" with the result that almost every nation in Europe was remodeled according to the new principles. The French Revolution was like a great bell that rang in the European night and was heard everywhere, in the confines of the *Ægean*, in Russia, in Scandinavia, and in Spain. Muffled for a time it yet continued to sound in the ears of the masses all through the nineteenth century. The French national anthem, the *Marseillaise*, became an international hymn of liberty. At this very time the influence of the French Revolution is stirring the masses of India, China, and Egypt, who are rallying to the cry of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Reign of Terror confused with French Revolution. Unfortunately the Reign of Terror gave the French Revolution a reputation so bloody that a mere mention of it conjures up a picture of the guillotine. However, the influence and extent of the massacres and executions, terrible and brutal as they were, have been greatly exaggerated. The reason for this is that those who suffered death were prominent persons. A king, a queen, princes and princesses, noble lords and ladies were dragged to the guillotine, which shocked many who would not have paid so much attention to the matter had the victims been ordinary people. The mob violence was the natural outcome of centuries of oppression of the poor by the rich. The "disinherited of the earth" had been starved, beaten, cowed, spurned, trodden under foot by their lords and masters. No wonder then that, at the first chance, they sprang at the throats of those who had treated them like beasts. Lowell well says:

"So grew and gathered through the silent year
The madness of a people, wrong by wrong.
There seemed no strength in the dumb toiler's tears,
No strength in suffering; but the Past was strong.
The brute despair of trampled centuries
Leaped up with one hoarse yell and snapped its bands,
Groped for its right with horny calloused hands,
And stared around for God with bloodshot eyes."



FRANCE IN 1789

France more prosperous than her neighbors. There was misery aplenty in the France of 1789. But one must not get an idea that the first social upheaval happened in France because she was worse off than the other nations. The contrary was true. The French peasants were far better off than the peasants of the rest of the Continent, most of whom were still serfs; and the French bourgeois were relatively more numerous and more prosperous than those of the other countries. It was just because the French were better off than their neighbors that they were more discontented. A people ground to earth has no energy left for revolution. Extreme misery brings despair, not discontent.

French Revolution frees mankind. The French Revolution was the first movement that opened wide the way for the masses of mankind. By its uncompromising hostility to old forms and to old prejudices it broke the spell that held men fast to the evils from which they were suffering. Once free, all the force at the disposal of despotism could not bring them back to their former subjection. Mankind at last was on the road to freedom.

CHAPTER XIX

THE OLD RÉGIME IN FRANCE

THE KING

How the king controlled government. The Old Régime is the name given to the system of society and government before the French Revolution. It varied in different countries of Western Europe, being more liberal in England and more conservative in Prussia. But it can be studied best in France. There it existed in all its power and glory; there it was most bitterly attacked; and there it was most thoroughly uprooted. The central fact of the government under the Old Régime was absolute monarchy. "What the king wishes the law wishes," was the motto. But how did the king exercise this enormous power which God, according to the divine right theory, had confided to him for the welfare of the people of France? In the first place, he appointed directly all the high officials, the ministers, the generals, the judges, the ambassadors, the tax collectors, without the consent of any person or body. In the second place, he had complete control of foreign affairs: he negotiated treaties, declared war, and made peace. In the third place, he was the "fountain of justice": he could take a case away from the court where it was being tried, declare a decision of the court null and void, and pardon prisoners; nay more, he could imprison any one without charge and without trial by a *lettre de cachet*, a letter addressed to the jailer to keep the prisoner in custody for an indefinite term. A man might be thrown into the Bastille, a famous prison in Paris, without his relatives and friends knowing anything about it. Some of these letters were in blank form, and they could be obtained by courtiers who sometimes made use of them to pay off grudges or to punish an impolite commoner. Sometimes they were used by anxious fathers to imprison wayward sons in order to prevent them from falling into mischief. Famous men like Voltaire and Mirabeau were at one time sent to the Bastille by *lettres de cachet*. In the fourth place, the king controlled all the revenues of the nation. His pocket was the national treasury. All the taxes raised were given to the king, who took what he wished for himself and his court, and turned the remainder over to pay the expenses of the

government. There being no budget and no accounting, no one knew the amounts spent for the court or for the various departments, and who spent them. Finally, the king controlled all legislation: laws were not "passed," there being no legislature; they were "decreed" by his autocratic power.

Officials rule in the name of the king. What manner of man was the king who was put above millions of his fellows? As the choice fell upon one who was not selected because of his extraordinary abilities but because of accident of birth, the system seems still more strange. Nearly all the hereditary monarchs of modern times have been persons of mediocre ability and character, and often much less than that. A great monarch, a Peter the Great, an Elizabeth, a William of Orange, a Frederick the Great, is very rare in the annals of dynasties. How, then, could such kings rule? The truth of the matter is that they did not rule. It was all done for them and in their names by a political machine that worked like any other political machine. There were a number of royal councils appointed by the king, some having the powers of a cabinet, some of a legislature, some of a supreme court. If a law was to be passed, a new tax for example, a proposal would come before the Council of Finance who would debate it and frame a law, which would then be submitted to the king for his signature; if signed, it would be issued as a royal decree, and its application would be supervised by the Minister of Finance. The first knowledge that the people had of the new law was when they had to pay the new tax. In theory the king presided over all the councils; in fact he was seldom present at any of them. Generally he approved all the acts of his ministers, in whom he had confidence. If he disapproved, both the law and the minister responsible for it, would go. Irresponsibility, not tyranny, was the supreme evil of absolute monarchy. The king was not responsible to any one for his decrees, nor for the men that he appointed to office. Often the decrees were unjust and burdensome, often the officials were favorites, incompetent, and even vicious; but there existed no regular way to make changes for the better. In the hands of the king lay the terrible responsibility for the welfare of millions of his subjects.

SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

France centralized but not unified. France in 1789 was not the united, homogeneous nation that she is to-day. There was no

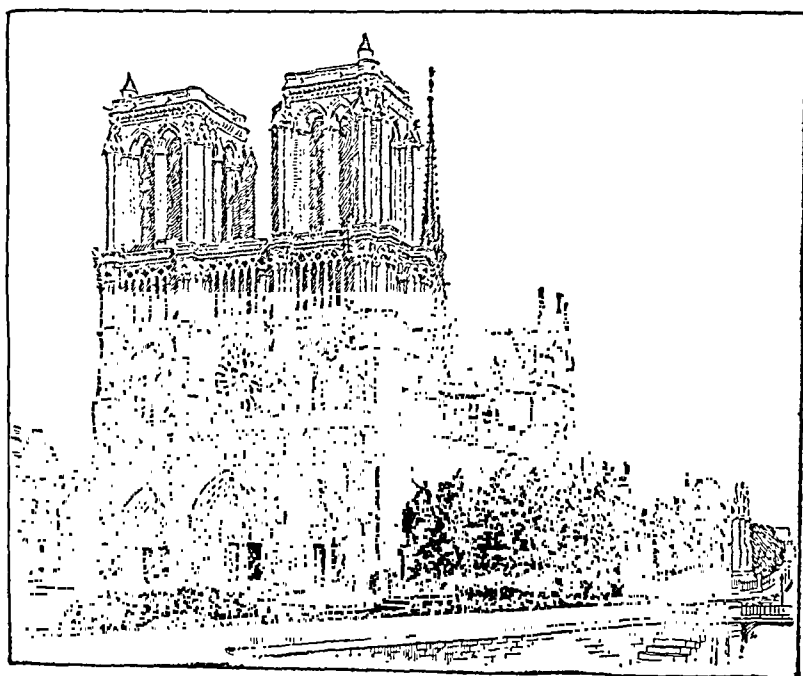
uniform system of law, and no common administration. The various provinces, Normandy, Brittany, Gascony, Champagne, or Burgundy, lived a life apart much as they had done in the Middle Ages, with their own customs, laws, and traditions. They spoke different tongues. The people of Flanders spoke a Dutch dialect; of Alsace, a German dialect; of Roussillon, Spanish; of Provence, Provençal; and of Brittany, Celtic. Some of the provinces had special privileges in matters of taxation and administration which they jealously guarded. The king was the symbol of union. All the inhabitants of France owed him allegiance, which meant that they paid him taxes and obeyed his officials. Royal authority had its center in Paris from which it spread to the localities. The provinces were maintained as in former days, and in each there was a royal governor with little power. Roughly coinciding with the provinces were more important divisions called *intendancies* presided over by an official called an *intendant* who was appointed by the king as his agent and representative. These *intendants* had great power in their districts; but most of their energy was spent in supervising the taxes. Ultimately they were tax collectors for the king.

The *parlements*. Another important institution of the Old Régime was the *parlements* (not parliaments). These were the higher courts, presided over by judges who had *bought* their positions from the king. The judges were a privileged class with such great influence that they actually exercised a check on the royal will. By custom royal decrees had to be registered by the *parlements*. Not infrequently judges would refuse to register a decree on the ground that the "confidence of the king had been abused" or that the decree was against the "fundamental law of the land." They assumed that the King of France was not an Oriental potentate who ruled according to his whims but according to law. "If subjects owe obedience to the kings, kings on their part owe obedience to the laws," they declared. If the *parlements* refused to register a decree it could not be enforced. Did this mean that France had a constitution of which the courts were the interpreters? If so, how was the will of the king supreme? By a simple expedient the king could assert his power by going through a ceremony called the "bed of justice." He would summon the judges before him and command them to register the decree, which they then were obliged to do.

The *parlements* played an important part in the agitation against the Old Régime. Whenever they refused to register a decree they would print a "remonstrance," or explanation of their conduct, in which they freely criticized the administration and the evils of the system of taxation. These remonstrances were widely circulated, and had a great influence in forming public opinion, especially so since the criticisms came from those in high official position.

THE ESTATES

Inequality before the law. The central fact of society under the Old Régime was privilege. By privilege is meant legal favoritism for some classes and legal discrimination against others. To-day, in democratic countries, all are citizens equal before the law, irrespective of what positions they hold or to what class they belong. In those days a person's legal status depended upon his class, his religion, his family, his occupation, his race, and at times on his place of residence. In France the population

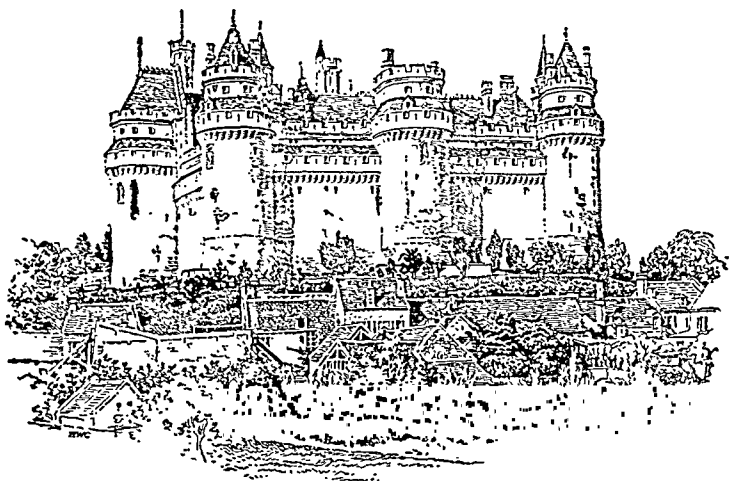


NOTRE DAME, PARIS

One of the most imposing and famous of cathedrals. The structure was begun in 1163, but is chiefly of the early thirteenth century.

was divided into three chief classes called the First, Second, and Third Estates.

The clergy. The First Estate was the clergy of the Catholic Church. The Church was the richest corporation in France, owning vast estates reckoned at one fifth of all the land in France. It paid no direct taxes, but every now and then it gave a "free gift" to the government. For the benefit of the Church a special tax was levied called the tithe. Only the Catholic religion was recognized by law. Protestants and Jews had no legal status; they could not legally marry or inherit property. Practice was, however, kinder than theory because these laws were seldom enforced. There still existed ecclesiastical courts for the trial of heresy and blasphemy. The higher clergy, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were of aristocratic families who chose the priesthood, not to lead a holy life but to enjoy the immense revenues of the Church. The great majority of the priests were poor, hard-working men devoted to their parish duties and hostile to their superiors, whom they regarded very much as the peasants regarded their lords.



CHÂTEAU DE PIERREFONDS

This is a fine specimen of the châteaux of the French nobility. The tiny cottages of the peasantry cluster in a village beneath the walls of the castle.

The nobility. The Second Estate was the nobility. The noble was the spoiled child of the Old Régime. He lived without work-

ing, was appointed to high office by favor, escaped paying nearly all the direct taxes, received the best education of the time, and had every opportunity to enjoy life. Some of the nobles owned vast estates which were left to the care of stewards while they, absentee landlords, lived in luxurious idleness at the court. "What have you done to be the possessor of so much wealth? You have only taken the trouble to be born," is the remark made to a noble in a play of that time. If a noble was poor he became a hanger-on of a rich relative, or he was foisted on the public service through family influence. Nearly all the high positions in the public service, both civil and military, were filled by nobles. A law existed which declared that no man could be made an army captain unless his family had been noble for at least four generations. In the art of being polite and gracious the French nobles of the Old Régime had no superiors and few equals; and they gave to their country the good manners of which the French are justly proud.

The commons. All who were not priests or nobles belonged to the Third Estate, or the commons. They were the unprivileged and were over ninety per cent of the nation. In the cities they were the business men, professional men, and artisans known collectively as bourgeois; in the country, the peasants. If the clergy and nobles had privileges the commons had duties and burdens. They did the work of the nation, paid the taxes, conducted its business, and produced its food; yet in the conduct of affairs their influence was hardly felt. The bourgeois were prosperous and well-educated, and they were bitterly hostile to the privileged classes who squandered the taxes that were wrung from the unprivileged. From the ranks of the bourgeois were to come nearly all the leaders of the Revolution: Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Desmoulins, Carnot, Saint-Just.

Dues and services of the peasants. The peasants constituted fully seventy-five per cent of the population. If in relation to the king the noble was now a humble servitor, in relation to the peasant he was still what he had been in the Middle Ages, a lord and master. Some of the peasants owned their little farms; others rented them from the lord; still others shared with the lord the product of their toil; yet all, even those who "owned" their land, owed him dues. It has been estimated that the peasants gave one third of their crops to the lord as dues. Sometimes a

lord would revise his register and fraudulently increase the dues of his peasants; and in addition charge them for his services in revising the register. If a peasant bought, sold, or inherited land the lord came in for a commission. The peasant had to grind his corn at the lord's mill, bake his bread in the lord's oven, and press his grapes in the lord's wine-press, for all of which he was charged monopoly prices. To the lord also he paid tolls when driving over roads and bridges. The medieval game laws still existed, and peasants were forbidden to kill the pigeons, hare, deer, and quail that devoured the crops. "In the night," declares a peasant document, "the peasant sees his lord's warrens empty themselves to ravage his crops and orchards. During the day the pigeons fall in thousands on the field that he has just sown; the hares nibble his corn, devour the few vegetables that he has raised to eat with his dry bread. He must suffer all these wrongs . . . that he might not interrupt the pleasures of a being like himself but whom nature has made an aristocrat." No laws protected the fields from the game. "The chase is a noble exercise reserved for the pleasure of kings and of nobles," said a royal decree. When the hunting season came, gay parties of aristocrats would ride over the cultivated fields and compel the peasants to run with the dogs to beat up the game. If a dispute arose between lord and peasant over dues and services the case was tried in the manorial courts in which the lord or his representative sat as judge. At the end of the eighteenth century feudal dues were sheer robbery hallowed by custom and tradition. Originally feudal dues had been given in return for the protection that the lord gave the peasant, but now it was the king, not the lord, who preserved peace in the nation and defended it against invaders.

French peasants better off than those of other countries. The condition of the French peasants before the Revolution has been much debated by historians. Some claim that this "beast of burden of the Old Régime" was in a dreadful state, enslaved, half-starved, living in a mud hut, and subsisting on bread and sour wine. "One sees certain wild animals," wrote a contemporary of Louis XIV, "males and females, scattered over the country, black, livid, scorched by the sun, and bound to the soil on which they constantly and persistently toil. They have something like articulate speech, and when they rise to their feet, one sees that they are really human beings." Yet in comparison with

the peasants in the other countries of the Continent those of France were fairly well situated. Serfdom had almost disappeared in France, but it was still widely prevalent elsewhere. The Prussian or Russian peasant paid far heavier dues and services and was far more in the power of his lord, whose whip was the law of the manor. In spite of their burdens many of the French peasants had risen to some degree of comfort. Some had even bought their farms. They were laborious and economical and not infrequently

hid "in a woollen stocking" money that they managed to save during a good year.



THE BURDEN OF THE FRENCH PEASANT,
1789

This cartoon shows a peasant carrying on his back a clergyman and a nobleman, representing the privileged classes.

SYSTEM OF TAXATION

Privileged classes exempt from many taxes.

Perhaps the most iniquitous part of the Old Régime was its system of taxation. As taxes were the immediate cause of the Revolution, it is important to understand the system. The first question that the tax collector asks to-day is, "How much have you?"

In those days it was, "Who are you?" If you were a member of the privileged classes you were excused from paying most of the direct

taxes. To pay taxes was a sign of social inferiority, as only the common people paid them. Sometimes a rich bourgeois would buy exemption from paying taxes in order to be regarded as one of the exclusive set.

The *taille*. There were many direct and indirect taxes. The heaviest of the direct taxes was the *taille*, a tax on land which was paid only by commoners. The amount to be raised was deter-

mined by a royal council and apportioned to each district. The methods of collection were arbitrary and unfair; some paid little if they had influence with the collectors, others paid much if it was rumored that they lived well. A number of men in each district were made responsible for the amount to be collected, and they had to make good a deficiency or be imprisoned.

Poll and income taxes. Two other important direct taxes were the *capitation* and the *vingtième* which all were expected to pay but which were evaded in one way or another by the privileged classes. The *capitation* was a poll tax graded according to station in life; for example, a servant paid so much, a craftsman more, a merchant still more, and so on. The *vingtième* was an income tax of eleven per cent which was assessed in a haphazard way and without much justice.

The salt tax. Of the indirect taxes the heaviest was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. Every one in France was by law compelled to buy a minimum amount of salt a year. The country was divided into *gabelle* districts, where salt was sold by the government at prices varying with the district; in some it was low, in others high. This resulted in wholesale smuggling of salt bought in low-price districts into those of high price. An army of officials had to keep watch to prevent smuggling.

Internal tariffs. Other important indirect taxes were the internal tariffs and the excises on liquor and tobacco. Under the Old Régime France had tariffs not only on exports and on imports but on goods that passed from one province to another. It is said that a case of goods sent from Marseilles to Paris passed through thirty custom houses.

The Farmers-General. The method of collecting the indirect taxes was the ancient Roman one, that of the Farmers of the Taxes. Corporations, called Farmers-General, were given the right to collect tariffs and excises for a lump sum paid the king in advance. The king always liked lump sums in advance. Members of these corporations became immensely wealthy; they collected all that the traffic could bear in spite of laws and regulations. They had the power to fine and imprison any one who resisted their exactions, and the "Farmers" were universally hated as blood-sucking corporations. Once at a gathering, at which Voltaire was present, every one was asked to tell a story about robbers. When it was Voltaire's turn he began, "Once upon a

time there was a farmer-general and . . ." (he hesitated) "that is all."

Peasants pay special taxes. So unjust was the system of taxation under the Old Régime that the French became a nation of tax-dodgers. To deceive the tax collectors people hid their money and jewelry, ate sparingly in public but feasted in private, lied about their incomes, and dressed shabbily. The lower and poorer the class the more it was taxed. The peasants not only paid all the taxes but the feudal dues as well. And that was not all. Upon their backs fell the tithe, a Church tax which in theory was "a voluntary offering drawn from the piety of the faithful," but in fact a harsh and heavy exaction; and the *corvée* which the peasants had to pay because they were peasants. According to the *corvée* all peasants had to work on the highways a certain number of days a year; if they wished to be exempt from this labor, they had to pay a special royal tax.

Tyranny in government, incompetence in administration, injustice in taxation, monopoly in industry, privilege in society, corruption and favoritism everywhere — such was the Old Régime!

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. In what respects does the French Revolution differ from the English and American Revolutions?
2. "It has commonly been thought that the Revolution was to be explained by the misery and despair of the people who could tolerate the system no longer." Is the statement right or wrong? If wrong, state the right explanation of the Revolution.
3. Why didn't the King of England exercise the same absolute powers as the King of France?
4. Explain how a law was passed in France during the Old Régime.
5. It is said that France before 1789 was "centralized but not unified." Explain.
6. Time and again did the *parlements* refuse to register royal decrees; yet the king's will remained supreme. How was that possible?
7. What privileges were enjoyed by the clergy? By the nobility?
8. Make a table of the direct and indirect taxes levied in France during the Old Régime, and indicate the class that paid most of it.
9. Arthur Young says in his travels that France possessed the best roads in Europe. Why?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE KING AND THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. I; Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 4-11.

THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS. Lowell, chs. III-IV, VI-VII; Mathews, pp. 27-32, ch. v.

THE THIRD ESTATE. Lowell, chs. XI-XIII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 230-34; Mathews, pp. 12-17, 32-36.

TAXATION. Lowell, ch. XIV; Mathews, pp. 17-20.

THE PARLEMENTS. Lowell, ch. VIII; Mathews, pp. 79-85; Perkins, *France under Louis XV*, II, ch. XX.

CHAPTER XX

ATTACK ON THE OLD RÉGIME

THE PHILOSOPHERS

Philosophers denounce abuses. Before the French Revolution had laid a violent hand on the Old Régime, the latter was the subject of criticism unparalleled for bitterness and audacity. Its enemies were famous writers, generally called "the philosophers," who with mighty pens unsparingly exposed all the existing iniquities. The philosophers were skeptical, for they rejected all the beliefs and traditions of their day; revolutionary, for they wished to destroy the Old Régime root and branch; humanitarian, for they were lovers of the human race, which they believed was

naturally good and would even become perfect under wise laws and benevolent institutions; and rationalist, for they believed in the power of reason to make a new and better world.

Voltaire (1694-1778). Chief of the philosophers was Voltaire, dramatist, historian, essayist, poet, biographer, pamphleteer, novelist, and letter-writer. He became so famous and influential throughout the world that the eighteenth century is sometimes called the Age of Voltaire. He wrote in a style that was limpid in its clarity and acid in its destructive power. He was one of the wittiest men that ever lived, and his wit had a biting



FRANÇOIS MARIE AROUET
VOLTAIRE

quality that made his readers laugh and clench their fists at the same time. His ardent admirers became bitter enemies of the Old Régime.

Attacks the Church. Voltaire's fundamental idea was that truth is known only through reason, and therefore ideas and institutions based upon tradition are false and mischievous. Tradition, he says, has the effect of enslaving men's minds and so making them content with a world full of evil. He singled out the Catholic Church as the chief upholder of tradition and attacked it with such violence as to make the attacks of Martin Luther seem mild by comparison. Voltaire had as little liking for Protestantism; he regarded all churches, in fact all religions, as enemies of reason. He was not, however, an atheist. He called himself a deist; namely, one who believed in God but not in churches, dogmas, bibles, revelations, miracles, or chosen peoples. Voltaire's hatred of Christianity was so intense that he failed to appreciate its great services to civilization. Utterly lacking in a spirit of reverence for things sublime, he could easily make them seem ridiculous.

Champions freedom of speech. Voltaire was a great pioneer among the advocates of freedom of speech, and the modern world owes him not a little for this precious right. In those days writing was shackled by several censorshipships. The manuscript of a book had first to be submitted to an official censor; if publication was permitted the book might still be condemned by either the courts, the clergy, or the king, any one of whom might order it burned by the public executioner. The censorshipships were often evaded by the printing of French books outside of France; or by secretly printing them in France and stating officially that they were printed in London, Amsterdam, or Philadelphia. The government was attacked by satires supposedly on the government of Persia; and Christianity by satires supposedly on Mohammedanism. Voltaire fervently believed in the freedom of the press, and his influential pen dealt the censorship many staggering blows. His chief works are *English Letters*, in which he praises the tolerance that he found in England, where he lived in exile for some years; and *Candide*, a story satirizing human folly and weakness.

Rousseau (1712-78). Next to Voltaire the most famous philosopher of the time was the Swiss-Frenchman, Rousseau. Highly emotional and very serious, Rousseau was a great contrast to the cool and witty Voltaire. His books are written in a style so fervid and eloquent that they are almost prose poems. It was Rous-

seau's strange belief that civilization is an evil; that men lie and cheat, slay one another, and suffer tyranny and poverty as a



JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

result of having become civilized. Savages and children are good and happy because they are unspoiled by civilized ways. "Back to nature and to the simple life," was Rousseau's cry. In a famous book, *Émile*, he describes an ideal system of education "according to nature." Babies' bodies should be free from swaddling clothes and they should be nursed by their mothers. Children should be brought up in the country living on simple food and clad in few and simple clothes. Above all they should learn the ways of nature, which will bring them happiness and health. Indirectly *Émile* was responsible

for the kindergarten, which was established by those who were inspired by Rousseau's teaching.

Champions popular sovereignty. Rousseau's famous work, the *Social Contract* (1762), is one of the most influential books ever written. It became the bible of the French Revolution; its ideas, sometimes in their original phraseology, were enacted into law. To this day one is thrilled by this volume on the origin of government. "Man is born free, yet everywhere do we now find him in chains," is the opening sentence. Originally, argues Rousseau, man lived in a state of nature without law or government, every one being his own sovereign. In time, as civilization advanced, there was felt a need for law and order. The individuals of a community, therefore, entered into a *contract* whereby each surrendered his sovereignty to the *community*. The individual became a citizen and the community, a nation. Sovereignty rightly belongs to the nation only; it alone has the right to make laws which, according to Rousseau, are the expression of the

"general will." To carry on the government, administrators are appointed, kings, magistrates, officials, who are only the *agents* of the sovereign people. Sovereignty, Rousseau insisted, is inalienable, indivisible, and infallible. Being sovereign the people have a right to do anything that they please. It was Rousseau who was the father of the idea of popular sovereignty, of the divine right of the people as opposed to the divine right of the king. During the Revolution, Rousseau was regarded by his admirers as an inspired prophet preaching the new gospel of freedom.

Montesquieu (1689-1755). A forerunner of Voltaire and Rousseau was Montesquieu, whose *Spirit of Laws* (1748) is a classic in political science. Montesquieu was a jurist and scholar who studied deeply and who traveled widely to observe men and institutions. He lived much in England, whose system of government he greatly admired. His book is a grave and learned treatise on the nature and the various forms of government that have appeared in history. Its main theory is that all existing governments are the result of history, climate, traditions, race, religion, and general social conditions. Every form of government has its virtues and its vices, and when the latter predominate, it degenerates. Political freedom, Montesquieu argues, can be maintained only in one way; namely, by separating the powers of government, executive, legislative, and judicial. When all the powers are united under one control, despotism is the outcome, as in France; when they are divided among king, parliament and courts, as he believed was the case in England, one checks and balances the others and the result is freedom. This famous theory became part of the American system of government, though not of the English.¹

THE ECONOMISTS

Economists advocate freedom of trade and of labor. There was a demand for freedom in labor and in trade no less than in religion and in politics. The many restrictions on business enterprise under the Old Régime were attacked by a group of reformers called "economists," the most famous of whom were Turgot in France and Adam Smith in England. Smith's book, *Wealth of Nations* (1776) was a severe criticism of the restrictions of the

¹ See page 479.

Mercantile System. The economists advocated: (1) *freedom of trade*, that buyer and seller be at complete liberty to do business; that all tariffs, internal and external, and all export duties, bounties, and subsidies be abolished; and (2) *freedom of labor*, that every one should be free to engage in any trade or occupation. The guild monopolies were especially odious to the economists by whom they were regarded as relics of the Middle Ages.

Laissez faire. The economists believed that there are "economic laws" that are as effective as natural laws. It is just as foolish, they reason, to try to control the rising and the setting of the sun as to attempt to regulate the conditions under which a seller should sell and a buyer should buy. The economic "law of supply and demand" does that. If capitalists were free to do business as they wish, to buy and sell where they please, to contract with whomever and on what terms they please, to compete everywhere and with every one, they would succeed in advancing their business, and this advance would lead to national prosperity. The government's part is to protect the liberty of the trader to conduct his own affairs which he understands far better than meddling officials. *Laissez faire*, let things alone, was the advice that the economists gave to the government. Many enlightened business men championed the new economic teaching and became bitter opponents of the Old Régime.

THE ENCYCLOPEDISTS

Diderot (1713-84), editor of the *Encyclopedia*. The writings of the philosophers and economists were spread far and wide by the publication of the famous French *Encyclopedia*. Diderot, one of the famous philosophers of the time, conceived the idea of publishing an encyclopedia that would not only be a source of information, but would spread enlightenment as well. As editor-in-chief he enlisted the coöperation of many famous writers of the day, including Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Turgot, and Montesquieu. An English and a German encyclopedia had already appeared, but his was unique and original. It consisted of articles dealing mainly with political and social institutions. It was not at all a dry and impartial collection of facts, but a scarcely veiled attack on the Old Régime: its bad laws, its religious intolerance, its unjust taxes, its oppressions, and its iniquities.

Censor hinders publication of volumes. The first volume appeared in 1751 and it was immediately attacked as hostile to religion and government. As the volumes were issued they were suppressed by the censor, largely through the influence of the clergy who were incensed at many of the articles dealing with religion. Diderot fought for his encyclopedia gallantly and persistently. Now and then the police would raid his establishment and confiscate the plates. Some of the volumes were published secretly, others by special grace of the government. There was so much trouble that many cancelled their subscriptions. D'Alembert, Diderot's chief aid, resigned in disgust. The printer himself turned censor, and, to the great fury of the editor, changed some of the articles because he did not like their tone. In spite of all these discouragements, Diderot continued, and finally, in 1765, the last volumes appeared. Diderot and his associates were known as the "encyclopedists," and their work was a veritable arsenal from which were drawn weapons to attack the Old Régime.

Philosophers appeal to reason. The philosophers were few but mighty. Their writings were read by almost every one who could read with the result that the Old Régime was universally abhorred. It should be borne in mind that the philosophers, one and all, were opposed to violence; they believed that reforms would surely follow enlightenment. Bad laws and antiquated institutions would vanish at the touch of reason, and mankind would march triumphantly on the road of reform and progress.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Associate the name of the author with each of the following books: *Émile*, *English Letters*, *Wealth of Nations*, *Social Contract*, *Candide*, *The Encyclopedia*, *Spirit of Laws*.
2. Why was Voltaire called the apostle of reason and Rousseau the apostle of democracy?
3. The literature emanating from the pens of the philosophers and economists was both destructive and constructive. Explain.
4. How is the American system of government indebted to Montesquieu?
5. What is meant by *laissez faire*? How does it differ from Mercantilism? What abuses did the economists attack?
6. Why was Diderot's *Encyclopedia* attacked by the authorities?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

VOLTAIRE. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. v; Perkins, *France under Louis XV*, II, pp. 199-205, 448-52; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*

in Modern European History, I, pp. 182-84; Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 60-63.

ROUSSEAU. Lowell, chs. XVIII-XIX; Perkins, II, pp. 468-75; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 189-91; Mathews, pp. 65-73; Scherger, *Evolution of Modern Liberty*, ch. VII.

MONTESQUIEU. Lowell, ch. X; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 191-92; Mathews, pp. 55-58; Sorel, *Montesquieu*, chs. V-X.

THE ENCYCLOPEDISTS. Lowell, chs. XVI-XVII; Perkins, II, pp. 437-46, 452-68; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 185-87; Mathews, pp. 63-65.

THE ECONOMISTS. Lowell, ch. XV; Perkins, II, pp. 424-37; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 196-99; Mathews, pp. 58-60.

CHAPTER XXI

THE OLD RÉGIME AND REFORM

LOUIS XVI AND MARIE ANTOINETTE

Character of Louis XVI. In 1774 a young man of twenty and a young woman of nineteen ascended the throne as King and Queen of France. The royal pair, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, were overcome with emotion.

"We are too young to reign!" they exclaimed. Louis was a dull, awkward boy who grew to be a stout, lazy man. He was conscientious, well-meaning, decent, and devout but exceedingly weak and irresolute. He wanted to make some reforms, but his attempts were feeble and were easily overcome by those whose wills were stronger than his. Easily influenced and a poor judge of character, he generally chose the worst kind of advisers who led him on till all were overwhelmed by the flood of revolution. Louis was not really interested in public affairs; he much preferred to go hunting or to tinker with locks which was his chief hobby. "How lucky you are! Why cannot I resign too!" he once remarked to an official who resigned from his position.



LOUIS XVI

Character of Marie Antoinette. Marie Antoinette was a Hapsburg, a daughter of the famous Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. She was a beautiful woman, self-willed though gracious in her manner, frivolous and pleasure-loving. Her one thought in coming to France was to have a good time, and she soon set the

pace for folly and extravagance in the gayest court in Europe. "My only fear for you being so young," wrote her mother, "is an

excess of dissipation. You have never cared to read or to apply yourself in any way; this has often troubled me." The Queen's gayeties excited scandal and gave her an evil reputation, though in truth she was not wicked but indiscreet. The memory of her fate always excites compassion as she was not at all evil-minded or cruel, but on the contrary, generous and kindly. Of public affairs she had even less knowledge and understanding than the King, and yet she became his chief adviser. If ever there was a royal pair who were unfit to rule it was Louis and Marie Antoinette. Yet such is the tragedy of history that this



MARIE ANTOINETTE

indolent man and frivolous woman became the chief defenders of the Old Régime against the most terrible onslaught of human passions that the world has ever known, the French Revolution.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

Turgot, Minister of Finance. At the beginning of his reign Louis appointed Turgot as Minister of Finance. There was great rejoicing everywhere, for Turgot was universally esteemed as a man of exalted character and as a profound thinker. He had been an *intendant*, and in that office he had made an enviable reputation as a practical administrator and wise reformer. This philosopher-statesman was to guide the young King in reforming the kingdom. "A new heaven and a new earth!" exclaimed Voltaire.

Introduces drastic reforms. Economy was Turgot's first principle in dealing with the situation. The extravagance of the court was draining the country, as it spent about one tenth of the

entire public revenue. The expenses of the royal household were not regulated, it was said, by the receipts, but the receipts were regulated by the expenses. Turgot drastically reduced the expenses of the court by abolishing sinecures, by reducing pensions, and by checking extravagant functions. He lifted one burden from the peasants by abolishing the *corvée*. He abolished the guilds and so opened opportunities for labor. He repealed the restrictions on buying and selling of food and the internal tariffs on foodstuffs. He reformed the administration in the interest of economy and efficiency, and he began a comprehensive reform of the system of taxation.

Dismissal of Turgot. Turgot's reforms delighted the philosophers, but they roused the bitterest hostility on the part of the interests that were hurt by them. The courtiers raged against the minister whose economies checked their extravagance. A clique headed by the Queen was formed to oust him. She was furious with Turgot because he had dismissed one of her favorites. "Put him in the Bastille," the Queen urged Louis. The King, too, was rather tired of his reform minister because he continually sought him on matters of business. "What! Another document!" the indolent King would say when Turgot presented a state paper to him. In 1776 the world was astonished to learn that Turgot was dismissed. His reforms were halted, and the old extravagances and abuses were returned.

Necker, Minister of Finance. The expenses of the court and of the government were rising higher and higher. A well-known Swiss banker named Necker was appointed Minister of Finance. For fear of the court he dared not follow Turgot's example, though he favored the latter's policies. But how was he to raise money from a nation already over-burdened with taxes? The expenditure was still more increased by the assistance that France was giving to the American colonies in the War of Independence. As the credit of France was good, Necker floated national loans to cover up a deficit which was beginning to appear. But how long could this go on? Should her credit be impaired France would be face to face with bankruptcy. Necker realized the situation and determined to save his reputation as a financier. In 1781 he published a defense of his administration in a report called the *Compte rendu*, in which he recommended reforms like those of Turgot. This famous report, containing an itemized

statement of the receipts and expenses of the kingdom, caused a sensation. For the first time the nation learned how much of the public money was devoured by the court. Necker was promptly dismissed.

Extravagances of the court. His successor, Calonne, had the curious idea that to be more extravagant than ever would make people believe that the country was prosperous. Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. Expenses mounted high and soon huge deficits appeared. More loans were floated. France was rapidly descending the steep slope of national bankruptcy. An ominous murmur ran through the nation directed chiefly against "Madame Deficit," as the Queen was called; it was believed that her extravagance was ruining the nation.

Assembly of Notables. So serious was the situation that in 1786 Louis made an attempt to solve the financial problem. He called together an Assembly of the Notables, comprising nobles, bishops, high officials, and courtiers. Calonne appeared before the Assembly and announced that France was bankrupt, her treasury empty, her debt huge, and her credit impaired. He too turned reformer and demanded the abolition of privileges. The Notables were indignant at the suggestion, and flatly refused to do anything to save the situation. They were dissolved. In order to restore public confidence the King, in 1788, recalled Necker whose brave statement of affairs in 1781 had made him a popular hero.

CALLING OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL

The Estates-General summoned. What was to be done? The King did not dare to lay new taxes. Necker could not float new loans. The privileged classes blocked all reforms. The court refused to give up its extravagant ways. There seemed to be no way out of the difficulty. Some one suggested that the Estates-General be called. This struck a popular chord, and every one was soon clamoring for this body. The Estates-General was a feudal parliament, first summoned by Philip the Fair in 1302, which thereafter met only when summoned by the king, who generally called it to help him out of financial difficulties. When the French kings had got control of the taxes they ceased to summon this parliament, and no meeting of the Estates-General had been held since 1614! Louis was convinced that this

body, representing the nation, would inspire confidence in the government, and that it would help him to raise new taxes and to float new loans. He therefore convoked this almost forgotten parliament.

The Three Estates. France now had the opportunity of a national election, and there was great eagerness and excitement. The Estates-General consisted of three houses, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Third Estate, each house composed of representatives elected by its own class. To become law a bill had to pass two of the three houses and be signed by the king. All men had the suffrage, but the system of election was indirect and very complicated.

The *cahiers* demand reform. Voters in the various localities assembled to choose delegates and to draft *cahiers*, or platforms, in which they made known their wishes and aired their grievances. These *cahiers*, "the last will and testament of the Old Régime," are important because they give a good idea of public opinion on the eve of the French Revolution. Nearly all the peasant *cahiers* demand the abolition of the game laws and of the dues, "so many wounds through which our life blood oozes." There is almost a universal demand for a constitution, for representative government, for abolition of privileges, for a just system of taxation, for economy, for freedom of speech, and for abolition of *lettres de cachet*. In no *cahier* is there a demand for a republic; on the contrary, all of them breathe fervent loyalty to the Bourbon dynasty.

Meeting of the Estates-General. On May 5, 1789, after a recess of a hundred and seventy-five years, the Estates-General assembled in Versailles. The King opened the session in person and exhorted the members to set about reforming the finances. His sole idea was that, as soon as they put more money into the treasury, he would dismiss them. Surrounded as he was by courtiers who fawned upon him, by officials who flattered him, and by his family who "advised" him, how could the simple-minded Louis know that he was standing on the brink of a chasm that yawned invisibly before him?

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Describe the character of Louis XVI and of Marie Antoinette.
2. It is said of Louis XVI that "he was not the man for the times." Why?

3. "The history of Louis's reign is a tale of physicians called in one after another to attend to the case of a dying patient." Who were the physicians? Why did they fail?
4. Why did Louis summon the Estates-General?
5. Compare the Estates-General with the English parliament as to (a) power of the purse; (b) organization; (c) frequency of meeting.
6. If you were a French peasant living in 1789 what would you ask to have included in a *cahier*? if you were a merchant? if you were a journalist or writer of books?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

LOUIS XVI. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. II; Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 41-48, 48-56.

TURGOT AND NECKER. Hassal, *The Balance of Power*, pp. 405-10; Say, *Turgot*, chs. III-VII; Mathews, *French Revolution*, ch. VIII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, pp. 237-39, 244-47.




SUMMONING OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL. Mathews, ch. IX; Lowell, chs. XXI-XXII; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 248-51.

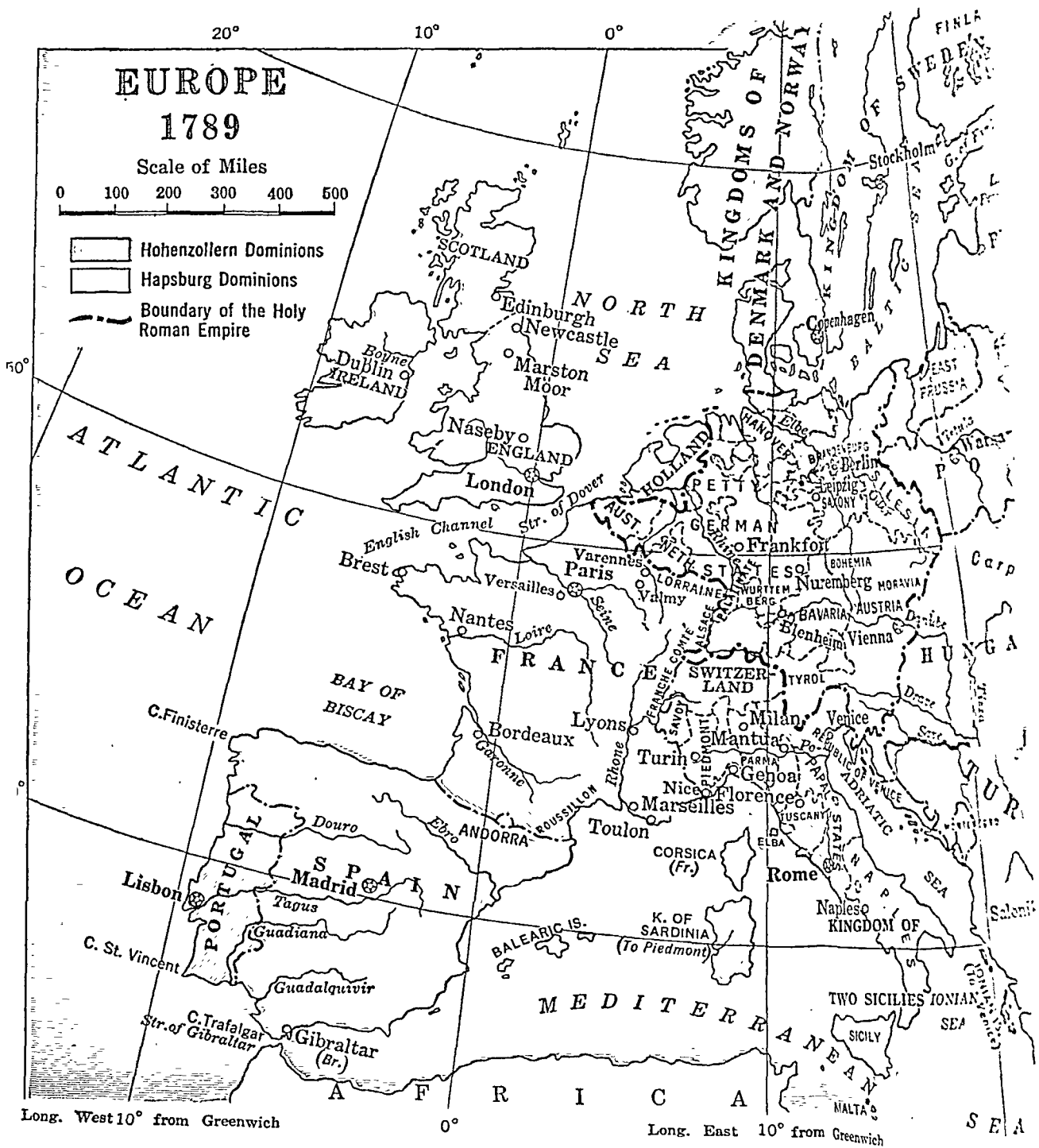
EUROPE

1789

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

-  Hohenzollern Dominions
-  Hapsburg Dominions
-  Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire



Long. West 10° from Greenwich

Long. East 10° from Greenwich

CHAPTER XXII

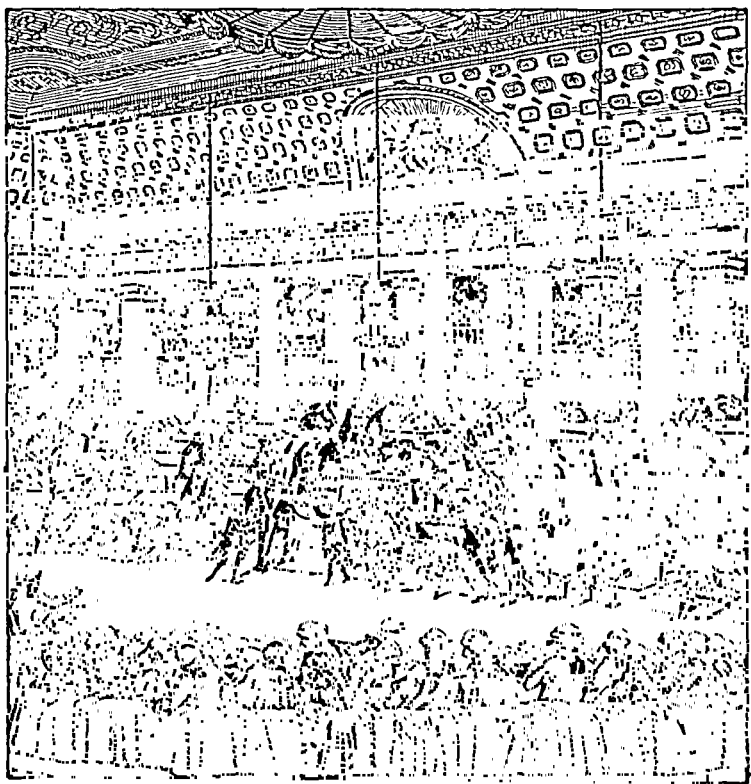
THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

THE ESTATES-GENERAL

Meeting of Estates-General. On May 5, 1789, in Versailles, the Estates-General opened their sessions. This event is of the greatest importance in the history of modern times, for it was to result in a revolutionary transformation, first of France, and later of all Europe. No sooner was the body convened than a heated argument arose over the manner of voting. The Third Estate realized from the very outset that the two privileged orders would combine to block all plans for reform. It therefore demanded that all the members of the three orders combine to form one house, that voting should be "by head," and that bills become law by a majority vote. Under this system the commoners were sure to control. The Third Estate claimed that, as it represented about ninety per cent of the people, it should have the right to legislate for the country. A popular pamphlet of the day, written by Abbé Sieyès, a priest who warmly sympathized with the commoners, put the matter in a very telling way. "What is the Third Estate?" he wrote. "Everything. What has it been? Nothing. What does it want to be? Something." Simple and fair as the demand of the Third Estate seems now, it was then considered revolutionary, for it was a flat repudiation of the ancient and sacred right of the privileged classes to rule the masses of mankind.

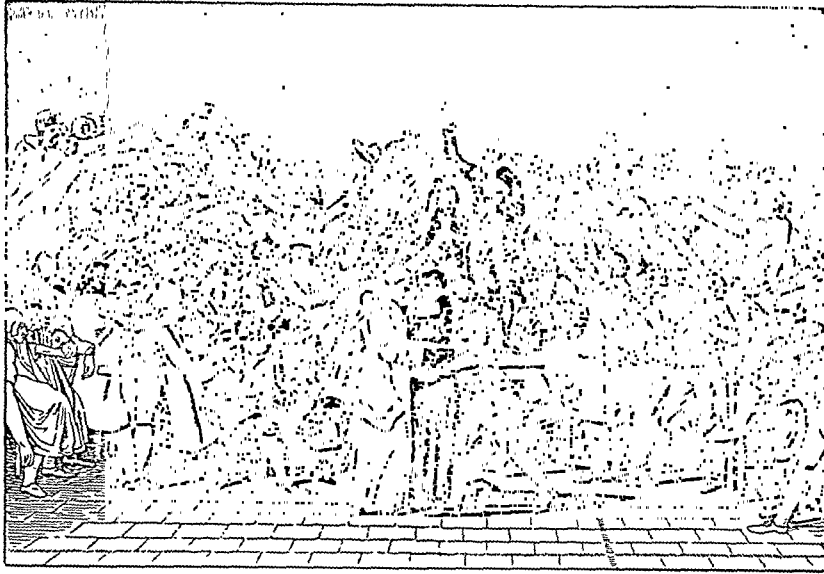
The Third Estate declares itself the National Assembly. For five weeks the deadlock continued. Finally, the members of the Third Estate took a bold step. They declared themselves to be the only representative body in the country, adopted a new name, the "National Assembly," and invited the nobles and clergy to come in as individual representatives. This move was revolutionary in that it abolished the Estates-General without warrant of law and without the consent of the King. When the members of the National Assembly came to their meeting place they found it locked and guarded by soldiers. They decided on another bold

step. A meeting was called in a building, used as a tennis court, where each member solemnly swore "never to separate, and to meet wherever they could, until a constitution had been adopted and set on a firm foundation." This famous Tennis Court Oath (June 20) greatly incensed the King, who realized that his authority was being flouted. He sent an official to the National Assembly with orders that they dissolve and once more become the Third Estate. It was a dramatic moment, as a refusal might lead to serious consequences. Then it was that Count Mirabeau, a noble who had thrown in his lot with the commons, arose, a striking figure "with the neck of a bull and a prodigious chest from which issued a voice of thunder." "Sir, go tell your master," he said, "that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of the bayonet."



THE ESTATES-GENERAL IN SESSION AT VERSAILLES

After a contemporary drawing by Monet.



THE TENNIS COURT OATH

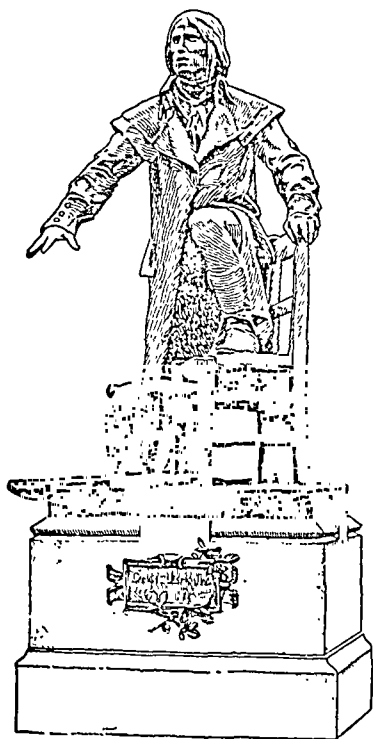
This picture suggests the enthusiastic willingness of all to take the oath which is being read by the man standing in the center. Note in the foreground the group of a monk, a noble, and a plain citizen. (From the painting by David.)

Louis recognizes the National Assembly. Paris seethed with excitement. Popular mass meetings urged the Assembly to hold fast. Threatening demonstrations were made to overawe the King. Partly through weakness, partly through fear Louis gave in; on June 27 he recognized the National Assembly and ordered the nobles and clergy to join it. Many priests and some nobles did so. In this way there came into existence the first national legislature in history that was elected by universal manhood suffrage. Later the body became known as the Constituent Assembly; the members proposed not only to pass laws but to establish a constitution as well.

ABOLITION OF FEUDALISM

July 14. The Constituent Assembly was not, however, destined to proceed serenely to its task of reform. A feeling of uneasiness, almost of panic, spread rapidly through the country. It was rumored that the King was plotting to destroy the Assembly and was secretly massing foreign mercenaries in Paris. The

dismissal of Necker, still a popular hero, gave color to these rumors. Wild reports were spread that armed bandits had been turned loose on the country and were robbing and murdering everywhere. Paris especially was the scene of much excitement. Crowds assembled in the streets, and now and then threatening



THE STATUE OF CAMILLE
DESMOULINS

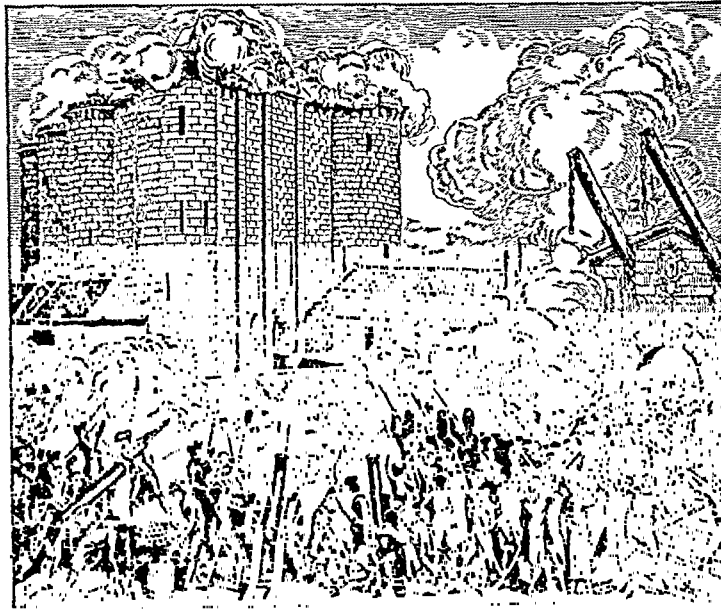
At the Palais Royal in Paris.

voices were heard. On one occasion a journalist, named Desmoulins, jumped upon a chair placed in the street and delivered an exciting speech to the crowd, saying that the court was planning a St. Bartholomew's Massacre of the "patriots," as the opponents of the King were now called. He urged his hearers to seize firearms and defend their lives and liberties. The tocsin, or bell on the city hall, rang out wildly as a signal for the people to rise. There was a general looting of firearms. On July 14 a mob led by mutinous soldiers appeared before the Bastille. The mob surrounded the famous prison-fortress with the determination to destroy it as an act of defiance to the King. After some parleying the governor of the prison was induced to surrender. No sooner were the gates opened than the mob swarmed into the place, massacred the defenders and freed the prisoners. The Bastille was

then razed to the ground to the tune of revolutionary songs. Everywhere the storming of the Bastille was welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm as the advent of liberty; and its anniversary, July 14, has since been celebrated as the national holiday. The court was cowed by this event which showed the temper of the Parisian mob; even more disturbing was the fraternizing of the soldiers with the people. The sword had slipped from the King's grasp.

Paris dominates the Revolution. The storming of the Bastille

marked the beginning of the influence of Paris on the course of events. From that time on the French Revolution was so dominated by Paris that it might well be called the Paris Revolution. Paris was France, for the country always accepted the decision of her capital. Paris spontaneously adopted a new system of municipal self-government called the "Commune." Another step taken by the capital was the organization of a popular militia called the National Guard. It had a twofold purpose: to keep order among the unruly populace and to oppose the King's army in case of an open conflict. These acts of Paris were ratified by the Constituent Assembly and recommended to the rest of the country.



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789

From a contemporary print.

August 4. When the news of the storming of the Bastille reached the rural districts there was a general uprising of the peasants. "War on the châteaux" was declared, and the lords and their agents were obliged to flee for their lives. The peasants were especially eager to destroy the feudal registers containing

the records of their hateful dues and services. Bonfires of these registers blazed in the countryside. The Assembly now felt that the time had come to strike a mortal blow at the Old Régime. On the night of August 4, a liberal noble, Count de Noailles, who had served in the American War of Independence, moved the abolition of feudal dues and services. This started a wave of enthusiasm, and nobles and priests rushed to the platform and renounced their privileges. A series of decrees was passed abolishing dues and services of feudal origin, hunting rights, manorial courts, tithes, the sale of offices, exemption from taxes, and local privileges of all kinds. A system that had developed through centuries was swept away at one blow in that famous night of August 4.

Peasants become proprietors. It must not be supposed, however, that the nobles as a class voluntarily gave up their privileges. The enthusiasm of some of the nobles in the Assembly was not at all shared by the majority of their order, who were determined to fight for their privileges. Many nobles emigrated to other countries in Europe where they conducted an agitation in favor of armed intervention in France to restore their property and privileges. These *émigrés*, as they were called, were bitterly hated as the enemies of their country and of the Revolution. So vast a change as the abolition of feudalism could not be accomplished by rapturous resolutions and general decrees. In 1790 the Assembly passed a comprehensive law abolishing some dues and services without indemnity, others with indemnity, and allowing others to remain as rightful property. The abolition of feudalism created in France millions of small peasant proprietors, who became staunch upholders of the Revolution because they had profited from its reforms.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Among the liberal-minded nobles who were willing to renounce their privileges, the most popular was the Marquis de Lafayette who was made commander of the National Guard. He had returned from America where he had fought for the freedom of the colonists to fight for freedom in his native land. This eminent "citizen of two worlds" was at first greatly beloved as the friend of Washington and as one who was ever ready to strike a blow at despotism.

him to take measures against the Assembly and to nullify its work. A report reached the excitable Parisians that a banquet had been held in Versailles where aristocratic officers had denounced the Assembly and had trampled upon the revolutionary colors, the red, white, and blue. A popular demonstration followed, which outdid the storming of the Bastille for picturesque-



THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN TO VERSAILLES

The leaders are here confronting, in her apartments, Marie Antoinette, her children, and attendants.

ness. On October 5 mobs of market women began marching toward Versailles crying that they were hungry and that they were going to ask bread of the King and Queen. The women were joined by thousands of men looking for excitement and trouble. Fearful of possible danger to the royal family the National Guard, led by General Lafayette, marched along with the crowd. Threats were constantly made against the "Austrian woman," as the Queen was called. The mob marched into Versailles and massed before the royal palace.

They forced open the doors, killed the guards, and would have murdered the Queen had she not fled in terror to the apartment of the King. Louis appeared on the balcony to pacify the crowd. Shouts arose that he come and live "with his people," in other words, that the royal family move to Paris. This he consented to do. The return march was a sight that shocked all Europe. In a carriage rode the King, the Queen, and their son, surrounded by a mob of women screaming, cursing, joking, dancing, singing

like mad. Signs such as, "Here comes the baker, his wife, and his little boy," "Versailles To-let!" were displayed. The royal family now took up its residence in Paris, in a palace called the Tuileries. The Constituent Assembly followed the King, and the entire government was now under the watchful and threatening eye of Paris.

Confiscation of Church property. In the meanwhile the Assembly was concerned with the question of raising money, a question which it had as yet done nothing to solve. Abolition of privileges and declarations of rights did not put money into the national treasury. Bankruptcy still stared the country in the face, the more so now because the people became so excited about the Revolution that they refused to pay taxes altogether. How was the government to get money? Hostile eyes turned in the direction of the vast wealth of the Catholic Church. A theory was asserted that the Church was not the owner but the *administrator* of its lands, which had been donated by the faithful for public uses, such as education, charity, and religion. On the motion of Bishop Talleyrand, a priest who had joined the commons, the Assembly declared that the property of the Church was at the disposal of the nation; and by the decree of November 2, the immense holdings of the Church, accumulated through the centuries, were confiscated.

Assignats. The object of this act was twofold, to get money for the government and to get supporters for the revolutionary cause. With the Church lands instead of gold as security, the government issued paper money called *assignats*. Holders of *assignats* could buy the confiscated lands from the



AN ASSIGNAT

A translation of the various phrases is as follows: "National Property Note of Fifteen Sols, Payable to the Bearer" (center) — "Law of the 24th January, 1792" — "Fifteen Sols" — "The Fourth Year of Liberty" (top) — "The Law Punishes the Counterfeiter with Death" — "The Nation Recomposes the Denouncer" (bottom).

government at low prices. The sale of the Church lands created a class of proprietors, mainly bourgeois, whose interest it now was to uphold the Revolutionary cause.

Civil Constitution of the Clergy. What was to be the position of the Church? Ever since the beginnings of France the Church had been a vital part of the nation, a fact which the Assembly fully recognized. The new status of the Church was fixed by a famous law, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy passed in 1790. All the existing dioceses were abolished, and new ones were created. Priests, including bishops, were to be elected, and all citizens, whether Catholics, Protestants, Jews, or free-thinkers, had the right to vote in these elections. As they were now considered public officials the priests were to be paid by the government. This law was a flagrant violation of Catholic principles, and it was condemned by the pope. Louis, who was a devout Catholic, signed it under great duress, believing that in doing so he was endangering the salvation of his soul. So widespread was the opposition of the French priesthood that the Assembly commanded all priests to take an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Few did so. Those who refused, called the non-jurors, fled from the country or became martyrs during the Reign of Terror. Henceforth the Church became the bitter and uncompromising enemy of the Revolution and all its works.

Emancipation of Protestants and Jews. Why did the Assembly pass this drastic law which was sure to arouse the enmity of the faithful? Partly because the members regarded the Church as one of the props of the Old Régime, and they decided to undermine it as well as the monarchy and the aristocracy; and partly because they were Voltaireans and consequently hated the Church. The Assembly took great steps toward religious freedom by repealing the laws against Protestants and Jews, who were now given equal rights with Catholics.

OTHER REFORMS OF THE ASSEMBLY

Abolition of the provinces. The French Revolution gave birth to the modern ideal of nationalism. The Revolutionists called themselves patriots because they loved their country more than their king. To a "patriot" the latter was now the chief magistrate, not the sacred embodiment of the nation. A new symbol was found in the national flag, the tricolor, consisting of red,

white, and blue vertical stripes, which was adopted by the Assembly in place of the Bourbon fleurs-de-llys, a white flag dotted with golden lilies. But how were they to bring to the popular mind the idea of the unity of the nation? One answer was, by means of geography. Old France, with its ancient provinces bearing names historically honored, was abolished, and new France divided into "departments," nearly equal in size, named on a purely geographical basis, such as the departments of the Channel, of the Marne, of the Jura, of Finistère. However, so tenacious were old names such as Brittany, Normandy, Gascony, Picardy, and Provence that they survive to this day, though not officially.

"France, one and indivisible." On July 14, 1790, there took place an extraordinary outburst of nationalism. Patriotic associations, called "federations," had been formed throughout France to defend the country against all enemies, within and without. The federations resolved to have a national festival on the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. An altar to the Fatherland was erected in a great public square in Paris. Three hundred priests headed by the radical Bishop Talleyrand conducted services before a congregation of over 300,000 people including the King, the Queen, and General Lafayette and the National Guard. All solemnly took a civic oath pledging supreme allegiance to their country, to "France, one and indivisible."

The *émigrés*. Every attack on the Old Régime was followed by an emigration of nobles, who were determined to arouse all Europe against the Revolution. The *émigrés* congregated in Coblenz, which became the headquarters of the royalists. Thither went a constant stream of nobles, non-juring priests, army officers, and even members of the royal family. Their leader was a brother of the King, named Charles (later Charles X), who threatened to invade France at the head of an army and destroy the Assembly.

Flight to Varennes. Louis, in an evil hour, decided to escape and join the *émigrés*. He and the Queen secretly fled from Paris in disguise. Their carriage reached Varennes, a village near the frontier, where their Majesties were recognized and seized. The return of the royal pair was tragic. All the way to Paris they were greeted with hoots, jeers, insults, and threats. When they

entered the capital they received a humiliating reception. As the carriage drove through the streets masses of people stood silent with their hats on. The troops grounded arms as at a funeral. This misadventure cost Louis his popularity. The King was a traitor, it was whispered, for it was believed that he was secretly opposed to the reforms that he had openly accepted.

Judicial reforms. The flight of the King did not interfere with the reform activity of the Assembly. It drew up a new code of law based upon enlightened and humane principles. Trial by jury was established. A prisoner was to be presumed innocent until proved guilty. Punishment was to be reasonable and humane. The death penalty was to be applied painlessly by a new device, the guillotine, which is still used in France to inflict capital punishment. The *parlements* were abolished, and new courts were created, presided over by popularly elected judges.

Abolition of the guilds. All men were given full liberty to follow any occupation or to engage in any trade. The guilds and trading companies were abolished. In order to prevent monopoly of labor or of capital all persons in the same trade were forbidden to form combinations. This law was later applied to dissolve trade unions.

Fiscal reforms. All privileges in taxation were abolished, as well as the onerous taxes of former days, such as the *taille* and the salt tax. The internal tariffs were abolished, and free trade established throughout France. To raise money the government levied equitable land and income taxes.

Abolition of titles. As nobles were no longer a privileged class, titles of nobility were abolished. "To-day is the tomb of vanities," a member declared as the hereditary nobility was voted out of existence.

The Constitution of 1791. The crowning work of the Constituent Assembly was the Constitution of 1791, which embodied the principles enunciated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Henceforth the government was to be a constitutional monarchy; the king was to be the chief executive, to conduct foreign affairs, and to have a suspensive veto over legislation. Laws were to be enacted by a parliament of one house, the Legislative Assembly, to be elected by "active" citizens, or those having property qualifications; the "passive" citizens, as the poor were called, were not given the suffrage. By making voting a privilege of property the

constitution of 1791 aroused the bitter enmity of the poorer classes, who denounced it as undemocratic.

Mirabeau (1749-91). The leading figure of the Revolution so far was Count Mirabeau who profoundly influenced the work of the Constituent Assembly. He was a noble with a "past," having led a reckless, dissipated life

that caused many to distrust him. When seeking election to the Third Estate, he was denounced as a "mad dog," by the nobles whom he had deserted. "That may be," he replied, "but choose me and despotism and privilege will die of my bite." Mirabeau was a great "tribune of the people," an eloquent orator and a sound statesman. There was hardly a measure of importance passed by the Assembly that was not to some extent his work. He had a remarkable understanding of the political situation, and a fairly accurate idea of how much reform France could digest. To make France a constitutional

monarchy with enlightened laws and progressive ideals was his aim. Toward the end of his life Mirabeau became the secret adviser of the King from whom he took money. He advised Louis to accept the reforms of the Assembly but to stand unflinchingly against those who advocated further changes. His excellent advice was not taken because the King utterly distrusted Mirabeau, whom he regarded as a demagogue.

End of the Assembly. In spite of Louis's secret opposition to the Assembly he gave his consent to all its measures. During the two momentous years of its existence France made centuries of progress. The Old Régime was completely overthrown. Old ideas were repudiated. Old traditions were flouted. Old prejudices were swept aside. In an address to the French people the



GABRIEL HONORÉ RIQUETTI
MIRABEAU

Assembly defended itself against the charge that they had reformed the country too rapidly and too hastily. "Does not every one know," it said, "that only by attacking and overthrowing all the abuses at the same time can we hope to be freed from them without danger of their return; that then, and then only, every one becomes interested in the reestablishment of order; that slow and partial reforms have always resulted in no reform at all, and that an abuse preserved becomes the support and, before long the means of restoring all those which we thought we had destroyed." On September 30, 1791, the Constituent Assembly went out of existence. "The Revolution is finished," said Robespierre, then an inconspicuous member of the Assembly.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why did the Third Estate insist that the three Estates meet together?
2. It is said the proceeding of the Third Estate was revolutionary when it declared itself a National Assembly. Why?
3. Of what importance are the following in the history of the French Revolution: Tennis Court Oath? the storming of the Bastille?
4. Was it a good or bad thing for France that Paris dominated the Revolution? Why?
5. The day following the night of August 4, Marat wrote in his paper, *Friend of the People*, that the privileged classes gave up what they no longer possessed. Did Marat have reasons for that statement?
6. "The Declaration may be considered from two points of view: as destroying the past, or as constructing the future." How did it destroy the past? How did it construct the future?
7. Why was the following clause put into the Declaration: "No one ought to be punished except by virtue of a law promulgated before the offense was committed and legally applied"?
8. Why was the royal family moved from Versailles to Paris?
9. What important laws were passed with reference to the Church?
10. What facts can you present to show that in 1790 a spirit of nationalism was moving the French people?
11. Why was France divided into departments?
12. "In the history of the Revolution in general, and of the republican party in particular, there are few events more decisive than the flight to Varennes." Justify the statement.
13. What was the effect of the law abolishing guilds on the future growth of trade unions?
14. Distinguish between active and passive citizens.
15. How did the Constitution of 1791 contradict the Declaration of Rights?
16. What was Mirabeau's contribution to the Revolution?
17. How does a constitutional monarchy differ from an absolute monarchy?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE ESTATES-GENERAL. Mathews, *French Revolution*, ch. x; Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 273-77; Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, pp. 35-42; Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 89-97; *High Lights of the French Revolution*, pp. 5-55.

STORMING OF THE BASTILLE. Mathews, ch. xi; Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 99-102.

FALL OF FEUDALISM. Mathews, pp. 141-47, 160-61, 166-68; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, pp. 255-59, 268-73.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN. Scherger, *Evolution of Modern Liberty*, chs. x-xii; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 259-62.

DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH. Mathews, pp. 161-66; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 273-77; Belloc, *French Revolution*, ch. vi; Madelin, *French Revolution*, chs. vii-x.

FLIGHT TO VARENNES. Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, pp. 99-102; Belloc, *High Lights of the French Revolution*, pp. 55-109; Mathews, pp. 180-84; Madelin, ch. xii.

MIRABEAU. Mathews, pp. 153-60, 178-80; Belloc, *French Revolution*, 56-63; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 262-67; Willert, *Mirabeau*.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

OPPOSITION TO THE REVOLUTION

Favorable reception of the Revolution. Even in those days of slow communication the events in Paris attracted breathless attention throughout the world. In every land those who dreamed of a happy humanity emancipated from every sort of ancient evil rapturously applauded the work of the Constituent Assembly.

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven!"

sang Wordsworth.

France satisfied with the reform. France had established a modern, enlightened, democratic system with the approval of an overwhelming majority of the people. This had been done with comparatively little popular disturbance; there had been plenty of excitement but little bloodshed. By 1791 France wanted no more reforms; she desired, above all else, to strengthen and develop the new system in peace and security.

Louis and the *émigrés* conspire against the Revolution. But this was not to be. A new turn of events led to the Reign of Terror and to wars with the rest of Europe for almost a generation. Both inside and outside of France hopes and fears were aroused that threatened the new order. "Rights of Man" societies appeared that agitated for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, the slogan of the French Revolution. Opposition to the Revolution was fomented naturally enough by the nobles, the clergy, and the King of France. The *émigrés* appealed to the nobles of the other countries to espouse their cause, warning them that the example of France would be followed everywhere, and unless their lands and privileges were restored to them the nobles of the rest of Europe would suffer the same fate. The French clergy appealed to the Catholics of other countries to save the Church in France from the hands of the free-thinking Revolutionists, whom they branded as the enemies of the Christian faith. More important was the attitude of the King. Louis, having no real understanding of the situation, could not see clearly through

the maze in which he found himself. He marched to disaster "with the crown over his eyes." His wife and his brother, Charles, were continually urging him to seek foreign aid to destroy the Revolution and reëstablish his authority as absolute monarch. If he could not rely on the French army why not use foreign armies? Before long he was secretly corresponding with the other monarchs, telling them that his cause was their cause, and pleading with them to come to the aid of their "good brother." He suggested that a congress be called of the chief powers of Europe, "supported by armed force as the best means of checking seditious parties, of establishing a more desirable order of things, and of preventing the evil which afflicts us from reaching the other states of Europe." The monarchs, already disquieted by the beginnings of a revolutionary movement throughout Europe, gave a ready ear to Louis's appeals. Emperor Leopold of Austria, a brother of Marie Antoinette, was especially concerned over the fate of his sister.

The Declaration of Pillnitz. The first warning to France came in a declaration issued by Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia at Pillnitz on August 27, 1791. They announced that they regarded the situation of the King of France "as a matter of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe"; that the other rulers should join them "to place the King of France in a position to establish, with the most absolute freedom, the foundations of a monarchical form of government"; and that they had given orders to their troops to prepare for service.

GIRONDINS AND JACOBINS

The Jacobins. It was in this atmosphere of threats of foreign intervention that the Legislative Assembly began its sessions. In this body, for the first time on the Continent, there appeared political parties. Chief among them were the Constitutionals who upheld the reforms already made, but who did not wish further changes. Opposed to them were two republican parties: the Girondins, so called because their leaders came from the district of La Gironde, and the Jacobins, so called because they were members of the Jacobin Club. The latter was the most remarkable political club in history. At first moderate, it later fell into the hands of the extreme revolutionists, and the name "Jacobin" came to mean everything that was violent in the French Revolu-

tion. The Club was superbly organized, with a central organization in Paris and over two thousand branches in the provinces. When any move was decided upon by the Jacobins in Paris, word went forth to the members to agitate among the crowds and to lead them to do what had been planned. Often what looked like a spontaneous uprising, parade, petition, massacre, or demonstration, was really the result of careful planning and organization. "The appalling thing in the French Revolution," says Lord Acton, the English historian, "is not the tumult but the design . . . the managers remain studiously concealed and masked; but there is no doubt about their presence from the first."

Moderate Republicans. Different were the Girondins. This party wanted to establish a republic whose policies would be liberal, tolerant, humane, and pacific. Their leaders were eloquent and learned, and steeped in the lore of ancient Greece and Rome. One of them was Vergniaud, called the "Cicero of Bordeaux," who denounced with classic eloquence the "Catilines of Coblentz," as he called the *émigrés* who were threateningly hovering on the frontier.



JEAN PAUL MARAT

Another moderate republican, though not a Girondist, was the philosopher Condorcet, who believed that universal peace and happiness was sure to come through the Revolution, which to him meant the liberty of all men and the fraternity of all nations. A third was a remarkable woman, Madame Roland, at whose house the Girondins met to discuss the policies of their party. Madame Roland had a keen mind and an enthusiastic nature, and she exercised a deep influence in her party's councils.

Marat. New popular leaders were appearing who were far more violent than those who led in the storming of the Bastille. The most extreme of all was

"Citizen" Marat, a man in whom hatred of monarchy and aristocracy was almost a murderous passion. He regarded himself as the avenging angel of the wrongs that the common people had suffered throughout the ages. Marat went about with a red cloth, instead of a hat, on his head, and he was everywhere hailed as the uncompromising champion of the masses. As the editor of a popular journal, *Friend of the People*, he denounced the aristocrats as enemies of humanity and traitors to their country. Marat had no definite policy, except death to all royalists. His influence over the Paris mob was great; to many his extreme violence was absolute proof of his sincerity and honesty.

DEFEAT OF THE PRUSSIANS

War with Austria. As much as they differed among themselves the various parties consolidated to preserve the Revolution. The Assembly was not at all intimidated by royalist conspiracies and by threats of foreign intervention; on the contrary it boldly took the offensive. In 1792 an ultimatum was sent to Austria demanding that she expel the *émigrés* within her territory; upon her refusal to do so, France promptly issued a declaration of war. This war, the Assembly said, was not one "of nation against nation but the just defense of a free people against the unjust aggression of a king." A conflict now began that was to last almost a generation, and that was to involve all Europe.

The *sans-culottes*. Prussian and Austrian armies under the Duke of Brunswick prepared to invade France. To defend the country the Assembly voted to raise new armies; but the measure was vetoed by the King who regarded the invaders as liberators rather than as enemies. The Jacobins decided on a demonstration, that the "people should pay a visit to the King." Thousands of *sans-culottes*,¹ wearing red caps and armed with pikes, poured forth on the streets. A vast howling mob marched into the Tuileries yelling threats and insults to "Monsieur and Madame Veto." "Beware, the cup is full," they cried. Louis, frightened, seized a red cap and put it on his head, which mollified the mob.

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. Fear, excitement, sus-

¹ The aristocrats were sometimes called the *culottes* (breeches) because they wore knee breeches; the lower classes wore trousers, and were called the *sans-culottes*, or trouser wearers.

picion, and anxiety reached the point of frenzy as a result of the famous Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick (July 25, 1792), whose armies were now on the frontier. It declared that the aim of the Allies was to restore absolute monarchy in France, that all revolutionists would be treated as "rebels to their king," that Paris was to submit at once, and that if the least violence was offered to the royal family, the Duke would "inflict an ever-memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction."

The *Marseillaise*. Patriotic passion rose to a white heat. "The Fatherland is in danger," was the cry everywhere. The Assembly called for volunteers, and from all corners of France men came streaming toward Paris. It was during these stirring days that the most famous of all national hymns, the *Marseillaise*, appeared. It was written by a volunteer, named Rouget de Lisle, and was called the *Marseillaise* because soldiers from Marseilles first sang it on the streets of Paris. Its thrilling chorus:

"Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons, qu'un sang impure abreuve nos sillons,"

fired the hearts of the volunteers as nothing else could.

August 10. The country was in grave danger. To save the situation the Jacobins proposed a desperate plan, namely, to terrorize the enemy within, the royalists, in order to demoralize the enemy without, the foreign armies. The Assembly branded the *émigrés* as traitors and confiscated their estates, which like those of the Church, were sold to commoners. Mob orators proceeded to lash the fury of the *sans-culottes*. On August 10 there was a feeling of dread in the air. Suddenly the revolutionary tocsin began ringing all over Paris, and enormous mobs appeared as if from the ground. They marched to the Tuileries, from which the King and Queen, forewarned, had fled in time. The palace was defended by the royal bodyguard, the famous Swiss Guards, who fought bravely and stubbornly till nearly all were killed. After sacking the Tuileries the mob paraded the streets with the heads of the Swiss stuck on pikes. A quiet observer of this scene was a sallow-faced, slender young man with long black hair and piercing eyes. To himself he remarked that the mob could easily have been scattered by a body of soldiers under a determined leader. It was Napoleon Bonaparte.

Danton (1754-94). The "man of August 10" was Danton, perhaps the most remarkable mob orator in modern times, and the successor of Mirabeau as the "soul of the Revolution." Impulsive, passionate, volcanic, audacious, he played upon the emotions of the mob as a musician plays upon an instrument. Although ready to do anything to safeguard the Revolution, Danton was not naturally bloodthirsty; on the contrary he was generous and warm-hearted and as ready to defend a friend as to lead a mob against a king.

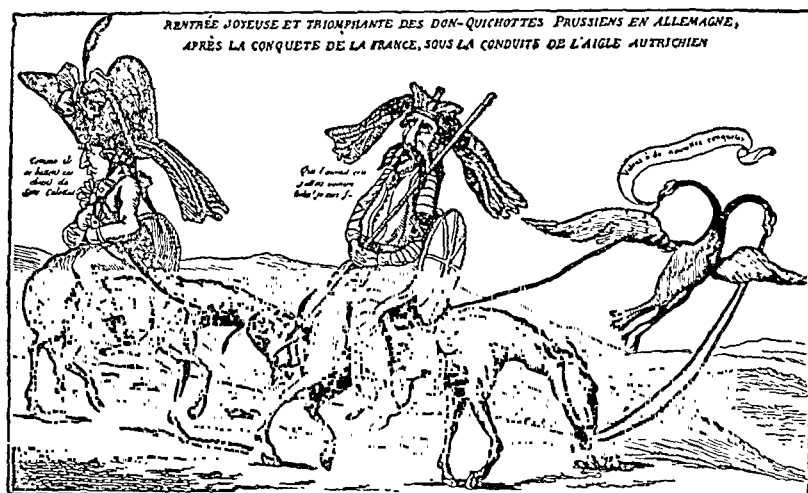


GEORGES JACQUES DANTON

Mob invades Assembly. The attack on the Tuileries had been organized by the Commune of Paris, which set itself up as a rival of the Assembly. It sent armed mobs into that body which was compelled to decree its own abolition and to call for the election of a Convention by universal, manhood suffrage. The royal family and about three thousand "suspects" were seized and imprisoned by the Commune.

The September Massacres. But the Duke of Brunswick was marching on. He crossed the frontier, and as town after town fell into his hands panic grew in Paris. Marat was thundering in the streets that the nation should be "purged of traitors." During September 2-6 occurred the most terrible event of the Revolution. Gangs of men, hired by the Commune, entered the prisons and, in cold blood, murdered over a thousand "suspects." The September Massacres sent a thrill of horror throughout the world and caused many to turn away from the Revolution. This horrible event was said to have been inspired by Marat who, alone of all the Jacobins, gloated over it.

Valmy. Danton now dominated the situation. One day he arose in the Assembly and delivered a speech that electrified the



A CARTOON OF THE TIMES

"The Joyous and triumphant return to Germany of the Prussian Don Quixotes under the conduct of the Austrian eagle, after the conquest of France." The Duke of Brunswick, at the left, says: "How they fought, those dogs of Sans-Culottes." In the center, the King of Prussia says: "Who would have believed that I went to conquer! Alas, I am done." At the right the Austrian eagle's words are: "Let us fly to new conquests."

country. After describing the march of the Duke of Brunswick he demanded that all who refused to defend the country should be punished with death. "The tocsin you will hear frequently is not a signal of alarm. It is ringing a charge against the enemies of our country. To conquer them we must be audacious, yet more audacious, always audacious, and France will be saved!" An army of volunteers under General Dumouriez went forth to meet the oncoming enemy. On September 20 a battle took place, at Valmy, between the French and a Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick. The French went into battle carrying tricolor flags and singing the *Marseillaise*. When the Prussians attacked, they suffered a severe check and were compelled to leave the field and to retire from France. "From this day a new period in history begins," commented Goethe on the success of the Revolutionary soldiers.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Account for the growth of republicanism from 1791 to 1792.
2. Compare the views of the Jacobins with those of the Girondins.
3. When war was declared against Austria the King's friends were overjoyed. Why?

4. Describe the effect on the Paris mobs of the advance of the Duke of Brunswick.
5. Explain the origin of the French national hymn.
6. Discuss the antagonism between the Legislative Assembly and the Paris mob.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

GIRONDINS AND JACOBINS. Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 174-78; 186-93; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 285-87; Madelin, *French Revolution*, pp. 301-04, ch. xxiv.

WAR WITH AUSTRIA. Mathews, pp. 195-210; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 289-94; Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, pp. 65-70; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, pp. 111-16; Madelin, chs. xvi-xvii, xxii.

MARAT. Mathews, pp. 147-48; Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 76-79; Bax, *Marat*.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONVENTION

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

Proclamation of a Republic. No monarchists were elected to the Convention which opened its sessions on September 21. The very same day Louis was deposed, and a republic was proclaimed amid violent denunciations of monarchy in general and of Louis in particular. "Kings are in the moral order what monsters are in the physical. . . . The history of kings is the martyrology of nations," said Abbé Grégoire, one of the orators of the Convention. The First French Republic was destined to have a stormy career during the twelve years of its life.

War against the royalists. Of the two republican parties the Girondins were the more numerous. But the more important were the Jacobins who had the powerful support of the Jacobin Club, the Commune of Paris, and the "street." "What constitutes a republic is the destruction of everything opposed to it," was the Jacobin formula. The September Massacres were the inspiration of a policy of ruthless and wholesale destruction of the royalists at home; and the victory of Valmy, of a crusade against monarchy throughout the world.

Execution of Louis XVI. What was to be done with the King? Little mercy for him could be expected from the members of the Convention, every one of whom regarded him as the arch-traitor who had egged on the invaders. "Citizen" Louis Capet, as he was now called, was haled before the Convention on the charge of treason. He found no defenders. "Royalty is an eternal crime, hence it cannot reign without being guilty," said the Jacobin Saint-Just. He was found guilty and was condemned to death. On January 21, 1793, Louis was guillotined in a public square in the presence of a vast crowd. Of him, too, could it be said that nothing in his life so became him as his manner of leaving it. He was quiet, dignified, affable, and kindly to the last.

Alliance against France. Louis dead was more powerful than Louis alive. A shudder of horror ran through Europe. In France all those who believed in monarchy, whether absolute or

constitutional, consolidated against the Convention. Uprisings broke out in the provinces against the "rascals in Paris." Outside of France every king felt the knife of the guillotine on his neck. A coalition, composed of nearly every nation in Europe, declared war against the French Republic. Its avowed purpose was to partition France, as Poland was being partitioned, in order to "get rid of this democratic firebrand which threatened to set Europe aflame."

Expulsion of the Girondins. In the Convention the Girondins and Jacobins were locked in deadly combat. Mobs of *sans-culottes* would march into the Convention hall, openly threaten the Girondins, and denounce them as cowards and traitors. Whenever desperate work was to be done Marat was always to the fore. On June 2 he himself sounded the dreaded tocsin. As if by magic, vast mobs appeared that surrounded the Convention. A "Pride's Purge" took place, the leading Girondins being seized and cast into prison. Having gotten rid of their opponents the Jacobins found themselves in control of the Convention.

Constitution of 1793. A new constitution was hastily adopted, providing for a parliament of one house elected for a term of one year by universal manhood suffrage; and for an executive committee to be chosen by parliament. This constitution was put to a referendum vote, and it was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This was the first time in history that a national referendum took place.

The citizen army. To defend the Republic against its many enemies the Convention passed a novel military law, which declared that "all Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for service in the armies." Hitherto armies had been composed of professional soldiers enlisted for life. Now a citizen army came into existence which was animated by crusading fervor in its battles for the Republic.

REIGN OF TERROR

Committee of public safety. "We must establish the despotism of liberty," said Marat. The Convention organized the famous Committee of Public Safety which consisted first of nine and later of twelve members. Nearly all were under forty, the most prominent being Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Carnot. As the situation became critical the constitution was

ignored, and the authority of the twelve "Apostles of Terror" became all-powerful.

Robespierre (1758-94). Its most influential member was Robespierre. Quiet in manner, austere in his habits, fragile in body, neatly, even elegantly dressed, Robespierre was in great



MAXIMILIAN MARIE ISIDORE
ROBESPIERRE

contrast to the burly, volcanic Danton. He had a "cat-like face." with greenish eyes that peered from behind blue spectacles. He delivered long-winded, tiresome speeches to the Convention, which were received with the greatest respect because he was regarded as completely honest and utterly sincere. The "Incorruptible," as Robespierre was called, had studied Rousseau's works, to him a bible to be followed always and everywhere. A sentence from Rousseau settled all arguments for him. Robespierre was a political fanatic ready to sacrifice any one, including himself, to his ideals. From the path of the Republic

should be promptly removed all those who were not its whole-hearted supporters in thought and deed without any consideration whatsoever because, in his view, they refused to accept not merely a government but the new religion of humanity.

Saint-Just and Carnot. Saint-Just was his chief disciple. A handsome young man of only twenty-six, cold and reserved in manner, pitiless and uncompromising, he like his master would stop at nothing to encompass the ruin of the enemies of the Republic. A man with "a mind of fire and a heart of ice," Saint-Just dreamed of a constitution for France that could be like the one in ancient Sparta where all lived simply and died heroically for their country. Carnot was totally different from his associates. He was not an orator, or a philosopher, or a mob leader

or a politician, but an amazingly efficient administrator. The citizen army was organized by him in a new and wonderful way, and was soon to give a great account of itself on the battle-fields of Europe. The "Organizer of Victory," Carnot was admirably called.

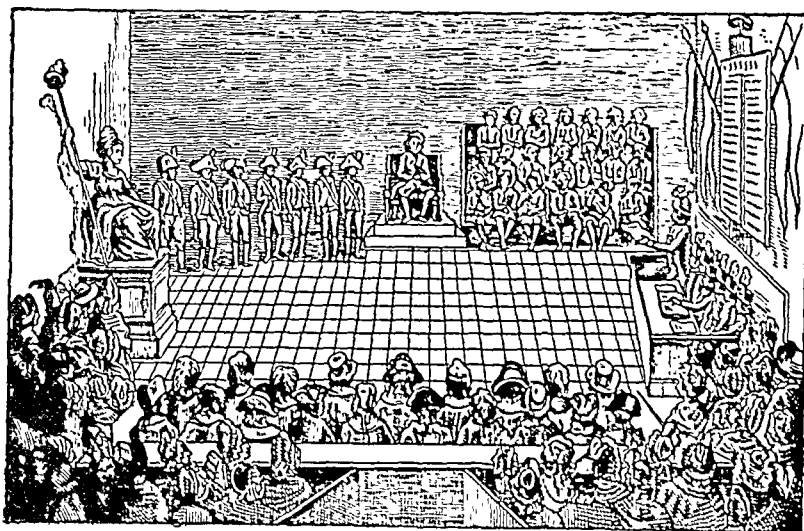
Convention faces grave domestic and foreign problems. The year '93 was the most critical in the annals of the French Revolution. Civil war raged in the provinces. The royalist peasants of La Vendée rose in rebellion "for God and King." Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, whose business was being ruined by the Revolution, cast off the control of Paris. The *assignats* rapidly depreciated in value because the government printed paper-money far more in quantity or value than the security of the confiscated Church property warranted. The paper money became worthless in spite of the fact that the government fixed the death penalty for refusal to accept it at face value. Prices soared, and the poor as usual suffered most. The English fleet blockaded the ports. General Dumouriez, the victor of Valmy, deserted to the Allies. The royalists in Paris continued to conspire. Foreign armies were marching on Paris from every direction.

France wars against Europe. Never did a government face a more desperate situation! And the Convention showed almost miraculous energy in facing it. The challenge of monarchical Europe was immediately answered by republican France who daringly took the offensive. The entire nation was set to work making arms and supplies; and before long fourteen armies were equipped by Carnot and sent forth to invade the neighboring countries. With these armies were sent "deputies on mission," civil commissioners, to watch the generals and see that they did not turn traitors like Dumouriez. The generals were stimulated by the fear that if they lost a battle they would be charged with treason and guillotined. For them it was victory or death!

The republican "crusade." The French Revolution now became a political crusade. The Convention promised "Fraternity and aid to all peoples who desire to recover their liberty"; it was "war against the kings and peace to the peoples." Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were proclaimed throughout the world. The liberty-intoxicated soldiers of the Republic marched over the frontiers with "ideas at the point of their bayonets," and every-

where routed the monarchist armies sent against them, in Belgium, in Holland, on the Rhine. Europe was stunned!

Suppression of the royalists. At the same time the Convention was at work suppressing the counter-revolutionists, called the "Whites" because they rallied around the white flag of the Bourbons. The Jacobins were known as the "Reds." Armies were sent from Paris against the peasants in La Vendée and against the rebel cities. The Reds triumphed over the Whites and suppressed them with ferocious cruelty.

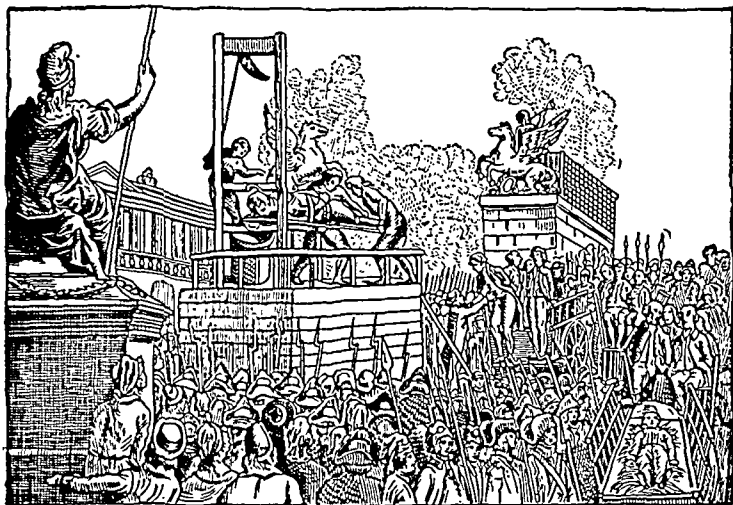


A TRIAL OF GIRONDISTS

At the left, the statue with a liberty cap on a staff represents the Revolutionary Republic.

Terrorism. In Paris the Committee of Public Safety resolved on a policy of terrorizing all those who did not heartily support its policies, whether they were royalists or republicans. A court was organized, called the Revolutionary Tribunal, which applied the "law of suspects." Any one was liable to be hauled before this body on suspicion of being opposed to the Republic, charged with treason, summarily tried, and sent to the guillotine. Nobles, priests, officials under the monarchy, or their servants and relatives, were almost certain of death if brought before this terrible court. There began a procession to the guillotine, of royalists, of reformers of the Constitutional Assembly, of Girondins of the Legislative Assembly, and later of Jacobins themselves! Among

those who perished were Desmoulins, Vergniaud, Madame Roland, and Marie Antoinette. Condorcet was condemned but cheated the guillotine by dying in prison. It is estimated that about three thousand in Paris and about ten thousand in the provinces were guillotined during the Reign of Terror.



AN EXECUTION BY GUILLOTINE

A statue of Liberty appears at the left.

Convention establishes new calendar. The Convention showed itself exceedingly hostile to the Catholic faith. Church and state were separated in 1795. Priests were suspected of hostility to the revolution and many were exiled or put to death. A new calendar was adopted, Year I beginning September 22, 1792, the birthday of the Republic. The months were given fanciful new names, and civic holidays were established in place of the religious ones. These innovations, however, did not last.

Makes lasting reforms. This extraordinary body adopted some changes, nevertheless, that were lasting and beneficial. It introduced the metric system of weights and measures, now almost universal; it abolished imprisonment for debt; it issued a revised code of laws, which later became the basis of the Napoleonic Code; it established a number of institutions now famous, the Louvre Museum, the Normal School, the National Library, and

the Institute of France; it completed the destruction of feudalism, begun on August 4, by suppressing without indemnity all feudal dues of whatever character; and it abolished the age-old aristocratic law of primogeniture, whereby the oldest son inherited the entire estate of the father, supplanting it by the democratic "law of partition," whereby the estate of the father is shared equally by all his children.

END OF TERRORISM

Execution of Danton. The success of the Revolutionary armies compelled some of the Allies to sue for peace and to recognize the Republic. The rest, among them England and Austria, did not make peace but stopped fighting. France was safe from without; but a bitter division now arose among the Jacobins. Danton asked for "indulgence" and demanded that terrorism which, he declared, was no longer necessary, be brought to a halt. But he was to learn the truth of the proverb that "he who rides a tiger dare not dismount." Robespierre accused him of cowardice and treason, and roused the bloodthirsty mob against the "man of August 10." Danton was tried and condemned to the guillotine. Just before the knife fell he remarked to the executioner, "Show my head to the people; it is worth showing."

Dictatorship of Robespierre. Robespierre was now the absolute master of France. Under his influence was passed the most terrible law of the Revolution, which declared that the judges who tried political prisoners "should be guided solely by a patriotic conscience, and their aim should be the triumph of the Republic and the ruin of its enemies." Many more were now dragged to the guillotine. The terrorists were as much terrorized as their hapless victims, and they struck blindly in every direction. They felt, and quite rightly, that if their opponents came into power, they would be shown as little mercy as they showed others.

Fall of Robespierre. France sickened of the daily butchery which was as unnecessary as it was murderous. Moreover, the fate of Danton was a warning to the terrorists that they too would go to the guillotine if they incurred the displeasure of Robespierre. A conspiracy was organized against him, headed by Barras, who succeeded in getting control of the Convention. One day, as Robespierre was about to address that body, he was

howled down with the cry, "Down with the tyrant!" He attempted to speak but could not find voice. "The blood of Danton chokes him," cried a member. Robespierre was condemned as an outlaw and sent to the guillotine. Some of his followers, among them Saint-Just, shared his fate.

Constitution of 1795. The death of Robespierre in 1794 marked the end of the Reign of Terror. The "law of suspects" was repealed; the Jacobin Club was suppressed; and the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety were abolished. The surviving Girondins who had been driven out of the Convention were now recalled, and that body came under more moderate leadership. In 1795 it promulgated another constitution, the one of 1793 being considered entirely too radical. It provided for a parliament of two houses, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Elders, both to be elected indirectly by those citizens only who had property; executive power was to be exercised by a Directory of five members chosen by Parliament. Before it went out of existence the Convention passed a decree that two thirds of each Council were to be chosen from the membership of the Convention; in other words, elections were to be held for only one third of each house of Parliament.

End of the Reign of Terror. There was bitter opposition to this decree. Reaction was now widespread in France, and a powerful royalist opposition made itself felt. In Paris a new mob appeared, of well-to-do bourgeois who prepared to attack the Convention. The latter appealed to the army for protection, and a body of troops was sent under a young artillery officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. That determined young man planted cannon in front of the Convention hall, and when the mob appeared, scattered them "with a whiff of grapeshot." On October 26, the Convention went out of existence.

Terrorism discredits the Revolution. For about a year and a half France had been under the control of the Jacobins whose violent methods had completely cowed all opposition to the Republic. The French people supported the terrorists out of fear of invading armies, not out of sympathy with Jacobin principles. The Jacobins managed to identify their cause with that of saving the country, and therefore good patriots rallied to their side. Their power was made still greater by the success of the Revolutionary armies. But when the country was safe it recoiled with

horror from the bloody work of the guillotine. Although terrorism was suppressed it left a dark stain on the French Revolution whose noble principles and wholesome reforms were now discredited.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. If you were a member of the Convention when the King was tried, how would you prove that he was guilty of treason to the State?
2. What were the immediate consequences of the execution of the King?
3. Cite instances during the Reign of Terror, which violated the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.
4. What is a referendum? When was it first used?
5. What are the differences between a professional army and a conscripted army? Which is preferable? Why? When was a conscripted army first used?
6. What governmental machinery did the Convention devise to deal with the crises of 1793?
7. Who were the most prominent members of the Committee of Public Safety? Why was Carnot called the "Organizer of Victory"?
8. By what foreign and domestic dangers was the Convention confronted? How did it overcome them?
9. What is meant by the Reign of Terror? State its policies.
10. Besides waging a successful war against its foreign and domestic enemies "the Convention achieved much in the field of peaceful development." Justify this statement.
11. Compare Danton with Robespierre as to character and ideas.
12. In what sense was the Constitution of 1795 more democratic than the Constitution of 1791?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLIC. Madelin, *French Revolution*, chs. XIX-XX, XXIV; Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 213-21, 225-28; Belloc, *High Lights of the French Revolution*, pp. 203-301.

FALL OF THE GIRONDINS. Madelin, chs. XXVI-XXVII; Mathews, pp. 221-23, 228-30.

REIGN OF TERROR. Madelin, chs. XXVIII-XXX; Mathews, chs. XVII-XVIII; Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 130-45.

DANTON. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 70-74; Danton; Madelin, ch. XXI.

ROBESPIERRE. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 79-85; Robespierre; Mathews, ch. XVIII; Madelin, chs. XXI-XXIV.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DIRECTORY

GENERAL BONAPARTE

Corruption of the Directory. The Directory came into existence in 1795. Its chief was Barras, a corrupt and incompetent politician; and most of his associates were not unlike him. Grafters had succeeded fanatics in control of the Republic. Abbé Sieyès now again appears on the scene, for the first time since the Constituent Assembly. "What were you doing during the Terror?" he was asked. "I lived," he is said to have replied.

France continues war against Allies. Contrary to its wishes the Directory was obliged to carry on the war because some of the Allies, notably England and Austria, refused to make peace. The note of conquest was now heard in the wars of the French Revolution. The Austrian Netherlands, or Belgium, had been won by the victory at Fleurus in 1794. The doctrine of "natural frontiers" was openly proclaimed, and armies made ready to march to the Rhine. Had the spirit of Louis XIV migrated into the body of the Republic? England was especially alarmed over the occupation of Belgium which, she feared, might be used as a basis for invading her territory.

General Bonaparte. Carnot planned an attack upon Austria at two points. One army was to march through Germany; another was to march through northern Italy, at that time under Austrian control; both were then to invade Austria. The command of the army to invade Italy was given to Napoleon Bonaparte, then only twenty-seven years old. Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1769 of a family of Italian origin. His father was a village lawyer in poor circumstances whose eight children, five boys and three girls, were destined to become kings, queens, or princesses, and one the lord of Europe and the most famous name in modern history. The father was given a scholarship to a military school for one of his sons. He first thought of giving it to Joseph, an older son, but changed his mind and gave it to Napoleon; he believed that Joseph was bright and could take care of himself but that Napoleon was not so bright and needed the help that the

scholarship would give him. Napoleon did not get along well at the military school. He was poor and was snubbed by his classmates, who were children of rich nobles; he spoke French with a foreign accent; he had a bad temper and would not mix with the other boys. Young Napoleon was much by himself, and was fond of reading serious books. As a student he was not particularly



NAPOLÉON AT THE BATTLE OF
ARCOLE, 1796

brilliant, except in mathematics and in history. He entered the army as a lieutenant of artillery, but the pay being too small he resigned. In those days he lived in a bare room in an alley in Paris. Half-starved, penniless, he wandered through the streets in the early days of the Revolution and witnessed many of the revolutionary scenes which caused him to reflect on kings, mobs, politicians, aristocrats, and demagogues. In 1792 he went back to the army and attracted some attention because of his defense of the Convention. About this time he met a beautiful widow, Josephine Beauharnais, a native of Martinique, with whom

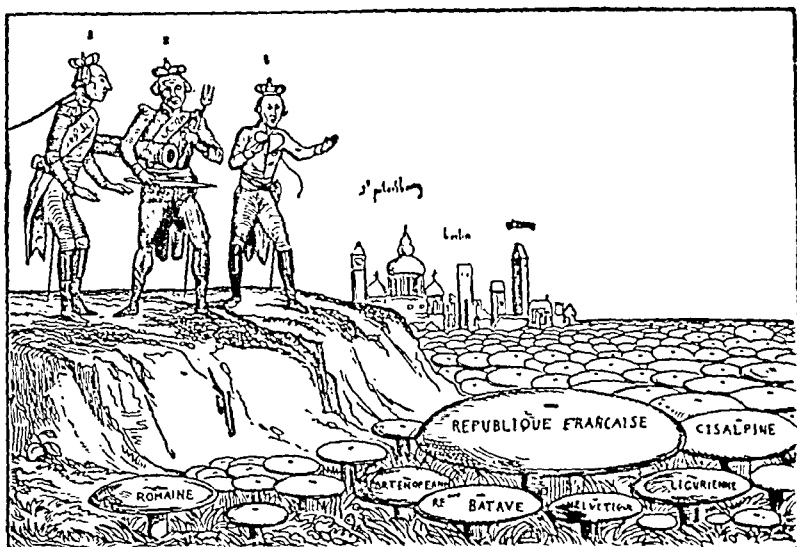
he fell madly in love. She was older than he and had two children, a boy, Eugene, and a girl, Hortense; yet she at first refused to marry him for she was a rich society woman and he "had nothing but his sword." But Bonaparte wooed her ardently and insistently, boasting that he would make his mark if only he got an opportunity. Josephine was a friend of Barras, and it was through her influence with the Director and also because of Carnot's favorable impression of the young officer, that Bonaparte was made a general and appointed commander of the army to invade Italy. Two days after his appointment Josephine and he were married; Bonaparte got both the lady and the commission.

THE ITALIAN AND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGNS

Bonaparte inspires his troops. Bonaparte's opportunity had now come and he seized it with the hand of fate. When he took command he found the soldiers ragged, hungry, lawless, and discouraged, and the officers resentful over their subordination to a young and inexperienced commander. Very quickly did Bonaparte make his influence felt. There was a strange power that emanated from him which fascinated and even terrified the oldest officers. To the troops he issued a series of eloquent and somewhat bombastic addresses. "Soldiers! I am going to lead you into the fertile plains of the world. . . . There you will find great cities. There you will find great riches."

His victories over the Austrians. He invaded Italy in 1796 and encountered Austrian and Sardinian armies much larger and much better equipped than his own. Soon the world heard of a series of astounding victories won by the young general, the most famous being Lodi, Arcole, and Rivoli. Like Cæsar of old, Bonaparte sent timely dispatches of his victories to Paris, where his name at once bounded into great popularity. In this campaign he showed those remarkable and original methods of fighting that were later to distinguish him. He made greater use of artillery than had been the custom. In those days the real fighting was done by the infantry and cavalry; artillery was used mainly to destroy defenses. Bonaparte demonstrated that cannon could destroy men as well as walls. He showed extraordinary capacity in finding out what his opponent expected him to do, and then doing the opposite; in other words, he developed the surprise attack. This he did largely through very rapid marching. "Legs win battles," was his axiom. Another of his methods was to divide the opposing army and destroy each part separately. And he never failed to follow up a victory.

Treaty of Campo Formio. Northern Italy fell into the hands of the French. Bonaparte sent not only dispatches but booty to France. He levied heavy tribute on the conquered regions in money and in something more precious than money, art. He ransacked the Italian galleries and sent many Titians and Raphaels captive to the galleries in Paris. After driving the Austrians out of Italy Bonaparte invaded Austria herself and was marching straight to Vienna when the Emperor signed the Peace of Campo Formio (1797). Its chief terms were that (1) northern



MUSHROOM REPUBLICS

This cartoon, published during the French Consulate, shows the King of Prussia (1), the Russian Emperor (2), and the Austrian Emperor (3) viewing with alarm the new republics that, like mushrooms, have sprung up almost overnight. These were created by France in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. One mushroom represents the French Republic; others the Roman, Parthenopean, Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine Republics. The Prussian King says: "Lord, how they grow! It's frightful!" The Russian Emperor: "They would be very good to eat." The Austrian Emperor: "Don't touch them, they are poisonous."

Italy was to be organized into the Ligurian Republic and the Cisalpine Republic, both under the protection of France; and (2) the Austrian Netherlands was to be annexed to France. The old Republic of Venice was abolished, part of its territory being given to Austria as compensation.

Bonaparte, a national hero. This was a great triumph for the French Republic which gained both peace and territory. Bonaparte's return to Paris was as a national hero; every one sang the praises of the brilliant young general who had made Austria sign so humiliating a peace. But his victories had merely whetted Bonaparte's appetite. He was already dreaming of becoming something greater than a general but, as he put it, "the pear was not yet ripe."

Bonaparte invades Egypt. France was still at war with England. It was Bonaparte who first conceived the idea that India was the keystone of the British Empire; once India was conquered

the world-wide empire of the English would totter and fall. He advised the Directory to send an expedition to Egypt which would serve as a base of operations against India. In 1798 Bonaparte set sail for Egypt at the head of a large army. He seized Alexandria and then marched toward Cairo. Egypt was then ruled by a war-like tribe called the Mamelukes. They met the French near the Pyramids, where a notable battle was fought. "Soldiers! Forty centuries look down upon you!" Bonaparte grandiloquently exhorted his troops. The Mamelukes were beaten, and the French entered Cairo in triumph. England was greatly alarmed, for she quickly saw the design of the French. A powerful fleet under Admiral Horatio Nelson was sent to Egypt. It encountered a French fleet near the Nile and completely destroyed it. Bonaparte's communication with France was now cut off, and his army was virtually imprisoned in the land of Egypt which it had conquered. In the new duel that was beginning between France and England, the Battle of the Nile is the first instance of French victories on land being brought to naught by English victories on the sea.

The Rosetta Stone. The most important result of the Egyptian Expedition was not the brilliant victories, either French or English, but the finding of the Rosetta Stone. An officer in Napoleon's army found near one of the mouths of the Nile, the Rosetta, a stone with inscriptions that led to the unlocking of much of the mysterious life of ancient Egypt. On this stone was carved a statement in hieroglyphics and next to it a translation in Greek.¹ At last there was a key to the Egyptian language so long forgotten. Since then the numerous inscriptions on Egyptian monuments have been deciphered, and the world now has some idea of the history of this ancient land. The Rosetta Stone is now in the British Museum.

COUP D'ÉTAT OF THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE

Unpopularity of the Directory. In the meanwhile all was not going well in France. The Jacobins once more raised their heads, and mobs appeared in the streets. Royalists in La Vendée again rose against the Republic. A new coalition of European powers drove the French out of Italy and out of Germany. The

¹ The deciphering of the hieroglyphics was done by the French scholar, Champollion who published his work in 1822.

Directory became exceedingly unpopular, and it was denounced as a government whose existence was due to fraud, and whose incompetence was now bringing the nation to ruin. "If Bonaparte were only here," every one was saying.



THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE

On November 9, 1799, the eighteenth Brumaire, in the Revolutionary calendar, Napoleon dispersed the Council of Five Hundred, the legislative branch of the Government, after scenes of wild disorder. The same day the President of the Council, Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, called together the members who were in sympathy with this act, declared the Directorate abolished, and prepared a new constitution. This placed all power in the hands of a First Consul, Napoleon himself. Two other consuls were to be appointed by him, but their office was merely advisory. (From the painting by Bouchot.)

Coup d'état of the Eighteenth Brumaire. The news of the situation at home reached Egypt. "I am going to drive out those lawyers," Bonaparte remarked in speaking of his plans to oust the Directors. He managed to escape from Egypt and came to Paris where he was enthusiastically acclaimed as the man to save the

country. He secretly got in touch with some of the leading politicians who were opposed to the Directory and formed a conspiracy to overthrow the government. On the Eighteenth of Brumaire, Year VIII (November 9, 1799), Bonaparte entered the Council of Five Hundred with several soldiers and attempted to address that body. The members were aware of his intentions and greeted him with the cry, "Down with the tyrant!" "Down with the Dictator!" He was knocked down and carried out of the hall in a fainting condition. Outside was waiting in readiness a body of troops under General Murat. The soldiers attacked the Council and cleared the room. Some of the members were seized, others escaped through the windows. The Council of Elders was in the plot and approved of its own abolition. Three of the Directors resigned, and the other two being a minority ceased to have power. This method of ousting a government by the military is called in France, a *coup d'état*.

Constitution of 1799. What was to be the new government? A new constitution was drawn up by Bonaparte, and submitted to a referendum, called a plebiscite. It was overwhelmingly adopted. The constitution provided for an executive committee of three, called Consuls, chosen for ten years, the chief being the First Consul, who was to be Bonaparte; and for four legislative bodies, elected in a very complicated way and having little power. "A constitution should be short and obscure," was Bonaparte's dictum. All real power was in the hands of the First Consul; he named and consequently dominated his two associates; he submitted laws to be accepted by the legislatures; he appointed all officials; he conducted foreign affairs; he controlled the army. The Republic existed in name only; in fact the new government was a veiled monarchy. "The romance of the Revolution is over," said the First Consul.

General peace in Europe. Bonaparte now turned his attention to the coalition. In 1800 he once more invaded Italy, and at Marengo inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrian armies. The Emperor signed the Treaty of Luneville (1801), the terms being essentially the same as those of Campo Formio. Deprived of her chief ally, England signed the Treaty of Amiens (1802) practically on the basis of the *status quo*; to England, however, the treaty was a truce rather than a peace. Europe at last had a general peace, and Bonaparte could justly boast to his fellow-countrymen that he brought peace and victory.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. How does the foreign policy of the French Republic resemble that of Louis XIV? What country was specially alarmed?
2. Trace the career of Napoleon Bonaparte to the Italian Campaign. Why was he placed in command of the army to invade Italy?
3. Explain the new methods of fighting used by General Bonaparte.
4. The Museum of the Louvre is greatly indebted to Napoleon. Why?
5. Why did Napoleon undertake the Egyptian Expedition?
6. Egyptian tombs were recently opened, and the numerous inscriptions in hieroglyphics were deciphered. Connect Napoleon's Egyptian expedition with the deciphering of hieroglyphics.
7. What is a *coup d'état*? Why was Napoleon enthusiastically accepted by the French people?
8. Napoleon's constitution "in theory continued the Republic but in fact established a military dictatorship." Explain.

Map questions: Locate Pillnitz, Valmy, Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, Campo Formio and La Vendée.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

BONAPARTE. Johnston, *Napoleon*, chs. I-II; Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 236-38, 290-93, 303-06; Fisher, *Napoleon*, ch. I; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 309-12, 324-26.

THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN. Johnston, pp. 27-39, 41-47; Mathews, pp. 307-15; Fisher, ch. II; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 312-18.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION. Johnston, pp. 47-57; Mathews, pp. 315-22; Fisher, ch. III; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 318-21.

COUP D'ÉTAT OF EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE. Johnston, ch. v, pp. 71-79; Mathews, pp. 322-27; Fisher, pp. 73-78; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 322-23.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

NAPOLÉON

"Hosannah! The Emperor!"

... The trembling trees bowed towards him as he advanced, the sunbeams quivered, frightened yet curious, through the green leaves, and in the blue heaven above there swam visibly a golden star. . . . He rode a white steed that stepped so proudly, so confidently, so nobly. . . . Carelessly and easily sat the Emperor, one hand holding the reins, the other good-naturedly patting the horse's neck. It was a glittering marble hand, a mighty hand, a hand that had bound fast the many-headed monster of anarchy and had let loose the war of nations — and it good-naturedly patted the horse's neck. His head reminded one of the marble busts of the Greeks and Romans; his features were as noble as those of the ancients, and on his face was written, "Thou shalt have no gods before me." A smile, which warmed and soothed every heart, flitted over his lips. Yet all knew that these lips had but to whistle, "and Prussia ceases to exist"; they had but to whistle, and the entire priesthood was done for; they had but to whistle, and the Holy Roman Empire tottered. And those lips smiled. And the eye smiled too, an eye, clear as heaven, that could see into the hearts of men, that pierced, at a glance, all the things of this world. . . . His brow was not so clear; the phantoms of future battles were nestling there. Now and then a quiver flitted over that brow. Those were the creative ideas, the great seven-league boot ideas, with which the spirit of the Emperor strode invisibly over the world. — HEINRICH HEINE.

The figure he makes in history is one of almost incredible self-conceit, of vanity, greed, and cunning, of callous contempt and disregard of all who trusted him, and of grandiose aping of Cæsar, Alexander, and Charlemagne which would be purely comic if it were not caked over with human blood. . . . It would be difficult to find a human being less likely to arouse affection. One reads in vain through the monstrous accumulations of Napoleonic literature for a single record of self-forgetfulness. . . . Out of his portraits he looks at us with a thin scorn upon his lips, the scorn of the criminal who believes that he can certainly cheat such fools as we are, and withal with a certain uneasiness in his eyes. That uneasiness haunts all his portraits. Are we really convinced that he is quite right? Are his laurels straight? He had a vast contempt for man in general and men in particular, a contempt that took him at last to St. Helena, that same contempt that fills our jails with forgers, poisoners, and the like victims of self-conceit. . . . He had never a gleam of religion or affection or the sense of duty. He was, as few men are or dare to be, a scoundrel, bright and complete. — H. G. WELLS.

Napoleon's personality. Napoleon was one of the most remarkable men that ever appeared in history. Not only was he personally extraordinary, but his life was extraordinary and his times were extraordinary. Altogether the Napoleonic Period is a modern epic with Napoleon as the hero. So unbelievable is the tale that a book was once written proving that Napoleon never really existed, and that he was a character in myth and legend.

The greatest soldier that ever lived was a dwarf, five feet two inches. In early life he was thin and sallow-faced; later he became somewhat corpulent, but at all times his appearance attracted attention. His features were clear and sharp as though a Greek sculptor had modeled them. His eyes were brilliant, almost blazing. His manner radiated energy as if within him was a hidden dynamo; all who came into his presence immediately felt a strange spell as if gripped by a mighty force.

Napoleon was a man of passionate, even violent, temper. He would fly into what seemed an uncontrollable rage, hurl the most outrageous insults, smash things, and even strike those who roused his anger; yet all the while he was perfectly cool inside, like a storm at sea with wild waves raging on the surface and calm reigning in the depths. "I felt in his spirit a cold and trenchant sword, which froze as it wounded," said Madame de Staël.

His contempt of idealists. Napoleon never laughed heartily and genially. Occasionally his beautifully formed mouth would curve into a strange smile, sardonic, contemptuous, cruel, cynical. He never really loved any one truly and generously; the only person who aroused his affections at all was Josephine, but when she no longer served his aims he promptly left her for another woman who did. No one ever lived who had so vast a contempt for the human race as Napoleon; the mass of mankind was only "food for cannon." Those like the Revolutionists who dreamed of an ideal society he sarcastically referred to as "idealogues." Yet millions worshiped him almost as a deity, served him with incredible devotion, and gladly met death for his sake. Why? The answer was given by Napoleon himself when he said that "men are governed through their imagination." He well understood that once the imagination of people is aroused, they will readily sacrifice themselves for what they believe to be noble and grand. And who could arouse their imagination as much as this



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

magician? He waved his magic wand, and wonderful things became visible. French armies were marching in triumph driving innumerable enemies before them. The French flag was waving from Lisbon to Moscow. And the magician himself sat on a throne amid a prostrate world.

His unscrupulousness. With his vivid imagination he combined hard practical sense. Truly an amazing combination! It was his wont to dream fantastic and impossible things, and then coolly set to work in the most matter-of-fact way to make them real. He was a very hard worker, attending personally to countless details, dictating to several secretaries at the same time, often working throughout the day and night. In his dealings with men he was exceedingly shrewd and completely unscrupulous. He had no moral sense whatsoever, and did anything that he thought would be for his interests. Yet he was not, according to his standards, deliberately wicked, for he regarded himself as being above morality; "right" and "wrong" existed not for him but for the rest of mankind. "Metternich has become almost a statesman; he lies very well," was his comment on the famous diplomat.

His keen insight. He had an excellent insight into the real worth of the influential men of his day. He knew that the kings, lords, generals, diplomats, ministers had become "the great ones of the earth" mainly through their good fortune in being born in a privileged class; that most of them were thoroughly incompetent, and even stupid, in spite of their crowns, titles, medals, ribbons, and sashes. "A tailor's dummy," was his opinion of the King of Prussia. When he met them on the battle-field or in the council room he bowled them over as if they were so many ninepins. To those of his followers who showed ability and who were faithful to him he gave every opportunity for advancement. One of his marshals was the son of a washer-woman, another of a mason, another of an innkeeper; Marshal Ney, his most famous general, was the son of a common laborer. "A career open to talent," was the Napoleonic motto.

His religious views. In religion Napoleon was born and brought up a Catholic; but he became a free-thinker and an admirer of Voltaire and Rousseau. He did believe in God, but he had strange ideas of His influence in the world. "God is always on the side of the heaviest battalions," he once remarked. In his opinion the Church primarily was a useful institution that taught

the common people to be contented with their lot and to be obedient to the government, and not a society of Christians that preached the way of salvation. He was ready to make use of any religion in any way that suited his purposes. "In Egypt I am a Mohammedan; in France, a Catholic," he cynically avowed.

His egotism. Napoleon was intensely egotistic. He had a boundless and almost insane ambition to be the greatest power in the world; and all of Europe was drenched in blood that he might realize his ambition. He believed that he alone was worthy of consideration; that his interests were paramount; that his policies should be followed unswervingly; that his ideas should be accepted uncomplainingly. "God was bored with him," said Victor Hugo.

REFORMS OF NAPOLEON

Reorganization of France. After the Peace of Amiens Napoleon turned his attention to domestic problems. The great changes made by the Revolution had abolished the Old Régime but had not as yet firmly established the new one, owing to the interruptions of the Terror and of the wars with monarchist Europe. Everything was disorganized and uncertain. It was necessary to bring order out of chaos, a task which engaged the attention of the First Consul. He proceeded to reorganize the country with the idea of establishing it on a sound basis.

Financial stability. Almost the first of Napoleon's reforms was financial. The Bank of France was established to conduct the financial operations of the government. A stable currency was issued based upon gold. These changes led to a revival of business which, for the first time since 1789, felt itself secure.

The Napoleonic Code. In 1804 the civil and criminal laws were revised and issued as the Napoleonic Code which ranks with the Justinian Code in the history of law. The work was done by distinguished jurists who were constantly aided by suggestions from Napoleon himself. The Code was based on the principles of the Revolution, as it introduced enlightened methods such as trial by jury, and established reasonable penalties for crimes. It was so highly regarded that it was adopted outright or in a modified form by other nations. The State of Louisiana, at one time, maintained parts of the Napoleonic Code in its law courts. "I shall go down to posterity with my Code in hand," proudly said Napoleon.

The Concordat. Another of his reforms was a treaty with the Pope (1801), called the Concordat. Napoleon knew that the mass of the French people, being devout Catholics, were opposed to the anti-religious laws of the Revolution. By the Concordat the Church was reestablished; Catholicism was recognized as the "religion of the great majority of the French people"; priests were to be appointed by the bishops; bishops were to be nominated by the government and appointed by the pope; and a budget was established to pay the salaries of the priests in compensation for the loss of the Church property during the Revolution. Religious equality was, however, to be maintained by the government which gave subsidies to the Protestant and Jewish faiths as well as to the Catholic.

Centralization of education. Like all other autocrats Napoleon favored a system of education which he could control. He reorganized the educational system by founding the University of France (1806). This was not a "university" in the ordinary sense but a board of government officials that had complete power over all educational institutions of whatever kind throughout the country. It supervised the curricula, gave examinations, granted degrees, set standards, and adopted policies. The University was a means of centralizing all education, and it was established by Napoleon with the object, as he said, "of directing political and moral opinion."

Centralization of government. The administration of government was highly centralized. In each "department" there was a governor called a prefect with executive power, appointed by the central government. The local councils established by the Revolution were reduced to mere advisory bodies to the prefect. A powerful and well-organized bureaucracy appeared that controlled both national and local governments, and it implicitly obeyed its creator and master, the First Consul.

The Legion of Honor. Another innovation of Napoleon was the establishment of the Legion of Honor (1802). This was an order of merit, organized in grades on the model of an army. All those recognized by the government as having rendered distinguished service to France, whether natives or foreigners, were "decorated," that is, admitted to the Legion either as privates called "chevaliers" or as officers.

Napoleonic reforms based upon the Revolution. These re-

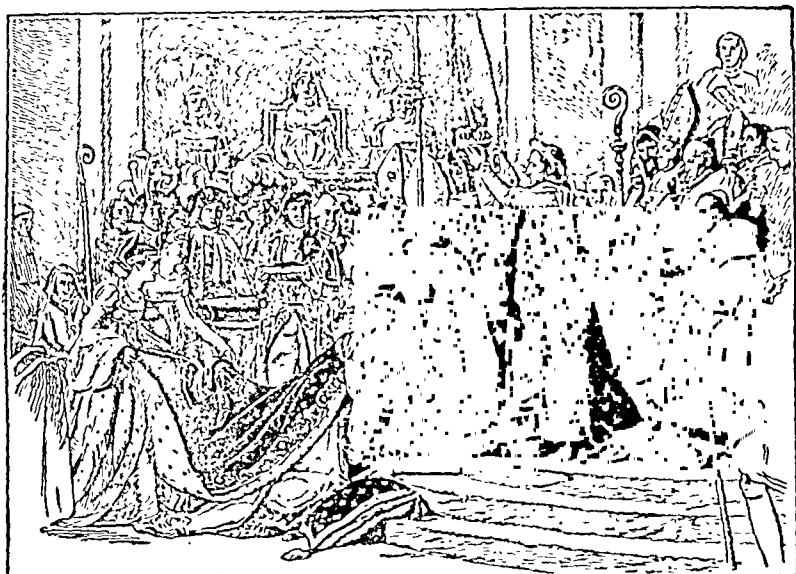
forms of Napoleon were not really his work but that of the Revolution on which they were based. He showed, not originality, but practical good sense in establishing permanently those changes made by the Revolution that were truly progressive and in abolishing those that were fantastic and disruptive. Especially eager to restore the unity of the nation, he invited the *émigrés* and non-juring priests to return to France, but on condition that they be loyal to him, not to the Bourbons. To royalist plotters he gave as little consideration as did the Jacobins. Several attempts were made to unseat him, but the conspirators were promptly seized and summarily shot.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE

Napoleon becomes Emperor. Napoleon's ambitions soared much higher than the First Consulship. He decided to tear aside the veil and reveal himself as the absolute monarch that he really was. He went about it, however, cautiously. In 1802 the Senate, a body which he himself appointed, voted to make him Consul for life with the right to choose his successor. In 1804 it voted to give him the title of "Emperor." These changes were submitted to plebiscites, and received overwhelming popular endorsement.

Crowning of Napoleon and Josephine. On December 2, 1804, an extraordinary ceremony took place that caused many to wonder at the strange and unexpected things that happen "in the whirligig of time." In the great Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, filled with the notables of the world, amidst pomp and splendor, Napoleon and Josephine were crowned Emperor and Empress. Pope Pius VII was invited to participate in this ceremony. As the Pope was about to place the crown on the head of Napoleon, the latter suddenly took it from the Pope's hand and crowned himself. Then he crowned Josephine. He now reigned as well as ruled as Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. In the place of the kings of France, the proud Bourbons of ancient lineage, was the strange little Italian who, ten years before, had pawned his watch in order to buy food!

Napoleon, absolute monarch by divine right. The government was now an absolute monarchy, the meager constitution of 1799 being abolished. A censorship was established, so severe that virtually no criticism of the government appeared in print.



CORONATION OF NAPOLEON IN NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL, PARIS

From a painting by David.

Napoleon asserted that he ruled by divine right. A catechism was taught to the French children which declared that God "had established him (Napoleon) as our sovereign and made him the agent of his power and his image upon earth. To honor and serve our emperor is therefore to honor and serve God himself"; and that all those who disobey the Emperor "render themselves worthy of eternal damnation." Napoleon established a new court composed of his family and of new nobles, largely his generals. A soldier nobility appeared, nearly all the members of which were of obscure origin, and who were therefore regarded with disdain by the nobles of the Old Régime. A story is told of a member of the old nobility who was boasting of his ancestors to a member of the new, saying what a wonderful thing it was to be a descendant of a family such as his. "Ah! Look at me, I am an ancestor," replied the new noble.

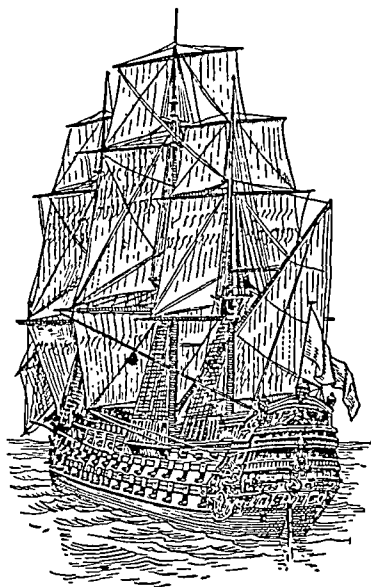
Why the French accepted absolutism. What changes had France experienced since 1789! Absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, moderate republic, radical republic, moderate republic, dictatorship, absolute monarchy, all within fifteen years! Did the absolute monarchy of Napoleon mean that

France had gone back to the Old Régime? Emphatically no. In order to understand why the French people accepted Napoleon one must clearly keep in mind this fact; namely, that he appeared to them as the one person who was able to safeguard the gains of the Revolution. France wanted neither the reactionary Bourbons nor the terrorist Jacobins, each of whom was ready to seize power in 1799. Napoleon appeared as the moderate between these two extremes. His strong arm suppressed insurrection at home and conquered enemies abroad. "I sealed the gulf of anarchy," boasted Napoleon, "and I unraveled chaos. I purified the Revolution, raised the people and strengthened the monarchy." There was a widespread belief that only despotism could maintain order in France, the disorders of the Revolution causing many to fear "that liberty which had long been associated with death."

REORGANIZATION OF GERMANY

When Napoleon became Emperor the other monarchs of Europe at first felt a sense of great relief. Had he not succeeded in destroying the French Republic? Now their crowns could rest easily on their heads; the crusade against monarchy had died with Danton and Robespierre.

England opposes Napoleon. But there was one man who clearly realized the true situation, and that was William Pitt. Ever since the Egyptian Expedition Pitt saw in France, England's enemy of the days of Louis XIV, and that there was again to be a colonial rivalry between the two nations. Napoleon having acquired Louisiana from Spain in 1800, sold it later to America solely because he felt that it was likely to be seized by England. He gained a foothold in the West Indies by seizing Santo Domingo, and was continually



LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIP OF
108 GUNS

From a model in the Marine Museum,
Louvre, Paris.

planning attacks upon India. Pitt also realized that Napoleon would not be satisfied with being Emperor of the French, but that he was dreaming of being a "new Charlemagne," and of setting forth on a new career of conquest. That boded ill for the crowned heads of Europe. Pitt became the soul of the opposition to Napoleon as William III had been of the opposition to Louis XIV. In 1803 England entered on a truceless war with France which continued until Napoleon was at St. Helena and his empire in ruins.

Napoleon's power based upon militarism. Napoleon himself clearly saw that he must feed victories to the French people in order to satisfy them with his ascendancy. "My power proceeds from my reputation," he declared, "and my reputation from the victories I have won. My power would fall if I were not to support it with more glory and more victories. Conquest has made me what I am and only conquest can maintain me." The spirit of France had undergone profound changes since 1789. The France of the Legislative Assembly had fought to defend the Republic; the France of the Convention had fought to spread Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; the France of Napoleon was now fighting for conquest and military glory.

Battle of Austerlitz. The First Empire was a period of almost continuous war with the rest of Europe. England, already at war with France, induced Austria and Russia to join her in 1805. Napoleon took the field and won a series of battles culminating in the most famous victory of his career, the Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). Never did his military genius shine more brightly than on this occasion; Austrian and Russian armies were completely routed and sent flying in every direction. "Roll up this map — [of Europe] it will not be wanted these ten years," said Pitt.

Reorganization of Germany. The war with Austria was closed by the Treaty of Pressburg (1805). Austria was deprived of access to the Adriatic by the loss of Venetia and Dalmatia; she was driven out of Germany, which was completely reorganized and transformed. In 1806 the Holy Roman Empire, that had existed for a thousand years, was declared at an end. The Hapsburgs had to content themselves with being Emperors of Austria. The successor of Charlemagne was now in Paris instead of in Vienna. What was to be done with the numerous petty

states that had composed the Holy Roman Empire? They were abolished wholesale. Some were organized into new and larger states; some were merged with their larger neighbors like Bavaria and Württemberg; and all of the territory on the left bank of the Rhine was annexed to France. In western and southern Germany there were now sixteen states, which were organized as the Confederation of the Rhine with Napoleon as its Protector. Later more German states entered this combination. What once was Germany now consisted of the Confederation, Prussia, and Austria. This consolidation of German states is of great importance in history, for it was the first step in the unification of Germany. Talleyrand was, next to the Emperor, the most important influence in the reorganization of Germany. This former bishop became his very efficient minister of foreign affairs. Talleyrand was shrewd and corrupt, and ever ready to desert a sinking ship. He had deserted the Church for the Revolution, the Revolution for Napoleon, and he was to desert Napoleon for the Bourbons, when the latter were to be triumphant. Talleyrand was an exceedingly able diplomat, and to him is attributed the saying that, "Speech was given to man to disguise his thoughts."

WAR WITH PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, AND ENGLAND

Defeat of Prussia. Prussia had kept out of coalitions since Valmy. However, that did not save her from falling into Napoleon's clutches. In 1806, after an exchange of insults, war broke out between France and Prussia. The Battle of Jena was another great victory in Napoleon's long roll, for the Prussians fled panic-stricken from the field. Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. "I have but to whistle and Prussia ceases to exist," he remarked.

Defeat of Russia; Treaty of Tilsit. He next turned his attention to Russia. In 1807 he routed the Russian armies at the Battle of Friedland. Tsar Alexander sued for peace, and a treaty was signed at Tilsit, affecting France, Russia, and Prussia. Napoleon was very easy with Russia as he had no ambitions in eastern Europe. Instead of taking territory from the Tsar he gave him some; not his to be sure, but Finland, which was taken away from Sweden. He also told the Tsar to help himself in Turkey. Alexander was almost overcome by the generosity of his "good friend," whom he now greatly admired. But another fate was

in store for Prussia. She was deprived of about half her territory, which was made part of the Confederation of the Rhine; she was required to pay a heavy indemnity and to maintain a French army of occupation; and her army was limited to 42,000 men. Prussia which, under Frederick the Great, had been a great power, was all but annihilated as the result of one battle.

England, victorious on sea. While Napoleon was winning battles on land he suffered a great defeat at sea. In 1805 Nelson de-



HORATIO, LORD NELSON

stroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, near Gibraltar. Again the sea power of England made itself felt, and to a considerable degree nullified Napoleon's victories. Her fleet blockaded France who was unable to get supplies from overseas. Being an island England could not be attacked as long as she held command of the sea, and France no longer had any fleets. War continued but no battles occurred; there could be no fight between a whale and a lion. Napoleon's keen intelligence made him realize that he was unsafe as long as England was unconquered. Sooner or later the "paymaster of the

Continent" would again subsidize the nations of Europe and put them in the field against him. But how could he get the best of this "nation of shop-keepers," as he spitefully called the English.

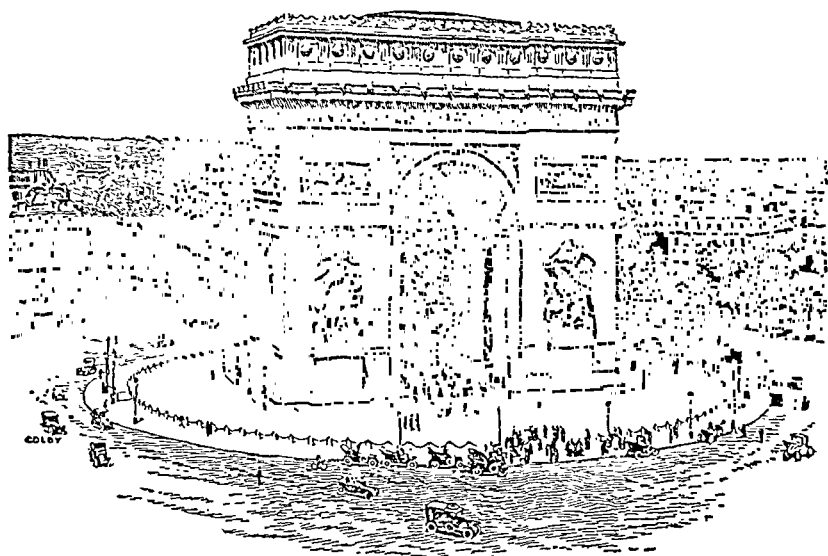
The Continental System. Resourceful as ever he determined "to conquer the sea by the land" by ruining England's commerce. Once her business was ruined England would be of no serious danger to him. By a series of decrees, the most famous being those of Berlin in 1806 and Milan in 1807, he (1) declared England in a state of blockade; (2) prohibited all trade in English goods; and (3) forbade all ships flying the British flag from entering a Continental port. This Continental System, as it was called,

applied to all countries under Napoleon's control and to those who were allied with him, which was virtually the entire Continent. For a time English commerce did suffer seriously, but not for long. England had two great advantages, her navy and her factories. Napoleon's blockade was a "paper blockade" for he had few ships with which to enforce it. But England effectively blockaded any country that was a part of the Continental System. It was this situation that led to the War of 1812 with America, which was the only important neutral that could bring supplies to Europe. As England was then the only industrialized nation the Continent was dependent upon the English factories for goods. Wholesale smuggling that Napoleon could not suppress was resorted to, and it soon became evident that the Continental System was breaking down. One of the interesting results of this struggle was a new industry, the manufacture of beet sugar. England controlled the shipment of colonial products, such as coffee, tea, and sugar. Sugar is a necessity, and there was a sugar famine on the Continent. Some years before, a German chemist had extracted sugar from beets. Prizes were offered by Napoleon for the successful manufacture of beet sugar, and French chemists succeeded in greatly improving the process, thus laying the foundation of the present beet-sugar industry.

THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

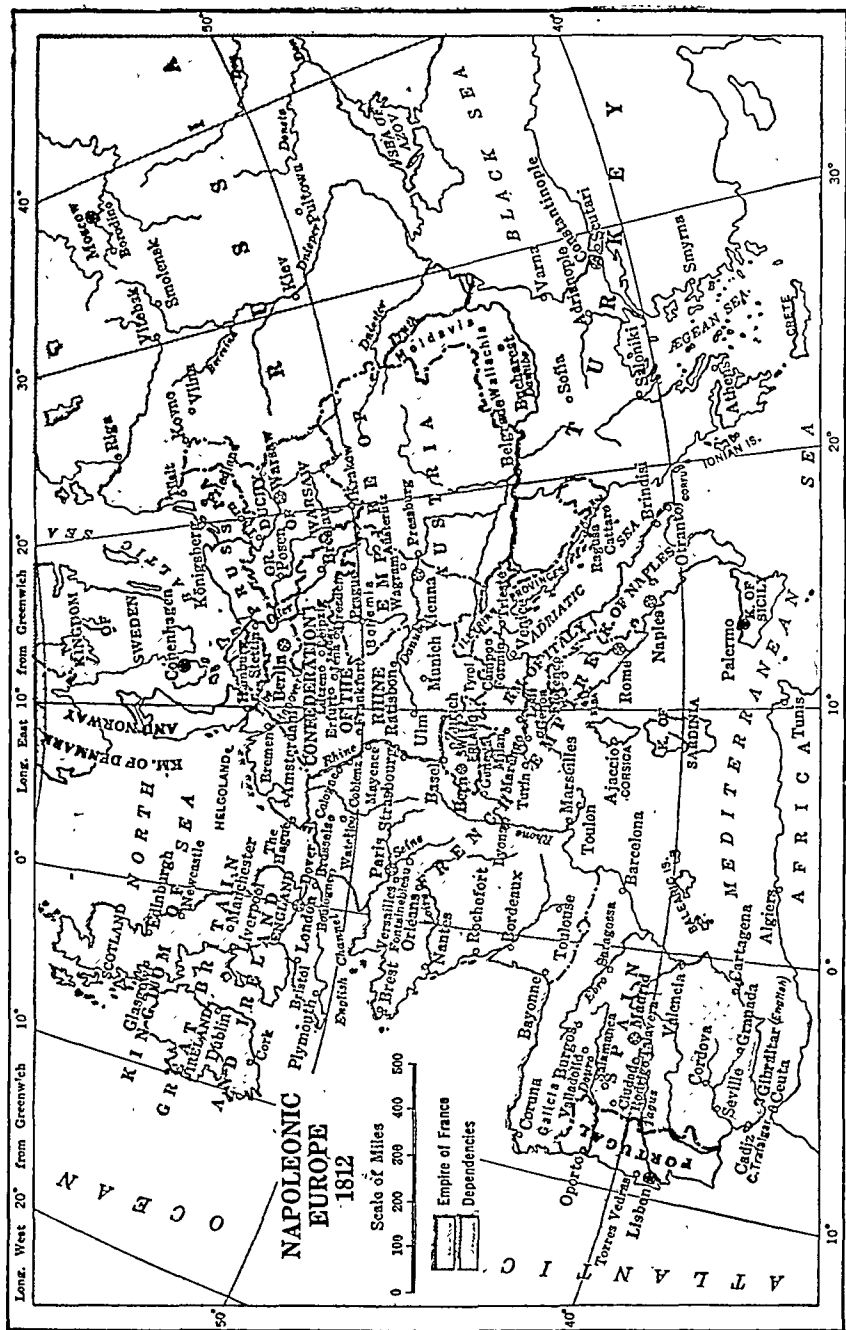
Conquest of Western Europe. Napoleon's power reached its zenith in 1810. A glance at the map of Europe of that year reveals the startling fact that there were only four really independent nations, France, England, Russia, and Turkey. All the other nations were in various ways and in different degrees subject to France. The frontier of France proper stretched to the mouth of the Elbe, to the Rhine, and into the very heart of Italy. Austria, beaten so many times, rose again in 1809 and was again badly defeated at the Battle of Wagram. As a result of this victory Austria lost more territory, and Napoleon got another wife. Since he had no children by Josephine and being ambitious to found a dynasty, he divorced her. In 1810 Napoleon married Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, by whom he had a son. Austria was now an "ally" by marriage. Prussia, or what was left of it, trembled at Napoleon's nod. All the rest of Germany was part of the Confederation of the Rhine, a protec-

torate of France. Italy was divided into three parts: the southern was organized as the Kingdom of Naples, with Napoleon's brother-in-law, General Murat, as King; the northern was organized as the Kingdom of Italy, with Napoleon himself as King; the central part, consisting of the Papal States, was annexed to France. The Pope was driven out of Rome and virtually imprisoned in France. Napoleon's work in Italy was of lasting importance because his consolidations laid the basis of the movement for unification. Spain and Portugal shared the fate of the other nations. In 1807 a French army occupied Portugal and the Braganza dynasty fled to Brazil. In the following year Spain also was seized, her King forced to abdicate, and Napoleon's brother, Joseph, made King. Denmark was secretly in alliance with France. The Orange dynasty was driven out of Holland, and Napoleon's brother, Louis, made King; later, the country was annexed to France. Another brother, Jerome, was made King of Westphalia, in western Germany. After Tilsit Russia was an ally, and England was at bay.



THE ARC DE TRIOMPHE

From this arch radiate twelve avenues, mostly named after famous generals and victories. It was built to commemorate Napoleon's short-lived triumphs. Through it the victorious Germans marched after the Franco-Prussian War. Under it is the resting-place of the Unknown Soldier of France.



Conditions in Europe favorable to Napoleon's ambitions. All this was accomplished within a period of only ten years! No conqueror in history had had a career so amazing as Napoleon who, unlike Alexander and Cæsar, began as a poor, obscure person. It is not a sufficient explanation to say that Napoleon's wonderful success was due to his military genius, great as that was. Conditions in the world of his day worked in his favor. In the first place, there was not then a united Germany and a united Italy that could offer powerful resistance to the aggressions of France. The many little states in central Europe were easily conquered, partly because they were weak, and partly because they were so jealous of one another that some would even join the enemy against the others. In the second place, Napoleon did not meet with a popular resistance, for the masses regarded him more as a liberator than as a conqueror. When a country fell under his control he suppressed serfdom and feudal dues, established religious freedom, introduced his enlightened Code, and abolished legal privileges and inequalities. What had he to lose if Napoleon won, reasoned the common man.

THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO NAPOLEON

Weaknesses of the Empire. To all appearances Napoleon's Empire seemed not only dazzling but also solidly grounded. Yet there were weaknesses in the structure which, under changed circumstances, might send it toppling in ruins: (1) It was built by one man and depended entirely upon him to maintain it. When he passed away the Empire might pass with him; (2) it did not grow up slowly and naturally and become welded into a harmonious whole. It was put together quickly by the power of the sword; it therefore lacked cohesion and was likely to fall apart when there was no military power to bolster it up; (3) the Continental System was ruining the business of Europe. Many blamed Napoleon for the suffering on the Continent and they were ready to break away from his control at the first opportunity; (4) the growth of a nationalistic spirit was the most important cause of the downfall of Napoleon. It became evident that Napoleon's idea was to establish Western Europe as a single state with Paris as the capital. French laws, language, ideas, and civilization, would become universal as those of Rome had been in ancient times. Then it was that the spirit of nationalism

was roused, and a new struggle began between nationalist Europe and imperialist France. Italians, Spaniards, Germans, Dutchmen wanted to be themselves, not Frenchmen; they wanted to be ruled by one of themselves, not by Napoleon's relatives and generals.

Spain's national resistance. Popular opposition to Napoleon first manifested itself in Spain. There was much discontent with the French occupation, and a guerrilla warfare began that harassed King Joseph and his French armies. England was quick to see in the Spanish uprisings the beginning of a *national* resistance to Napoleon; and in 1808 she sent armies to Spain under Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) to coöperate with the insurgents.

Prussia's national humiliation. A far more important opposition to Napoleon arose in Prussia. Mutilated, disarmed, ruined, and disorganized, such was the condition of Prussia after the Battle of Jena. What had been the cause of so rapid and so complete a collapse? New patriot leaders arose, Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst, who believed that the real reason for the collapse was that about two thirds of the Prussian people were in a feudal condition, many of them still serfs. What cared they whether their King won or lost? He cared nothing for them.

The Stein-Hardenberg reforms. Largely through the influence of Baron vom Stein and Prince Hardenberg, King Frederick William III instituted a number of remarkable reforms based on the principles of the French Revolution. The most important was the Edict of Emancipation (October 9, 1807), which abolished serfdom, suppressed most of the dues and services, established freedom of occupation, abolished the privileges of the nobility, and permitted the sale of "noble" land to commoners. As a result of this decree many peasants became small proprietors as in France. Another reform of Stein was the establishment of a system of local government by elective councils, which laid the basis of the splendid system of municipal government in the Germany of a later day. These reforms were called a "royal night of August 4," as they were the outcome, not of a revolutionary upheaval from below, but of a series of edicts by an absolute monarch.

Scharnhorst establishes conscription. It was Scharnhorst who was responsible for a complete military reorganization result-

ing in what is now called conscription. A new law required that all Prussian citizens enter the army for military training. A large number of men responded, but the treaty with Napoleon limited the Prussian army to 42,000 men. Scharnhorst got around the treaty by giving intensive training for about a month to 42,000 *at a time*. The outcome of this system was that Prussia soon had a large number of trained men who were ready to respond in case of war.

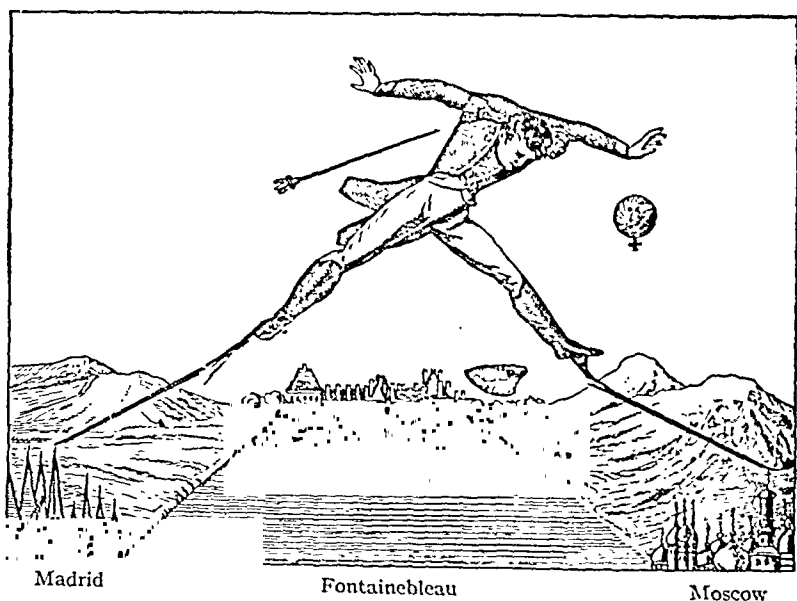
The national revival in Germany. Prussian patriotism found an echo in education. In 1809-10 the University of Berlin was founded, and from its very beginning the university became a center of national revival. One of the professors, the famous philosopher, Fichte, issued an Address to the German Nation, glorifying the German race and appealing to his compatriots to remember that they were lovers of freedom. Another interesting phase of the national movement was the gymnastic societies, called *Turnvereine*, which were organized by an enthusiastic patriot named Jahn. These athletic clubs were really secret patriotic societies that enrolled large numbers of young men who dedicated themselves to the service of the Fatherland. The Liberation Movement, as it was called, swept all Germany. For the first time nationalism became a force among the Germans; until now they had had little if any patriotic feeling. They bitterly resented the rule of Napoleon, the foreigner who was draining their country of men and money, and who was tossing their states about like footballs.

DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

Europe again combines against Napoleon. The national movements in Spain and Germany boded ill for Napoleon. His star of victory was still shining brightly, but should he suffer one serious defeat the subject nations would all rise and crush him. England, ever watchful, was secretly organizing another coalition with the help of an able Austrian diplomat, Prince Metternich, who succeeded Pitt as Napoleon's chief antagonist.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia. The year 1812 marked the turning-point of Napoleon's fortune. Russia had become restless, for the Continental System, of which she was part, had ruined the little commerce that she had. The Tsar found it impossible to enforce the system. Angered by his attitude, Napo-

leon, in June, 1812, invaded Russia at the head of the Grand Army, consisting of about 600,000 men, the largest that had appeared up to this time on the Continent. About half of his army was French; the rest were soldiers from all the lands under his sway. After marching for seven hundred miles Napoleon met the Russians at the Battle of Borodino and defeated them. He then entered Moscow. But it was a strange entry, as the city was almost deserted.



NAPOLÉON ON STILTS

This cartoon suggests that in attempting to stretch his domain from Spain to Russia, the Emperor brought about his own downfall. Scepter and crown fall from him.

The retreat from Moscow. Winter was coming on, and Napoleon prepared to camp in Moscow. Suddenly fires broke out and the city was a mass of flames. Napoleon now tried to negotiate with the Tsar, but the latter refused all terms. Then began the terrible retreat from Moscow, one of the tragedies in history. The magnificent army was almost entirely destroyed, more by the terrible Russian winter than by the Russian armies. Barely 60,000 men, looking like ghosts, returned from the expedition. The Grand Army lay buried in the snows of Russia.

Napoleon defeated at Leipzig. News of the disaster fired all Europe. Moreover the French had suffered a defeat in another quarter, in Spain where Wellington aided by the Spaniards had driven out the French armies. He had crossed the Pyrenees and was marching toward Paris. Now was the opportunity, long awaited. Almost every nation in Europe declared war against "the disturber of the peace of the world." Napoleon hastily got together another great army and marched rapidly to meet the Allies. There took place a gigantic struggle near Leipzig (October 16-18, 1813), called the Battle of the Nations, in which France faced the rest of Europe in arms. For the first time in his career Napoleon was decisively defeated in a single battle. On March 31, 1814, the Allies entered Paris in triumph.

Elba. What was to be done with Napoleon? He was soon to realize that if he lost once he lost everything. He was compelled to abdicate as Emperor of the French. He was then sent to Elba, an island eighteen miles long, off the coast of Italy, of which he was to be the ruler for the rest of his life. From the sublime to the ridiculous! His successor in France was Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, who had been in exile for about a quarter of a century. A Bourbon was again King of France! An international congress met at Vienna to decide on the fate of Europe.

While the Congress was in session news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba. He landed in France, and soon the entire country was again at his feet. His journey to Paris was a triumphal march, and Louis XVIII fled at his approach. From March 13 to June 22, 1815, the famous Hundred Days, Napoleon made desperate efforts to retrieve his fortunes. With amazing rapidity he organized a new army, and once more the gage of battle was thrown down to Europe. "Victory will march at double quick," cried the exultant Napoleon.

Waterloo. The Allies again set their armies in motion. On June 18, 1815, Napoleon met armies of English, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans under Wellington at a little town in Belgium called Waterloo, where there took place what is perhaps the most famous battle in history. The struggle was desperate and determined, and at first indecisive; but the arrival of a large Prussian army under General Blücher to Wellington's aid

decided the issue. The French were routed and driven from the field.

St. Helena. Napoleon tried to escape to America but failed. He then surrendered to the British, who sent him to St. Helena, a



ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON

tiny island in the South Atlantic, where he was closely guarded. The one-time lord of Europe lived in lonely exile for six years, dictating his memoirs, quarreling with those who guarded him, pacing up and down the beach, and brooding over his eventful life with its strange climax. He died in 1821 at the age of fifty-two, and was buried on the island. Later his remains were taken to Paris, where they now lie in a magnificent tomb.

Heritage of militarism. Militarism was the evil heritage that Napoleon left behind him, which first cursed France, then Germany, and to a more or less extent all the other na-

tions of Europe. His restless spirit has hovered over the Continent, inspiring men to slaughter one another, and mocking those who dreamed of the day when swords would be turned into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA (SEPTEMBER, 1814-JUNE, 1815)

Chief figures at the Congress. A great assembly representing all the nations of Europe convened in Vienna. Its task was tremendous, nothing less than to remake political and social Europe which lay shattered at their feet. The delegates were the distinguished men in public life of the day, monarchs, diplomats, generals, among them Tsar Alexander I, Castlereagh, the King of Prussia, Stein, Wellington, Metternich, and Talleyrand. Metternich, as will be told later, was the very soul of the reactionary spirit of the day. His influence was always on the side of

absolutism in whose service he used his truly remarkable diplomatic ability. Talleyrand now served Louis XVIII as ably and as unscrupulously as he had served Napoleon whom he deserted when the latter's star was waning. The one liberal, or rather near-liberal, was Alexander I, who did have a vision of a better Europe but it was a cloudy one. He did not always know what policies to advocate, though in general he favored a generous peace. The Tsar was vain and incompetent, and was easily dominated by the astute and masterly Metternich who humored him in public and jeered at him in private.

Congress determines to restore the Old Régime. What sort of men were they in whose hands was the destiny of mankind? And what were their ideas? Almost without exception they were reactionaries whose one aim was to set back the clock of history, to restore as much as they could of the Old Régime. To them the French Revolution was the work of evil men, hence all its ideas, all its reforms should be repudiated. There must be a restoration of the king to his divine right throne, of the lord to his estates and privileges, and of the priest to his dominant power over the minds of the people. Then, they believed that the good old times of the eighteenth century would come back, and the masses would again patiently bear the burdens imposed on them by the upper classes.

Restoration of old dynasties. The French Revolution had repudiated all kings. Napoleon had created new ones. The Congress of Vienna asserted the principle of "legitimacy," by which was meant that the only monarchs who had a legitimate right to rule were those who belonged to the old dynasties, the Bourbons, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the House of Orange, the Braganzas. The Napoleonic kings were driven out and the old dynasties were restored.¹ The rulers came back as absolute monarchs by divine right. Democracy, even in its mildest forms, was not to be tolerated, for it was a reminder of the French Revolution.

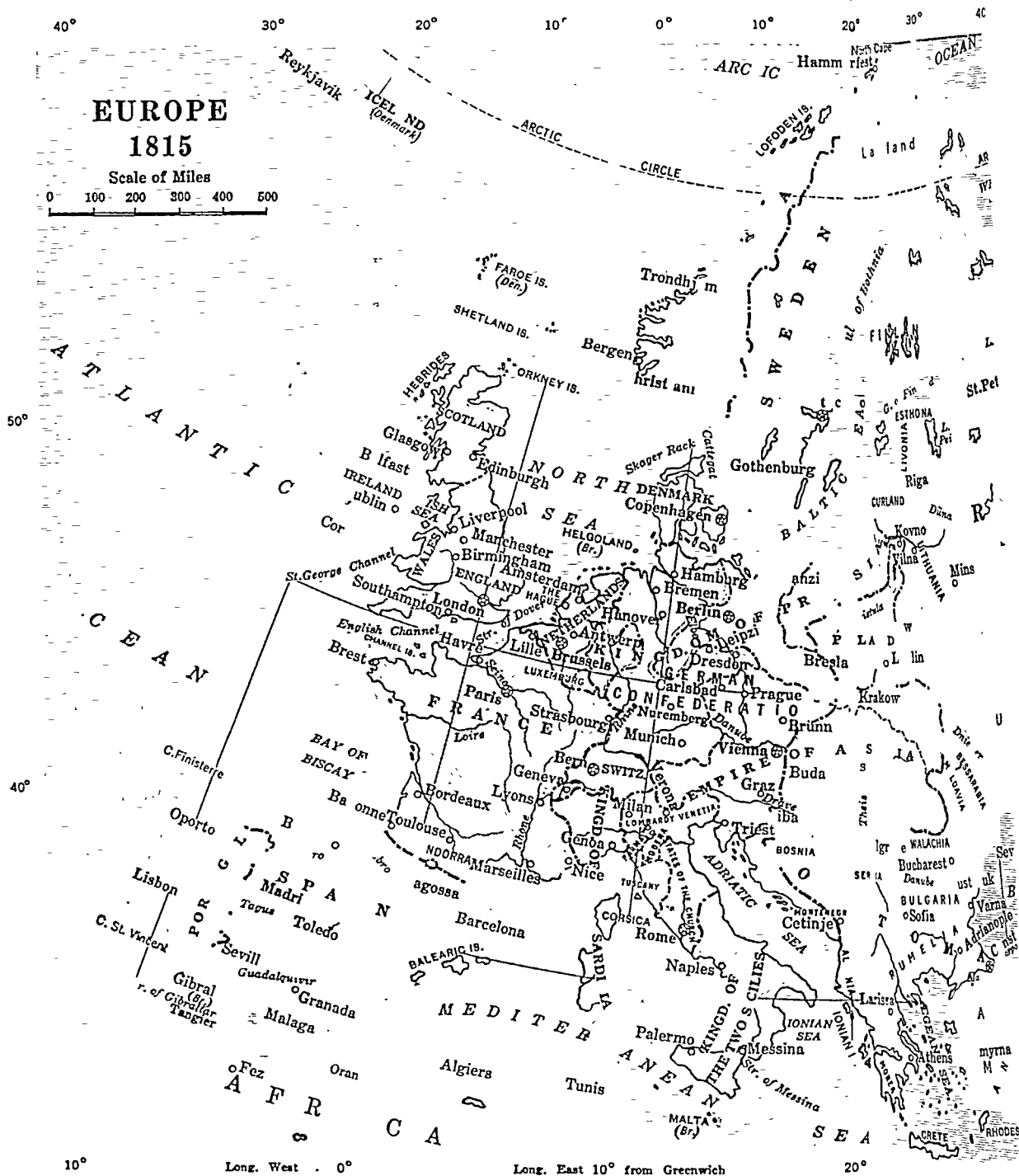
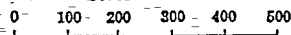
Repudiation of nationalism. What was to be the new map of Europe? Even the Congress realized that they could not restore

¹ There is only one dynasty, that of Sweden, which is of Napoleonic origin. In 1810, at the suggestion of Napoleon the Swedes chose one of his generals, Bernadotte to be their crown Prince. Bernadotte was allowed to stay because he deserted Napoleon and helped the Allies. In 1818 he was crowned King of Sweden.

the Europe of 1789. Too many changes had taken place; moreover some of those who had profited by the changes were represented at the Congress and were naturally opposed to losing territory. For example, the King of Bavaria had been given territory by Napoleon, and he effectively opposed the claims of those who had been dispossessed in his favor. In remaking the boundaries the delegates did a brisk trade in peoples, assigning lands to rulers without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants. Plebiscites were not yet in style. This was a violation of the principle of nationalism, which had been the chief cause of Napoleon's overthrow. In the final stage of the struggle against Napoleon the kings had made use of this principle by putting themselves at the head of the national movements; some had even encouraged their subjects to expect a constitution. Now in their hour of triumph the kings flatly repudiated both nationalism and democracy.

Territorial changes. Holland was given Belgium as a "compensation" for giving up some of her colonies to England. Norway was taken from Denmark, which had favored Napoleon, and given to Sweden as a "compensation" for Finland which went to Russia. To Austria were restored the lands she had lost during the Napoleonic Wars; in addition she was given Lombardy-Venetia inhabited by Italians, and Dalmatia inhabited by Slavs as "compensation" for giving Belgium to Holland. Italy, in the words of Metternich, was again a "geographical expression." She was divided into seven principal parts: the Kingdom of Sardinia, consisting of Sardinia and Piedmont to which was added Genoa; Lombardy-Venetia; the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, ruled by relatives of the Hapsburgs; the Papal States, restored to the pope; and the Kingdom of Naples consisting of Sicily and the southern mainland. Germany, too, was a geographical expression, but not at all as in 1789. The consolidations made by Napoleon were allowed to remain; and the Congress recognized thirty-eight states which were organized as the German Confederation under the presidency of Austria. Prussia, who had done so much to defeat Napoleon, was amply rewarded. She was restored the territory taken from her by Napoleon; in addition she was given part of Saxony, part of Pomerania, and a large region in the Rhine Valley. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw, organized by Napoleon, was given to Russia who now had more Polish territory than she had received as a result of the

Scale of Miles





Partition: she also got Bessarabia from Turkey, and Holland from Sweden. England, following her island policy, asked for colonial territory and strategic islands. She received Cape Colony and Ceylon from Holland; the island of Heligoland from Denmark; Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; and Gibraltar and Tobago near the mouth of the Orinoco River.

France returned to her former boundaries. What was to be done with France, the nation that was chiefly responsible for the quarter of a century of conflict? It was fortunate for her that, no sooner had the Congress met, than the Allies were at odds with one another because each nation was seeking its own interest and not the common good. Talleyrand showed great skill in pitting one power against another so that they almost came to blows. In this way he distracted the attention of the Allies from France to themselves, hence they did not unite against her in the council room as they had done on the battle-field. Moreover, Alexander wanted France to be treated generously because, he declared, the Allies had warred against Napoleon not against the French people. France was reduced to her original boundaries, and was required to pay an indemnity of about two hundred million dollars. These terms were exceedingly moderate. There was, however, a haunting fear that she might again break loose, and that was the reason why her neighbors, Holland, Prussia, and Saxony, were enlarged. It was believed that they would act as a bulwark against her.

Beneficial work of the Congress. Some few things that the Congress did were beneficial. Switzerland was neutralized by an agreement that no power was to make war on her or send troops through her territory. The navigation of the Danube and the Rhine, flowing through or between several countries, was to be free to all these countries. The slave trade in Africa was condemned.

Work of Congress later undone. The political history of the nineteenth century consists largely of attempts to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna. The nationalist wars and the democratic revolutions of that period might have been avoided, had the Congress shown a regard for the opinions of mankind. Instead it sought to hinder the development of those ideas which, under modern conditions, were bound to triumph in spite of all attempts to suppress them.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Emerson says, "It is an advantage within certain limits to have renounced the dominion of the sentiments, of piety, gratitude and generosity." How may it be applied to Napoleon?
2. What reforms did Napoleon make in France?
3. "Napoleon Bonaparte did not undo the Revolution. He completed and consolidated it." Justify the statement.
4. How did the University of France centralize education?
5. Mirabeau once declared to the Constituent Assembly: "Your laws will be the laws of Europe, if you are worthy of them." How did his prophecy come true?
6. Why did the French people overthrow the Bourbons who claimed to rule by divine right, and accept Napoleon who also claimed to rule by divine right?
7. How does William Pitt's policy against Napoleon resemble William III's policy against Louis XIV?
8. "My power would fall if I were not to support it with more glory and more victories," Napoleon declared. Point out the weaknesses of such a policy.
9. It is said that if Bismarck is the father of Germany, Napoleon is its grandfather. Justify the second part of the statement.
10. How did the Peace of Tilsit affect Russia? Prussia?
11. What was the Continental System? Why did it break down?
12. How did the beet-sugar industry originate? What connection has it with the Continental System?
13. Explain the European background of the War of 1812.
14. What forces tended to keep Napoleon's empire together? What forces tended to destroy it?
15. "It required the double shock of the French Revolution and the catastrophe of Jena to convince the rulers of Prussia that they must set their house in order." Explain.
16. Why was Napoleon baffled in his attacks on England?
17. Explain how Napoleon was overthrown.
18. Who were the chief personalities at the Congress of Vienna? What were their social and political views? What was the principle of legitimacy? How was it applied?
19. How was the principle of nationalism violated by the Congress of Vienna?
20. Why were Italy and Germany designated as "geographical expressions"?
21. What was gained by Russia? England? Prussia? Austria? Sweden? Holland? Why was France treated leniently? What international status was given to Switzerland?

Map questions: Locate Austerlitz, Jena, Tilsit, Malta, Elba, Trafalgar, Leipzig, Borodino, Waterloo. On an outline map of Europe indicate the following: nations subject to Napoleon in 1810; nations in alliance with

him; and nations independent of him. Compare the boundaries of the European nations in 1815 with those of 1789.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

REFORMS OF NAPOLEON. Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 328-39; Fisher, *Napoleon*, pp. 79-97, 153-58, 165-68; Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, pp. 119-24, 133-40; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, pp. 334-37; Johnston, *Napoleon*, pp. 88-99.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE. Mathews, pp. 339-56; Fisher, pp. 97-125.

REORGANIZATION OF GERMANY. Fisher, pp. 142-44; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, pp. 244-49; Rose, pp. 132-33; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, pp. 257-61; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 329-32, 340-45.

NAPOLEON AND PRUSSIA. Henderson, II, pp. 249-93; Rose, pp. 166-77, 184-93, 266-68; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 360-66.

NAPOLEON'S STRUGGLE WITH ENGLAND: THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, ch. XLVII; Stephens, pp. 250-54; Green, *Short History of the English People*, II, pp. 460-82; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 345-50; Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 342-46, 493-95.

NAPOLEON AND SPAIN. Rose, pp. 193-201, 220-32, 288-92; Fisher, pp. 170-79; Stephens, pp. 223-24, 265-70, 275-77; Robinson and Beard, I, pp. 352-54.

WATERLOO. V. Hugo, *Les Misérables*, pt. II, bk. I.

DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON. Rose, chs. IX-X; Mathews, ch. XXIV; Stephens, ch. X; Fisher, ch. IX; Henderson, II, pp. 297-323.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, ch. I; Robinson and Beard, I, ch. XVI; Stephens, ch. XI; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 1-14.

SECTION III

NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Vain attempts to restore past. The French Revolution had left a memory which could not be effaced, the stirring tale of a successful revolt against despotic rulers and privileged classes. How could the restored despots and aristocrats guard against future popular uprisings inspired by the French Revolution? The period of the Restoration was a conspiracy against the liberties of the European peoples. The kings tried in every way to resurrect the past, its ideals, its ways of living, its beliefs, its institutions. But in vain. At best the Europe of the Restoration was but a phantom of its former self. Many of the changes made by the French Revolution and by Napoleon had become so firmly established that they could not be abolished.

Triumph of democracy and nationalism. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed two great movements, one economic, the other political. Originating in England the Industrial Revolution spread to the Continent, changing the economic life of the people and laying a solid foundation for modern times. At the same time a popular movement was spreading in favor of nationalism and democracy which was destined to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna. This political movement aimed to establish the modern system in which each nation is independent and is ruled by a majority of its citizens. It took fully a century of agitation, of revolution, of wars civil and foreign, and finally the World War, before the movement triumphed.

Liberals and reactionaries. During the early part of the nineteenth century the forces of liberalism and reaction were engaged in a deadly combat. The liberals were enthusiastic advocates of nationalism and democracy; the reactionaries, of class divisions in society and of autocracy in government. Liberalism was the rising hope of all those who wished to free their country from both domestic and foreign tyrants, from religious intolerance, from censors and from economic privilege. It was to the French Revolution that the liberals of all lands looked for inspiration.

CHAPTER XXVII

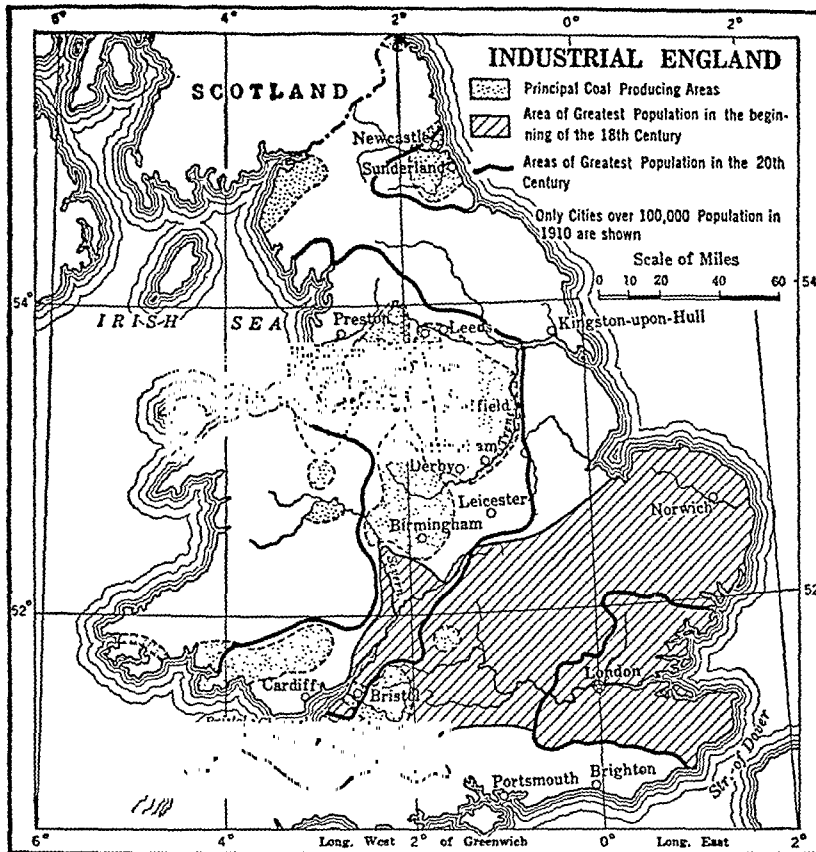
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

ENGLAND THE PIONEER

Contrast of present with the past. Life to-day is startlingly different from that in all preceding ages. If Pericles, or Charlemagne, or Dante, or even Sir Isaac Newton was to return to earth he would find himself in a world terrifying in its strangeness. He would see immense ships ploughing the seas without sails, vehicles speeding along without horses, birdlike mechanisms flying through the air, houses brilliantly lighted without lamps or candles, and he would hear the human voice, clear and strong, coming from great distances through the air.

Industrial Revolution, a silent change. No change in human history was as momentous as the one that we now call the Industrial Revolution which introduced new ways of creating wealth and new ways of distributing it. At first these economic changes were hardly noticed, chiefly because they were silent. No eloquent speeches were delivered; no ringing declarations were issued; no eternal principles were proclaimed; and no bloody battles were fought. The heroes of the Industrial Revolution were ingenious mechanics who experimented in out-of-the-way places, and shrewd business men who saw opportunities to make money quickly.

England, home of the Industrial Revolution. Great changes in history do not take place suddenly. There are always antecedents. Even revolutions are the outcome of long preparations and favorable circumstances. It has already been explained how the most dramatic event in history, the French Revolution, was the outcome of a century or more of preparation. The Industrial Revolution had its antecedent in the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, already described. The increase in world trade, the inflow of raw materials from the colonies, and the new money economy prepared the ground for

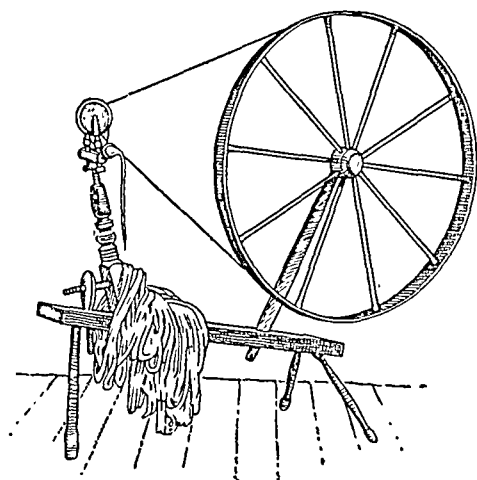


the new industrial life. At the end of the eighteenth century England was more favorably situated than any other nation to take advantage of the conditions. She had won a colonial empire from which she could get plenty of raw material. Her merchants had become wealthy and had plenty of money to invest. A large supply of cheap labor came from the countryside.¹ At home she had huge deposits of coal and iron located close together. Plenty of raw materials, natural resources, capital, labor! What a wonderful stimulus to Englishmen with inventive minds to devise machinery that would manufacture things quickly and cheaply!

¹ See page 342.

THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM

Former methods of manufacture. Human material needs may be roughly classified as food, shelter, and clothing. It was in the making of clothes that machinery was first applied, thus initiating machine industry, which is the basis of the Industrial Revolution. England's leading industry in the eighteenth century was the production of wool, the material widely used for clothes. Cotton



A SPINNING WHEEL FOR WOOL

was being imported from India and America but its use was not widespread. The manufacture of a piece of woolen cloth was the outcome of the following process: (1) The raw wool was "carded," namely, cleaned and combed into straight fibers; (2) The fibers were spun into threads by means of a spinning wheel, a simple wooden contrivance consisting of a wheel and a spindle connected by a belt; (3) Cloth was made by the interlacing of horizontal

threads called the "warp" with vertical threads called the "woof." This was done by means of another simple contrivance, the hand loom, a wooden frame to which the warp was attached; as the alternate threads were raised two weavers pushed back and forth a shuttle which carried the woof.

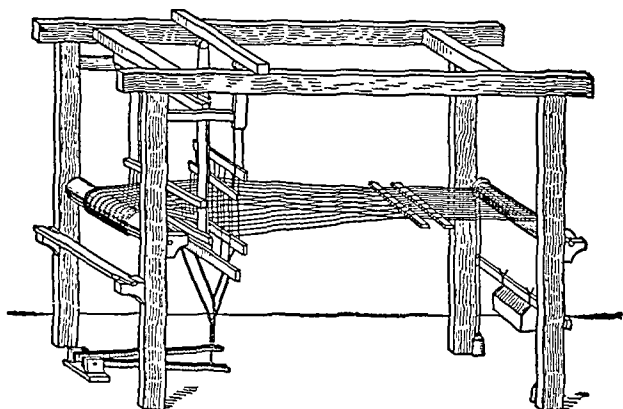
Domestic system of industry. Spinning and weaving were done at home or in shops attached to the home, hence the name, the domestic system. Spinning was generally done by women when they were not busy with their household duties. An unmarried woman was called a "spinster" because, having no husband to support her, she spun for a living all her life. Weaving was heavier work requiring greater skill, and was done by men. In the domestic system the workers owned the tools that they used, although they did not own the material upon which they worked. This was supplied to them by middlemen who paid the spinners and weavers, not a regular wage, but according to the

amount done. The middlemen then sold the cloth to tailors or to merchants. A suit of clothes in those days was expensive, being "all wool" and made to order by a skilled tailor. The poor wore "homespun,"

coarse cloth, woven at home and made into ill-fitting garments by the women of the household. In the country the peasants wore smocks, rough over-garments made of coarse wool or sheepskin. It was before the days of inexpensive, well-fitting,

ready-to-wear clothes. Under the domestic system there were no regular hours of labor. Spinners and weavers, often a family group, worked early and late but not continuously; they stopped to rest whenever they wished and as long as they wished.

Goods produced for the locality. The fundamental fact of economic life before the Industrial Revolution was that each working group produced enough to make a living and little more. The artisan, be he weaver, tailor, carpenter, baker, shoemaker, or smith, worked only to supply the locality; with his simple tools he could not produce more. The merchant sold what he could buy, and he could not buy very much. There was little opportunity to get rich, either slowly or quickly. Every town boasted of a few rich merchants, generally members of monopolistic trading companies that dealt in expensive luxuries.



A HAND LOOM

The wooden frame holds the "warp," the lengthwise threads. The woof (or crosswise threads) is attached to a shuttle and is woven back and forth by hand.

INVENTION OF MACHINERY

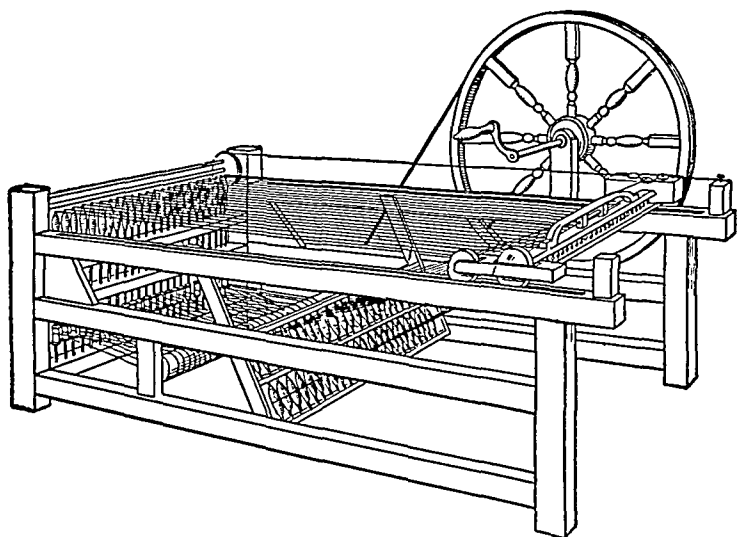
Machine industry displaces hand industry. It was in England toward the end of the eighteenth century that a series of inventions appeared which resulted in what is now called the "ma-

chine." Formerly articles were made by hand with the aid of tools. A shoe was made by a shoemaker using hand tools only — a knife, needle, awl, and hammer. He made the shoe or most of it, and he made it to fit the person who ordered it. To-day shoes are made rapidly by machines each of which makes a very small part of the article. By the modern system of the division of labor, one machine cuts only, another punches holes, another sews, another hammers. Certain machines make heels only, others soles, other toes. The parts are then "assembled" and put together according to "sizes," ready to be sold. The workers who tend the machines are not "shoemakers" but laborers who turn wheels, pull levers, push buttons, and press springs. Man and the machine have changed places. The machine, tireless and nerveless, has become the maker of things, and man its simple assistant. This relation is something entirely new in the history of mankind.

Invention: product of many minds. So marvelous are these machines that their inventors are spoken of as "wizards." It is important, however, to keep in mind that no inventor by himself has ever created a single machine. All inventions are the products of many men, one improving upon the other; one suggesting this, another that; one perhaps failing, yet contributing something of value. The inventor is the person who, utilizing all the progress made in his field, adds something that makes the device practicable. In our day the great invention has been the airplane, which is usually credited to the brothers, Wilbur and Orville Wright. Yet how much progress had been made in aviation before their successful flight!

Machinery and clothes. The cotton industry first saw the introduction of machinery. When cotton was grown in the American colonies some saw the possibility of producing cheap cloth from this fiber. As the manufacture of this cloth was a new industry it had few regulations and restrictions; hence it was a field in which new methods might easily be tried. To supply the rising demand for cotton clothes, more rapid spinning and weaving were necessary.

Hargreaves' spinning jenny. About 1765 James Hargreaves invented the "spinning jenny," named after his wife, Jenny. It was a wooden frame on which eight spindles were revolved by the turning of a wheel, producing eight threads at one time. The de-

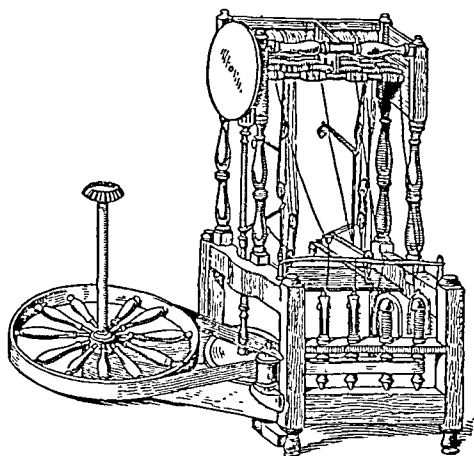


HARGREAVES'S SPINNING JENNY

This was little more than an enlargement of the conventional hand wheel, but it enabled a single workman to run a number of spindles instead of one only.

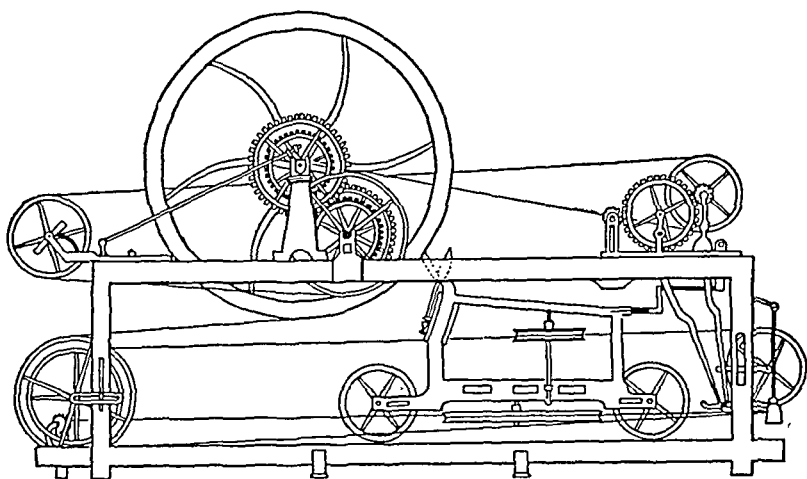
vice was rapidly improved, and "spinning jennies" were made that spun as many as a hundred threads simultaneously and could be easily worked by a child. The jenny was really not a machine but an enlargement of the spinning wheel.

Arkwright's water-frame. The next step was the invention of the "water-frame" (1769) by Richard Arkwright. This was a *machine* run by water-power instead of by hand or foot; it consisted of a number of revolving rollers which drew out firm cotton threads from the



ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING MACHINE

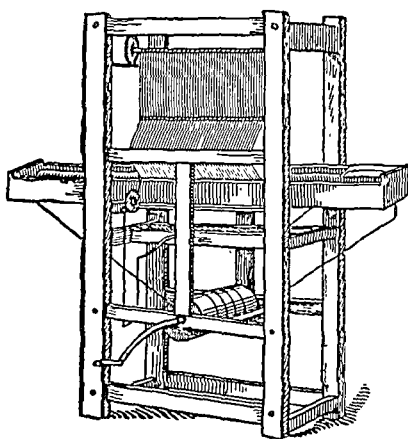
At the top are shown the draft rollers; below, the flyer spindles; at the left, the wheel that furnished power to the entire mechanism.



CROMPTON'S SPINNING MULE

With this machine it was possible to spin yarn to a degree of fineness that equaled the East Indian yarns usually imported. But for this machine Europe would have always been dependent upon India for yarn and goods, excepting only the coarse grades.

mass of fibers. The invention of the "water-frame" is very important because it made possible the factory. In 1771 Arkwright himself set up the first cotton factory run by water-power.

CARTWRIGHT'S FIRST POWER
LOOM

The shuttle was mechanically propelled through the trough extending beyond the sides of the loom.

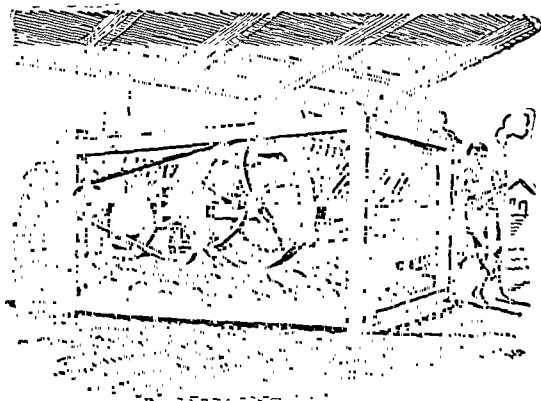
Crompton's "mule." A still greater improvement was the "mule" (1779), invented by Samuel Crompton. This was a combination of the "jenny" and the "frame." It spun more rapidly than either and produced a thread so fine and strong that it made possible the production of the high-grade cotton cloth called muslins.

New methods of weaving. An increased production of thread demanded more rapid weaving. Already, in 1733, John Kay had invented the "flying shuttle,"

enabling one man to operate a loom that wove the widest cloth by jerking the shuttle back and forth. The most important step,

however, was the invention of the "power loom" (1785) by Edward Cartwright, a machine that was worked by water-power.

Whitney's cotton gin. When the American, Eli Whitney, invented the "cotton gin" (1793), which rapidly separated the seeds from the cotton, he gave an immense impetus to the cotton industry. England began to import large quantities of cotton from America and to manufacture all sorts of articles that were useful and cheap.



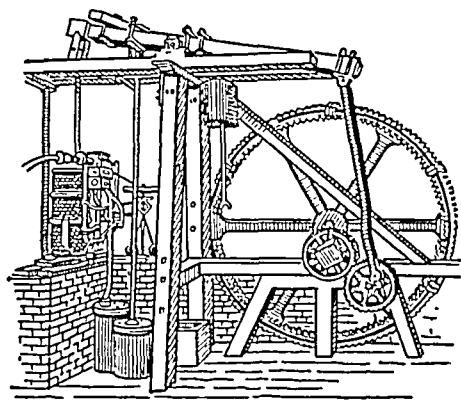
WHITNEY'S COTTON-GIN

From a print in the Library of Congress.

Need of new motive force. Though the machinery for making cloth was now highly improved, the Industrial Revolution could not have advanced very far if the factories had had to depend on water-power alone. Industry would be limited only to those favorable locations that had rapid streams. Man's first and real conquest of nature came with the steam engine, the iron giant, who with his breath pushes ships across oceans, pulls trains across continents, lifts incredible weights, digs canals, and operates factories. Even more important than the advances made in the textile industry was the rise of modern engineering through the invention of the steam engine.

Watt and the steam engine. That steam expands had been known for a long time. But the application of this principle to practical life dates from the eighteenth century. In 1704 Thomas Newcomen invented a contrivance consisting of a cylinder with a piston. The latter was moved in and out of the cylinder by alternately filling the cylinder with steam and condensing it. This engine was a crude affair and hardly of much use, for it wasted most of its power. In attempting to repair a Newcomen engine, James Watt made improvements so radical and important that he produced the first true steam engine (1769). Watt devised a

system of valves through which steam escaped to a separate condensing chamber which was always cool. There was no need, as



WATT'S FIRST STEAM ENGINE

This represents his single-acting beam pumping engine.

in Newcomen's engine, to reheat the cylinder constantly, thus saving nearly all the heat generated. He also applied steam power to the driving of machinery by attaching a wheel to the engine and connecting it, by means of a belt, with a spinning or weaving machine. Steam power made factories independent of streams; and they could now be located in places best suited for their purpose, where raw material and coal could be obtained most

cheaply, and where their product could be distributed most easily and quickly.

STEEL

Steel making expensive. The demand for iron and steel grew with the increased use of machinery. Steel was made by smelting iron by means of charcoal; much wood had to be used in the process. The ancient art of steel making required highly skilled labor, and it was therefore very expensive. Swords and armor were the chief steel products of former days.

Smeaton's steam blast. The wide use of coal as fuel made possible the Age of Steel. Coal was plentiful and cheap, but it had not been much used as fuel until the invention of the "steam blast" (1760) by John Smeaton. By this method coal was burned into coke with which iron was smelted by the aid of the "blast," an air pump run by steam which kept the flame constantly burning.

Cort's method of "puddling." Another important step was "puddling" invented by Henry Cort in 1783. When coke was applied to iron ore, the result was "pig iron" which contained so many impurities that the product was brittle. Puddling was a process by which the "pig iron" was stirred in a furnace until all

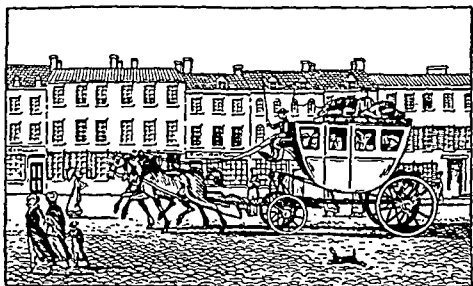
the impurities were burned out. The red-hot iron was then rolled out into bars or plates.

The Bessemer process. Modern steel owes its origin largely to Henry Bessemer. His famous process (1856) was to put ore into a blast furnace from which it emerged molten iron, which was then put into a "converter," where a hot blast was blown through it, burning out the impurities. By the Bessemer process it was possible to maintain a high temperature with little fuel, a great saving in the smelting of iron. The Age of Wood and Stone came to an end when the Age of Steel was ushered in by the Bessemer process.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Demand for rapid transportation. One invention stimulated another, and the world was in a fever of devising new mechanisms. Rivalry, as well as necessity, became the mother of invention. The many articles which were produced had to find a market larger than that provided by the locality in which they were produced. How could they be delivered to customers in distant places? How could raw material and coal be brought quickly to the factory? The need for more rapid means of transportation resulted in the steamboat and railway.

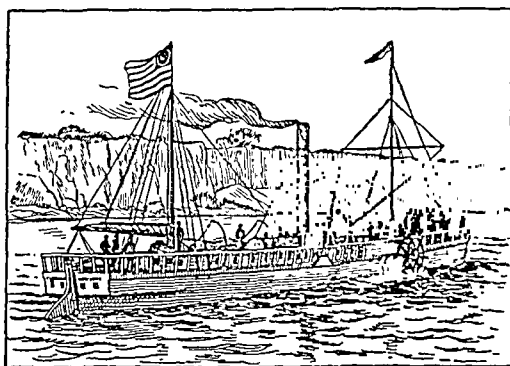
Fulton's steamboat. An American led the way in the development of the steamboat. Robert Fulton, after many trials, succeeded in solving the problem of steam navigation. In 1807 the Clermont, nicknamed "Fulton's Folly," moved up the Hudson River propelled by steam. The first trip, from New York to Albany, was made at the rate of four miles an hour. The first steamer with a screw propeller to cross the Atlantic was the Great Western (1838). The voyage took fifteen days, a shorter time than that usually taken by sailing vessels. It demonstrated that steam was practicable for use in ocean navigation.



AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STAGE-COACH

This is the sort of vehicle used for traveling long distances before the Industrial Revolution.
From an old print.

Stephenson's steam locomotive.



FULTON'S CLERMONT

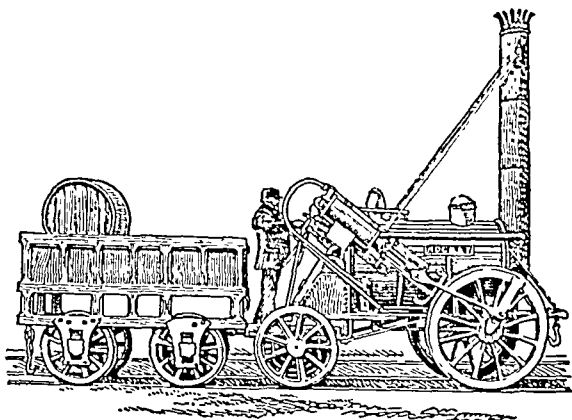
The Clermont was not the earliest practical steam-boat. To the English Charlotte Dundas of 1801 belongs that honor; but the Clermont was an immense improvement and marks the time when vessels propelled by steam became of commercial usefulness. She was the first to be put into any regular transportation service.

This was considered astonishing speed in those days, and many old-fashioned people were greatly perturbed.

Morse's telegraph and Bell's telephone. A revolution in communication took place with the invention of the telegraph and telephone. Hitherto communication had depended upon transportation; messages could be sent only by boat, by wagon, or by post rider. About 1840 an American, Samuel F. B. Morse,

perfected a process for reproducing at one end of a wire signals which had been sent from the other end by means of electro-

The invention of the locomotive was the work of Richard Trevithick, who had made notable improvements in the steam engine, and of the more famous George Stephenson. The latter had set himself the task of solving the problem of moving a wagon through the action of the steam engine. After many attempts he succeeded in building a locomotive (1830), called the "Rocket," which drew a train of cars at the rate of fifteen miles an hour.



STEPHENSON'S "ROCKET," 1830

The total weight of engine and tender was only about $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons. It was built to compete in a trial of locomotive engines for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The greatest speed it attained in the trial was 29 miles an hour; but some years later it ran at the rate of 53 miles an hour.

magnetic action. This was the first telegraph. Communication between the New World and the Old was established in 1866 by the laying of the Atlantic Cable between England and the United States. The telephone is an invention based on changing sound waves into an electric current which travels along a wire. It was perfected in 1876 by an American, Alexander Graham Bell.

Conquest of space. These changes in transportation and communication have profoundly affected human relations. Distance is now measured by time not by miles: we speak of a place being so many hours away. Rapid transit by railway and steamboat has so contracted the world that once far-distant lands are now within easy access. Man strides over the earth in seven-league boots. The telegraph and telephone, and later the wireless, instantly transmit the news of the day to all parts of the world. Let a statesman deliver a speech in London or Tokio and the next morning the people of Chicago find a report of it in their papers. And with the latest progress in radio they can even hear it! The world has become a whispering gallery.

Spread of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution spread to the Continent after the Napoleonic Wars. At first England tried to prevent its progress by prohibiting the export of machinery but it became impossible to do so. For a time industry grew slowly in France and Germany; but in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the coal and iron mines were developed, these two nations, especially Germany, forged ahead. In eastern Europe, in Russia and in the Balkans, the Industrial Revolution did not begin till the end of the nineteenth century. America established factories early in the nineteenth century, but her great development came after the Civil War. In our day it is Asia, and even Africa, that is being industrialized. The toot of the locomotive is heard in the jungles and deserts of Africa, and the factory whistle mingles with the temple bells of India, China, and Japan. Before many years have passed the entire world will have a common industrial civilization.

RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Growth of cities. When England became industrialized her people no longer migrated to the New World but rather to the new cities that sprang up about the factories. From the countryside came farmers driven out by the enclosure acts, agricultural

laborers looking for work, and many others who found country life dull and monotonous. In the coal and iron regions of the north cities grew like mushrooms. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, once small towns, became large bustling cities. Population increased rapidly, and the cities absorbed all the increase. In 1760 the population of England and Wales was about 6,700,000; in 1820, about 12,000,000. The peaceful, quiet, rural England with its sleepy hamlets and occasional towns was transformed into a land of teeming cities in the midst of an almost deserted country.

Factory, product of the Industrial Revolution. The factory became the outward and visible sign of the new order as the shop had been of the old. A factory may be defined as a mass of machinery run by power and operated by laborers, which transforms raw materials into manufactured articles. It came into existence because the new industrial system required the assembling of a large number of men to operate the many machines. In the beginning of the Industrial Revolution factories were small, rarely employing more than a hundred men. They were called "mills" and were run by water-power, like those that ground wheat into flour. To-day they employ armies of workmen and they are operated by steam or electric power.

Regulation of factory workers. So many persons were gathered together in one factory that discipline became necessary. The laborers were regimented, and commanded by foremen, superintendents, managers, and owners. They began and ceased working at the sound of a whistle or bell; the number of hours, the part of the day or night during which they worked, and the time allowed for meals were definitely regulated. The wages were standardized according to the kind of work done; as, for example, in a cotton factory spinners got one wage, weavers another, carders still another. On the whole the variation was not great. Work in the factory had to be continuous as the throbbing machine demanded the constant and regular attention of the "hand." To stop working even for a short time was forbidden, and workmen who "loafed on the job" were fined or dismissed.

Increase in production. Thousands of articles were turned out by "machine production," one being exactly like the other. At first machine-made things were not beautiful but were cheap and useful; but as the process improved the products became more and

more attractive. To-day some of the fabrics woven by machinery are so beautiful in design and color and so fine in texture that they challenge comparison with the wonderful hand-made fabrics of old.

The working class. A new class of laborers came into existence with the establishment of factories, the working class, by which is meant those who are employed for wages in modern industrial enterprises like factories, mines, railways, and steamboats. The position of the workingman is essentially different from that of the laborer of former days. He works for "wages," a definite sum of money for a definite number of hours of labor. Unlike the slave, he is not bound to a master; unlike the serf, he is not bound to a place; unlike the craftsman, he is not restricted by laws and guild regulations. He is legally free to work for whom-ever he pleases, wherever he pleases, at whatever he pleases, and on what terms he pleases, provided he can find one to employ him. There is an almost complete separation of capital and labor. The relation between employer and employee has been well described as the "cash nexus." The former pays the latter wages, and that is the only bond between them. It may at any time be snapped by the employee leaving his job or by the employer discharging him. Under the guild and domestic systems the relations between master and man were many and personal: they knew each other well, worked together, ate together, played together, and not infrequently lived together.

Dependence of workingmen. Free labor was undoubtedly a great step in advance, but in the beginning of the Industrial Revolution it was more of a benefit to the capitalist than to the laborer. If there was no work the laborer was discharged; the capitalist thus saved the expense of his wages. But how was the laborer to live! The toolless and landless "hand" was not so "free," being entirely dependent upon his wages for his livelihood. If he left his job because of low wages and long hours, he was in danger of being out of work. Fear of unemployment drove many to accept outrageous conditions. The workingmen lived near the factory in "industrial barracks," crowded and dingy tenements, their hours of labor were as high as twelve and fourteen; their wages, just enough to keep body and soul together; their place of work, unsanitary. Yoked to the machine in the constant treadmill of labor the workingmen felt that their legal freedom was a mockery of their actual condition.

Laws against trade unions. Naturally the workingmen were discontented. They soon found that singly, as individuals, they were too weak to get better conditions. If one was discontented and left his job a long line of men was waiting to take his place. The workingmen realized the strength of union, and began to organize "labor unions" which asserted the principle now called "collective bargaining." Instead of one man demanding better wages and hours for himself, the union, representing the workers in that occupation, would demand better wages and hours for all its members. In case of a refusal, all would strike, and thus stop production. The manufacturers were greatly alarmed. If a factory became idle there would be no profit on their investment and their business would be ruined. They appealed to Parliament, which was then under the control of the upper classes, to protect them from the discontented workingmen. In 1799-1800 the famous Combination Laws were passed prohibiting combinations of workingmen for the purpose of increasing wages or decreasing hours of labor, making trade unions illegal, and declaring strikes to be conspiracies. Unions were dissolved and strikers sent to prison.

The capitalists. If the workingman was the new poor man, the capitalist was the new rich man. Upon him all classes of the city population depended for their livelihood, either directly or indirectly. If the capitalist closed his factory the town was ruined. There would be no wages for the workingmen, no salaries for the clerks, no fees for the professional men, and no business for the store-keepers. They would flee the town as if it had been afflicted by a plague. The capitalist became richer and more powerful than the privileged aristocrat with his broad acres. What the capitalist wanted was to be let alone, to be free to do business as he wished, and he became an ardent champion of the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

England "the workshop of the world." As England was the pioneer in the Industrial Revolution, she profited immensely by it. So great was her lead in the industrial race that it was not till the end of the nineteenth century that rivals began to appear. England was the "workshop of the world," sending out manufactured articles to all nations in return for raw materials and food. Her iron and steel manufactures were as famous as her textiles. If one bought a pair of stockings in Berlin, a shirt in Buenos Aires, a pen-

knife in Moscow, a locomotive in Madrid, they were made in England. Not only did she do a brisk trade in manufactured articles, but also in coal, in ships, in machinery, and in rails. Some figures give an idea of her great progress. In 1760 England imported about three million pounds of raw cotton; in 1820, about a hundred and twenty-nine million. During the same period her iron production rose from about twenty thousand tons to over a million tons. The increase in her coal production was as great as in that of iron. France, her commercial rival in the eighteenth century, was left far behind. She had little coal and iron, and besides the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars destroyed much of her capital and labor. During these wars England, protected by her navy, got all the raw materials that she wanted and did more business than ever. She sold her manufactures to the Continent, even to the French themselves, in spite of Napoleon's Continental System. England's prosperity enabled her to subsidize one coalition after another against Napoleon, and it was said the Battle of Waterloo was won in the cotton factories of Lancashire.

AGE OF PROGRESS

Industry and progress. For all its evils, and they have been many and serious, the Industrial Revolution was the greatest step of progress that mankind ever made. Nature, before which man had crouched in terror and helplessness, became a kind and bounteous benefactor. As in the tale of Aladdin's Lamp, man could now at will summon giants to do his bidding, to tunnel the earth, to span rivers, to remove mountains, to dig canals, to bake bread, to print books, to carry him or his messages to the ends of the earth, and to take him soaring toward the stars. Progress has become the order of the day. No longer does man fear change, trembling lest it should spell disaster; he now welcomes new methods, new things, new ideas, as the harbingers of a life better worth living.

Rise in the standard of living. The Industrial Revolution has raised the standard of life for hundreds of millions. Machinery has so cheapened production that the masses of people now wear better clothes, eat more wholesome food, live in more sanitary houses than at any other time in history. The luxuries of yesterday have become the necessities of to-day. Even the rich-

est nobles in the past did not have some of the comforts now enjoyed by the ordinary laborer. They had no bathtubs, no glass windows, no electric lights, no ice in summer, and no steam heat in winter.

Leisure and education for all. Leisure for all is now possible. In the past a few had leisure all their lives, and the many spent their days in grinding, unrelenting toil. The coming of machinery meant that hard labor could now be done by a non-human agency, thus freeing man in part from the necessity to labor. As a result the workday has been constantly reduced, at first to ten hours, later to eight hours, and now in many cases to seven hours. Holidays are becoming more frequent, and vacations more general. Leisure means not only relaxation but also opportunities for culture. Because of leisure it is now possible to spread education even to the poorest. Schools, libraries, lectures, newspapers, journals, concerts, and theaters have educated and enlightened the masses of mankind who, until the nineteenth century, were sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition.

Modern industry may abolish poverty. Finally the Industrial Revolution has inaugurated what has been called the "period of surplus." Production is now on so vast a scale that enough can be produced to satisfy the physical needs of every one. No one need now go hungry or be without sufficient clothes or wander homeless. If methods can be devised for spreading universally the benefits of the Industrial Revolution that grim steel giant, the machine, may yet be the means of liberating mankind from poverty, the curse that has afflicted the world since the dawn of history.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. How would you define the Industrial Revolution? How does it differ from the French Revolution?
2. How did the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prepare the ground for the Industrial Revolution?
3. Why did the Industrial Revolution first occur in England? Why not in France?
4. Why wasn't the use of cotton widespread in 1760? Why did it begin to replace wool after 1800?
5. How was woolen cloth manufactured before the Industrial Revolution? How is it manufactured to-day?
6. What are the chief differences between the domestic system and factory system? What advantages did the workman enjoy under the domestic system? Under the factory system?

7. What is meant by the "division of labor"? What are its advantages? Its disadvantages?
8. It is said that man has become the slave of the machine. Explain.
9. Watt invented the steam engine. Watt perfected the steam engine. Which is correct? Why?
10. How did the "water-frame" and "the power loom" make possible the factory?
11. Which is preferable for manufacturing, steam power or water power? Why?
12. What are the contributions of each of the following to the Industrial Revolution: Smeaton? Cort? Bessemer? Stephenson? Fulton? Morse? Bell?
13. Necessity is the mother of invention. Justify the statement.
14. "Distance is now measured by time, not by miles." Explain.
15. Why did the industrial towns first spring up in the coal and iron regions?
16. Contrast the position of the modern workman with that of the slave? Serf? Guild craftsman?
17. What is "collective bargaining"? What has been the attitude of manufacturers toward it?
18. What is meant by the doctrine of *laissez faire*? Why was it justified in the early period of the Industrial Revolution?
19. Why was England able to make rapid progress in industry and commerce during the nineteenth century?
20. What are some of the evil effects of the Industrial Revolution? Good effects?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- DOMESTIC SYSTEM. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 185-89; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 64-68; Ashley, *Economic History*, I, part II; pp. 223-41.
- SPINNING AND WEAVING MACHINERY. Cheyney, pp. 203-12; Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, pp. 264-70; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 45-55; Parkman, *Conquests of Invention*, pp. 29-103; Hall, *Triumphs of Invention*, ch. XI.
- THE STEAM ENGINE. Smiles, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, chs. I-XIV; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 58-62; Van Loon, *Story of Mankind*, pp. 402-06; Parkman, pp. 189-213.
- STEEL. Smiles, *Industrial Biography*, chs. VI-VIII; Hall, ch. V; Parkman, pp. 293-309.
- THE FACTORY SYSTEM. Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 56-58, 62-67; Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, pp. 51-54.
- TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION. Smiles, *Life of George Stephenson*, chs. VIII-IX, XII, XIV-XXXIII; Warner, pp. 277-81; Van Loon, pp. 406-12; Hall, chs. III-IV, VI; Parkman, pp. 217-89, 310-408.
- RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Cheyney, pp. 220-39; Warner, pp. 301-19; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 67-72; Van Loon, pp. 413-26.

CHAPTER XXVIII

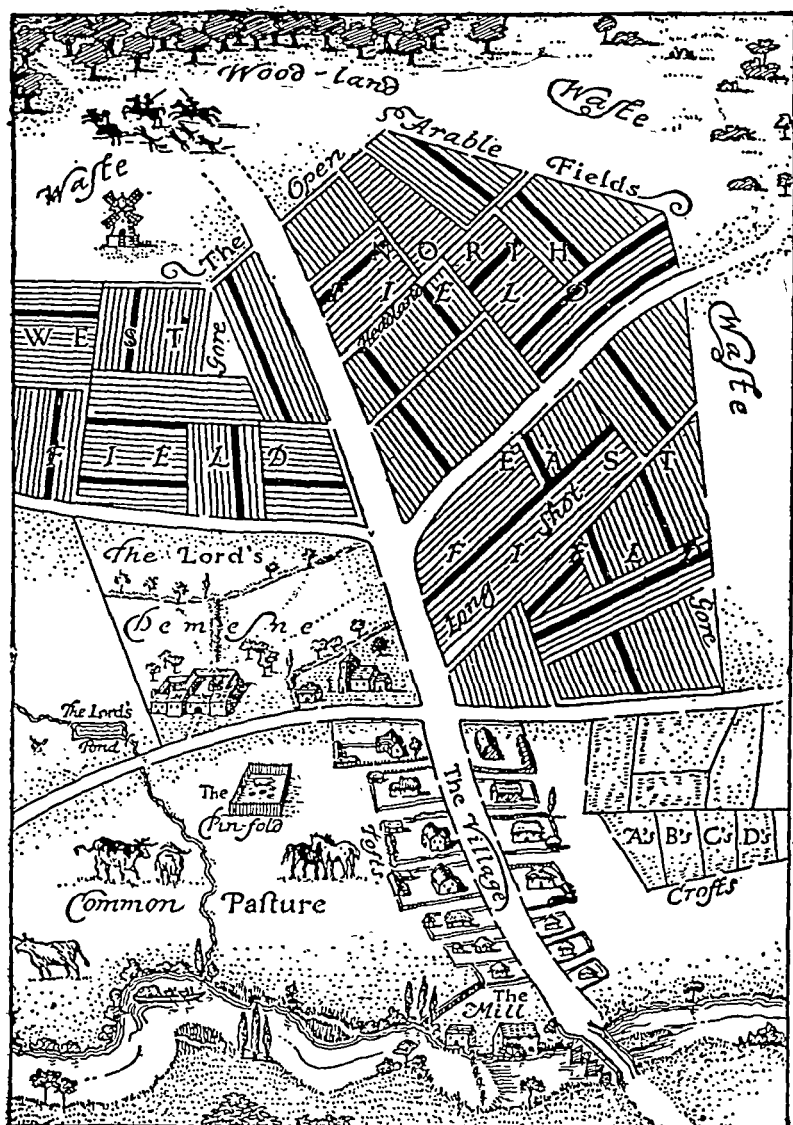
THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

OLD METHODS

Backwardness of agriculture in the eighteenth century. The Industrial Revolution was paralleled by one in agriculture. Farming in the eighteenth century was even more backward than industry, which had undergone important changes as a result of the Commercial Revolution. From the most ancient times the overwhelming majority of farmers, whether slaves, serfs, tenants, or proprietors, had cultivated the soil in very much the same way. There were the "open fields" divided into half-acre strips; the three-fields system with one field lying fallow every year to preserve its fertility; the simple tools such as the spade, hoe, sickle, scythe, harrow, and wooden plough; and the "commons," where grazed the cattle of the village community. Much of the land was "waste," either because it was not considered fertile enough or because it was not cleared. Although the peasants worked early and late, men and women, young and old, they produced little owing to their antiquated methods. Like the craftsmen in the city they worked for a livelihood, not for money; to produce enough for their family, for the lord to whom they owed dues or rent, and for the local market in the near-by towns where they sold their surplus to buy the things that they needed. In those days peasants were universally held in contempt as ignorant, stupid, semi-civilized creatures more at home with cattle than with human beings. The words "boor" and "villain" are derived from words meaning peasant.

NEW METHODS

Farming, a business. Modern farming differs from that of former days as the factory system differs from the handicrafts. It is a business enterprise which one undertakes with the object of making money. A farm is now a "food factory," and a farmer a "manufacturer" who, by applying machinery and scientific methods, produces large quantities of food which he sells to all the world.



THE PLAN OF A MEDIEVAL MANOR
Showing the holdings in the Common Fields.

Tull's drill. The Agricultural Revolution which introduced modern methods in farming took place in England during the eighteenth century. It was the work largely of inventive minds who applied themselves to the problem of producing more food for the growing population. One of the foremost inventors was Jethro Tull, an observant, well-educated man who was interested in farming as a science. He had an idea that, if seeds were planted in straight rows instead of being scattered broadcast, more would take root and a larger crop would result. Early in the eighteenth century he invented a machine called a "drill" which dropped seeds in rows; he also invented a horse-drawn cultivator which made possible a quick method of pulverizing the soil.

Townshend and the rotation of crops. An admirer of Tull was Viscount Townshend, a large landowner, who devoted his life to the improvement of his estate through new methods of farming. He observed the fallow fields lying idle, which to him seemed sheer waste. By experimenting he discovered that land could be farmed year after year without exhausting the soil, provided a different crop was planted each year. He devised a regular system of four-year rotation, wheat, turnips, barley, and clover. Townshend was also an enthusiastic advocate of root crops such as the turnip which, in those days, was used only as food for cattle.

Artificial fertilizers. The modern system of rotation of crops would not have advanced far had it not been for the discovery of new methods of fertilization. The soil contains certain chemical ingredients necessary to the growth of the plant, and these ingredients are absorbed by the plant. When these ingredients are no longer present the soil is said to be exhausted. About 1840 two German chemists, Justus von Liebig and Friedrich Wöhler, proved that the fertility of soil could be maintained constantly by restoring those ingredients through the means of artificial fertilizers. For long, manure was used as a fertilizer, but to-day chemists produce far better ones which keep up, year after year, the fertility of the soil, and make productive fields out of land naturally poor.

New crops. The champions of the new agriculture also favored the planting of new crops such as turnips, potatoes, corn, rye, and beans. So common a food as the potato was not widely used until the nineteenth century. Like the turnip it was regarded as being fit only for cattle.

Bakewell and cattle breeding. If plants could be improved, why not animals? During the middle of the eighteenth century Robert Bakewell experimented in the breeding of cattle through the process of artificial selection. His idea was to select the best male and female of a species and mate them, and then mate the best of their offspring. He succeeded in producing the "Leicester" breed of sheep that were twice the size of the ordinary sheep of his time and locality. His methods were widely copied by other breeders, notably Charles and Robert Colling, who produced the famous shorthorn cattle called the "Durhams." Hitherto sheep were bred chiefly for wool, and cattle for milk and draught purposes. The new methods made it possible to fatten animals quickly as well as greatly to increase their size; and consequently meat as a regular diet came more widely into vogue, especially in England.

Arthur Young. An enthusiastic advocate of the new agriculture was Arthur Young (1741-1820) whose travels in France have made his name known to students of the French Revolution. Young traveled widely to observe different methods of farming. He issued a magazine devoted to agriculture, and through his influence the British government, in 1793, established the Board of Agriculture to encourage the new methods.

McCormick's reaper. In the beginning of the nineteenth century farm machinery began to appear, such as the threshing machine and the iron plough. But it was not till the invention, patented in 1834, of a reaping machine by the American, Cyrus Hall McCormick, that agricultural machinery can be said to have made considerable progress. On the whole invention in farming has not kept pace with that in industry. As most farmers have small holdings it does not pay them to buy expensive machinery which can be used to best advantage only on large farms, such as are to be found in the West of the United States and of Canada.

THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

The yeomanry. The Agricultural Revolution was responsible for an important change in the English land system. Before its appearance, the land was partly in the hands of aristocrats who owned large estates, and partly in those of "yeomen," small farmers who owned their strips scattered in the various fields. The yeomen were an easy-going, old-fashioned folk who were con-

tented with their methods of farming because they made a living and did not care to make more. The estate owners, having large fenced-off fields, tried the new methods and succeeded in greatly increasing their crop. Then they cast envious glances at the strips of their poor neighbors.

Acts of Enclosure. It was not long before ways were found to oust the yeomen from their holdings. Parliament, then controlled by the aristocracy, passed a series of laws called Acts of Enclosure, which ordered inquiries to be made into the legal title of the yeomen to their lands. Many had no proofs of ownership, other than that of having cultivated their farms for generations; others had lost their title deeds. As a consequence the land was taken from them, enclosed into fields, and given to the lord. The common lands, not having individual claimants, were easily made the property of the lord. The farmers' cattle were driven off the commons, and as a consequence milk ceased to be a part of the diet of the English poor. They substituted tea which was then coming into fashion. Some of the yeomen who were ousted from their farms remained on the lord's estate either as tenants or laborers; but many refused to labor for others on land which had once been theirs. A migration began from the country to the city which left many districts almost deserted, and which rapidly increased the population of the factory towns. Goldsmith's poem, "The Deserted Village," is a vivid description of the calamity which was depopulating the English countryside.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay!
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied."

The enclosure movement established land monopoly in England, where the land is owned by a few aristocrats with the people of the nation as their tenants.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the open-field system? three-field system?
2. Why does the modern farmer need capital to begin farming?
3. Why did the Agricultural Revolution take place in England? Why hasn't the Agricultural Revolution progressed as rapidly as the Industrial Revolution?

4. How did Jethro Tull help to improve the output of crops? By what methods may the modern farmer increase the fertility of the soil? To whom is he indebted for this knowledge?
5. How are we indebted to Bakewell? McCormick?
6. What were "enclosures"? What is the connection between the Agricultural Revolution and the enclosure movement?
7. "Parliament passed a series of laws called Acts of Enclosure." The factory owners paid low wages to their employees. How may the first fact help to explain the second?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

NEW METHODS IN AGRICULTURE. Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, pp. 281-90; Parkman, *Conquests of Invention*, pp. 8-26; Hall, *Triumphs of Invention*, pp. 203-13.

THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 216-20; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 72-78; Warner, pp. 290-300; Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, pp. 33-43.

CHAPTER XXIX

REACTIONARY AND REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS

THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Restoration of monarchy. The restoration of the exiled monarchs to the thrones of their ancestors was followed by an attempt to restore the old system of society and government. Absolute monarchy was reestablished, and the principle of divine right was once more proclaimed. The statesmen of the Restoration were firmly convinced that absolute monarchy was the only form of government that could guarantee the rule of the privileged few over the unprivileged many. Republicanism and democracy must therefore be suppressed at all cost and by all means.

Metternich. The master spirit of reaction was Prince Metternich,

the famous Austrian who had played so notable a part in the Congress of Vienna. Metternich dictated international policies for a generation; his advice was eagerly sought by the restored monarchs to whom he appeared as an infallible guide. He was fully conscious of his greatness, and assumed the appearance of one who is all-knowing and all-important. "My position is notable," Metternich once said, "in that all attention is centered on that point where I happen to be."

Metternich's political ideals may be summed up as hatred of progress. He always worshipped at the shrine of the god



PRINCE METTERNICH

of things as they are. Revolution was "a gangrene to be burned out of Europe with red-hot irons"; and democracy a "perpetual somer-

sault" leading to "chaos and ruin." The monarch, not the people, was the nation, hence the highest patriotism was loyalty to the dynasty. To those who were striving to advance the ideals of nationalism and democracy Metternich was hated as the very soul of the political evils of the time.

The Metternich System. Largely through his influence a system of repression was established in Europe known as the "Metternich System" which, on the whole, was effective until the Revolution of 1848. Its methods were (1) international action; (2) church influence; and (3) censorship. In 1815 Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England formed the Quadruple Alliance "for the safety of their governments and for the general peace of Europe," and to keep watch lest "revolutionary principles might again convulse France and endanger the peace of other countries." To carry out its objects the Alliance, largely through the influence of Metternich, proclaimed the doctrine of "intervention"; namely, that it had the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of the nations in the interests of peace. This really meant that, if a despot was driven out by a popular uprising, the Alliance would send armies into the country to suppress the uprising. From time to time congresses were to be held by the Alliance to inquire into the state of Europe and to see to it that the arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna were kept intact. In this way the world was to be made safe for autocracy. The Alliance had another, and more worthy purpose, the prevention of war. This aim it planned to achieve through what became known as the Concert of Europe which, through the agency of international congresses, representing all the European powers, would undertake to settle all international disputes, thereby removing the dangers of wars.

The Holy Alliance. The reactionaries believed that the French Revolution was inspired by the philosophy of the eighteenth century which had exalted reason at the expense of religion. A stronger faith in religion would heal the havoc caused by rationalism, hence they decided to use the influence of religion in the interests of reaction. The Church was given control of education, and the rising generation was taught loyalty to absolutism. A remarkable expression of this religious influence was the formation, in 1815, of the Holy Alliance which consisted of almost every important nation in Europe except England. Tsar Alexander I

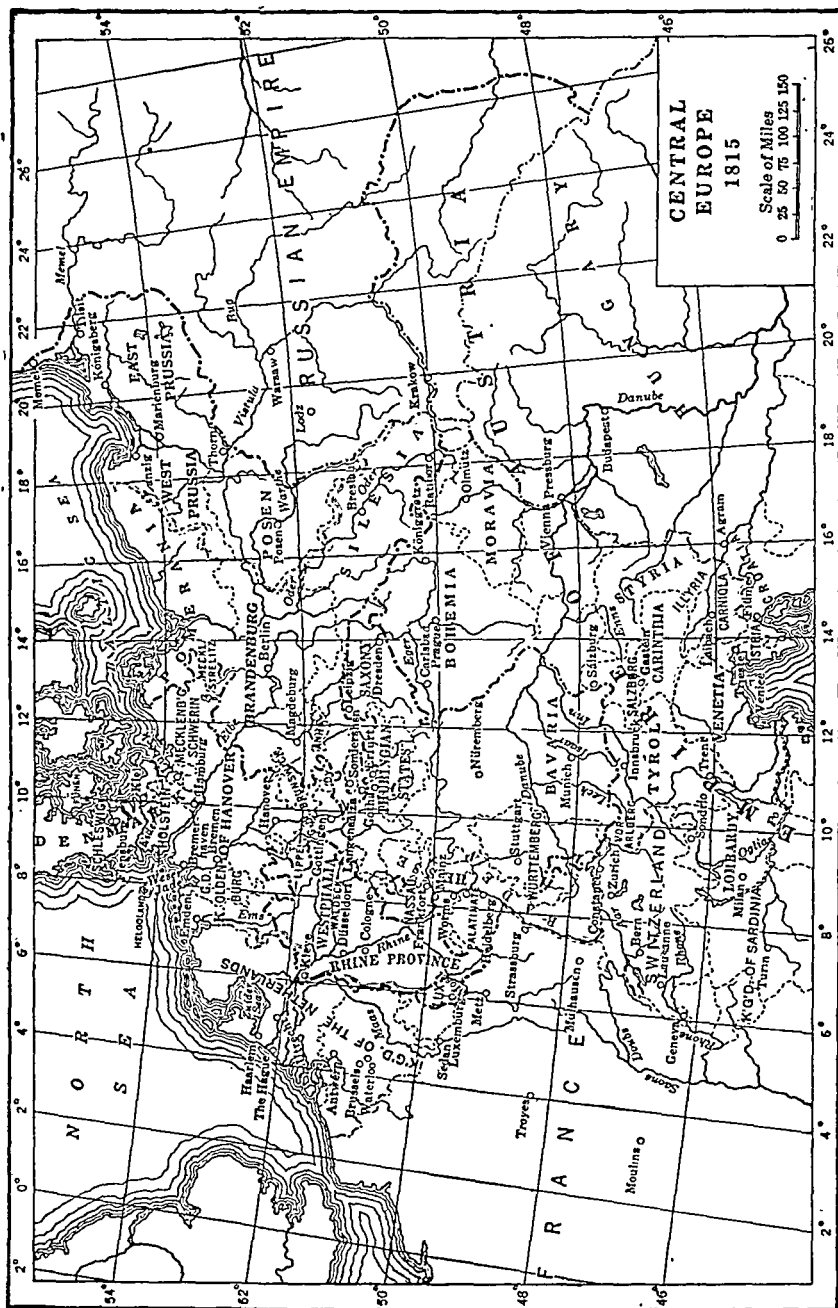
was convinced that revolution was the judgment of God on the un-Christian conduct of rulers, and he induced the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to join him in issuing a manifesto to the world. In this document they confessed their belief in the "solemn truths taught by the religion of God, our Savior" and pledged themselves to govern their peoples according to "the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace." These monarchs, however, soon showed themselves to be bitter enemies of democratic movements, and the Holy Alliance came to signify a union of despots who sought to maintain an evil system under the guise of religion.

Censorship. Another method of repression was to prevent the spread of liberal ideas. In every country there was established an elaborate system of censorship of books and journals. A spy system was introduced in the universities to watch students and teachers who were suspected of being in sympathy with liberalism. Of this more will be said later.

LIBERALISM

Nationalism. The Metternich System and its opponents were engaged in mortal combat for half a century. Hardly had the Congress of Vienna ended when a revolutionary movement appeared in Western Europe that championed the principles of the French Revolution. These principles aimed, in the main, to establish nationalism, democracy, and intellectual, religious, and economic freedom in every country. A nation may be defined as a people that possesses its own territory, language, traditions, and culture, and enough self-consciousness to preserve them. It was the French Revolution that gave nationalism its greatest impetus. The democratic institutions and uniform laws that it established led to a common national feeling among the classes and localities within the boundaries of each state. The Industrial Revolution strengthened still more the national bonds. The railways, steamboats, telegraphs, and factories made it possible for the people of a nation to be in constant touch with one another, to be dependent on one another's labor and enterprise, to have common economic laws and regulations, and to pursue national economic policies.

Democracy. In theory democracy may be defined as a form of political organization in which the people exercise supreme power



in the state; in practice as a government by a majority of representatives chosen by universal suffrage. As we have already seen, it was England that developed the machinery of democracy, parliamentary government. America's contribution was a written constitution, establishing and guaranteeing a democratic system. But it was the French Revolution that popularized the doctrine of popular sovereignty based upon universal manhood suffrage.

Freedom of speech and of the press. By intellectual freedom is meant the right of every one to speak and to write, unhindered by censorships, civil or religious. The French Revolutionists believed that the supreme evil of the past had been the fettering of the human mind by those interested in keeping man ignorant, stupid, and brutish. This fettering, they believed, explained why progress had been so slow and why monstrous evils could be saddled on the human race with impunity. The liberation of humanity, they asserted, could come only with the liberation of the human mind.

Freedom of religion. It was the French Revolution that first proclaimed boldly and clearly the modern idea of religious freedom. The very essence of this idea is that religion is a private matter; and that every person should therefore be free to worship or not to worship, to believe or not to believe. The state was to be "lay," or secular in all its activities; namely, it should have no connection with any faith or endow any church; it should not discriminate against any one because of his religious views; and in its schools no religious instruction should be given.

Economic freedom. Finally, the French Revolution favored economic freedom, or the right of any one to engage in any lawful occupation, business, profession, or labor. Formerly there had been all sorts of economic restrictions on the manner and amount of goods to be produced, on wages, prices, investments, imports, exports, occupations, and place of residence.

Bourgeoisie, champions of liberalism. Those who championed the principles of the French Revolution were known as liberals. They were generally from the middle class, or bourgeois, who hated the Old Régime as one that benefited only landed aristocrats. Liberalism suited the interests of the middle class because the régime of freedom gave them larger opportunities to do business and to employ labor on their terms. *Laissez faire* was their

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motto. They dreaded nothing so much as the intervention of the government in behalf of labor through laws regulating hours, wages, and factory conditions. As opposed to the aristocrats the middle classes stood for equality, but as opposed to the working-men they stood for a system which they could control.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why is the period from 1815 to 1848 often called the "Era of Metternich"?
2. Metternich defined himself as a man of the "status quo." What did he mean by it?
3. How did the French and Industrial Revolutions stimulate nationalism?
4. What is meant by the following: democracy? intellectual freedom? religious freedom? economic freedom?
5. Metternich was Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. Metternich was a bitter enemy of nationalism. What is the connection between the two facts?
6. Why did the middle class advocate liberalism in politics? *laissez faire* in industry?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE METTERNICH SYSTEM. Van Loon, *Story of Mankind*, pp. 373-80; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, ch. II; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 16-22; Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, pp. 114-16, 121-30.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE. Van Loon, pp. 361-72; Hazen, pp. 13-18; Andrews, I, pp. 116-21; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 45-47.

CHAPTER XXX

REVOLUTIONARY EUROPE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

REACTION IN FRANCE

Louis XVIII and his Charter. It was a weary, dispirited France that "welcomed" Louis XVIII.¹ The new monarch realized that his subjects were tired of revolution and would be willing to endure him provided he did not goad them into fury by unnecessary acts of tyranny. Although Louis claimed to rule by divine right he granted a charter which established a parliamentary government, but of a kind that he could control. All executive power was vested in the king; and in addition he alone could initiate legislation. Parliament consisted of two houses; an upper, whose members were appointed by the king, and a lower, whose members were elected by a suffrage so restricted by property and age qualifications that only one man in seventy had the right to vote. It must not be thought, however, that France returned to the Old Régime. The dues and services of the peasants were not restored; neither were the privileges of the aristocracy nor of the Church; the reforms of Napoleon were continued. Louis was a moderate man, and his reign passed quietly.

Charles X and reaction. Louis XVIII died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles X. The new king was a true Bourbon who, as was said of his dynasty, "never learned anything and never forgot anything." Charles returned from exile a sadder but, not like his brother, a wiser man. He determined "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former influence in the state and to create a powerful privileged aristocracy." The nobles were indemnified in part for the loss of their lands during the Revolution. The liberty of the press was suspended. The suffrage was still more restricted. The Church was given control of education, and was consulted in public affairs. A law was actually passed that prescribed the death penalty for those who under certain circumstances profaned holy vessels. In gratitude the Church rallied to the side of the Bourbon monarchy

¹ To keep up the continuity of the dynasty, the son of Louis XVI, who had died during the Revolution, was referred to as Louis XVII.

and soon became the most powerful influence against its opponents. She could not forget the terrible days of the French Revolution when her privileges were suppressed, her property confiscated, her administration disorganized, and her ministers exiled or executed. Although the Catholic Church does not favor one system of government as against another, the Catholics in France favored monarchy because in it they found a protector and defender, and in its opponents a bitter and uncompromising enemy.

Clericalism versus anti-clericalism. The activity of the Church in politics brought to the front a new issue, called clericalism, which was to trouble French politics for a century. The clericals favored the recognition and support of the Church by the State, the forbidding of divorce, religious control of education and charity, and a religious censorship of books and journals. The anti-clericals, or free-thinkers, favored the separation of Church and State, secular education, civil marriage, divorce, and absolute freedom of the press. The Church, according to the anti-clericals, was to be sharply restricted to purely religious functions. Religious differences ran parallel with political differences: a clerical was a royalist; an anti-clerical, a republican.

Supported by the clergy and the returned *émigrés*, Charles strove blindly to restore the France of former days. He did not realize that the revolutionary spirit was still smouldering, and that his acts of tyranny would fan it into a consuming flame. Like Louis XVI, he marched to disaster "with the crown over his eyes."

REACTION IN ITALY AND SPAIN

Influence on Italy of the French Revolution. Few countries have exercised so great an influence upon civilization as Italy. One has but to recall the Italy of ancient times and the Italy of the Renaissance to realize what the world owes to that land. Yet two centuries following the Renaissance, Italy had all but disappeared from history, so small was her part in the world's affairs. Division, misrule, poverty, ignorance, and corruption were Italy's portion during that dark period. The petty monarchs in the various states of the peninsula ruled over their subjects with the brutal tyranny that is generally characteristic of petty monarchs. The people, forgetful of their traditions and indifferent to their misery, fell into a deathlike sleep. When the trumpet call of the French Revolution sounded, Italy awoke. The revolu-

tionary armies of the French Republic poured over the Alps, and the petty monarchs fled in terror. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were proclaimed, and the French set energetically to work abolishing the old order and establishing the new. Under Napoleon the country was virtually unified, and though under the control of a foreign despot, Italy had taken long steps toward liberty and union.

Restoration in Italy. As has already been told, the Congress of Vienna redivided the country into seven states, and reestablished the princes as absolute monarchs. The restored rulers were animated by a bitter hatred for the changes introduced by the French, and determined to bring back the old tyrannies, inequalities, and intolerances. Education was put into the hands of the clergy. Religious toleration was denied and the Inquisition was restored. Freedom of speech and of the press was declared an evil, and a special watch was kept over "the class called thinkers." Everything of French origin was suspected as evil; vaccination and street lighting, for instance, were forbidden as revolutionary innovations. Not only were the restored governments reactionary but they were inefficient and corrupt as well. Brigands roamed over southern Italy. Public finances were mismanaged and money misappropriated; and the public service was demoralized by favoritism and corruption.

Obstacles in the way of Italian unity. The political history of Italy from 1815 to 1870 was largely a struggle to achieve liberty and union. It is known in Italian history as the *Risorgimento*, or the "Resurrection," for Italy arose from her political grave in which she had lain for so many years. The obstacles were great, even greater than those in Germany. In the first place, there was the consistent opposition of the princes who realized that a free and united Italy meant the end of their rule. Secondly, the people themselves were not homogeneous; northerners and southerners differed widely in traditions, racial origins, and to some extent, in speech. Thirdly, as in Germany, Austria was a stumbling block in the path of unity. Although a foreign power, she was the dominant influence in the peninsula; two of the best provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, were directly under her rule; some of the Italian rulers were related to the Hapsburgs; and others depended upon Austria to bolster up their power. The Austrians were therefore hated by the people as the common enemy that was

ever thwarting Italy's efforts toward unity. Finally, there was the papacy, which consistently and energetically opposed unification. The pope possessed temporal power inasmuch as he ruled as monarch in the Papal States; as an Italian prince he was therefore opposed to a united country. The unification of Italy was a problem the solution of which demanded the wisest statesmanship and the most daring leadership.

Restoration in Spain. The reaction in Italy was paralleled by one in Spain. In 1812, during the Napoleonic Wars, Spain had adopted a liberal constitution based largely on the principles of the French Revolution. When Ferdinand VII was restored in 1814 he determined to suppress liberalism with an iron hand. The Constitution of 1812 was abolished. The nobles and clergy regained in large measure their former privileges. The Inquisition, abolished by Napoleon, was restored, and the clergy was given control over education. Ferdinand was a Spanish Bourbon of the worst type, cruel, despotic, treacherous, corrupt, and incompetent. Surrounded by a clique of clerical and noble reactionaries, he inaugurated a war against liberalism that outdid even the one in Italy. Liberals were hunted down, jailed, executed, and not infrequently assassinated by those who aimed to keep Spain "pure" from the contagion of modern ideals. Spain, at one end of Europe, and Russia at the other end were the two nations who most resolutely opposed the coming of democracy.

THE UPRISINGS IN 1820

The Carbonari. The year 1820 witnessed upheavals in Italy and Spain. Secret revolutionary societies, known in both countries as the Carbonari, were organized to foment discontent with the tyrannical régime. In 1820 the Spaniards rose and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. Ferdinand was compelled to establish a liberal régime by calling a Parliament. Since 1816 a revolution had been taking place in South America when the Spanish colonies declared themselves independent republics. Inspired by the success of the Spaniards, the Carbonari rose in Naples and compelled their king, Ferdinand I, to grant a constitution. In 1821 an uprising occurred in Piedmont. The "contagion of liberty" was spreading, and the Metternich System was beginning to crack. Was the work of the Congress of Vienna to be undone?

Foreign intervention. A number of European congresses took place to deal with the situation. The doctrine of intervention was invoked, and it was decided to use armies of the powers to suppress these uprisings. One Austrian army suppressed the constitution in Naples and restored the King; another suppressed the constitution of Piedmont. A French army invaded Spain and restored the absolutism of Ferdinand.

The Monroe Doctrine. All these suppressions were carried out by the order of a league of despots, consisting of the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia which became known as the Holy Alliance because these monarchs were the leading spirits in the Alliance. Elated by its success the Holy Alliance might have attempted to overthrow the newly established South American republics. But their designs were foiled by America and by England. President Monroe recognized the South American republics, and in 1823 sent a famous message to Congress. This message, known as the Monroe Doctrine, declared that an extension of the European political system would be dangerous to the United States, and that the latter would regard intervention by European powers in order to oppress or control the destiny of the South American states as a "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." England, having commercial interests in South America which might be hurt by European intervention, came to the support of America. The Holy Alliance thereupon decided that it would be better policy to limit its activities to the Old World.

The Greek War of Independence. The revolutionary movement of 1820 spread to an unexpected corner of Europe, the Near East. In 1821 the Greeks rose in rebellion against the Turks, and a desperate struggle followed in which each side was bent upon exterminating the other. The Greek War of Independence aroused widespread sympathy in Western Europe, especially among the educated classes, who saw in the Greeks the descendants of the race of Plato, Pericles, and Leonidas again struggling for freedom against the "barbarians," this time the Turks. Thousands of Europeans, among them the poet Byron, came to the aid of the Greeks, inspired by the great memory of ancient Hellas and by the heroic struggles of the Greek revolutionists.

Foreign powers aid the Greeks. What was the Holy Alliance to do? Was it not true that the Sultan was an absolute monarch

whose authority was menaced by an uprising? But he was a Mohammedan and a Turk, and they were Christians and Europeans. To send Christian armies to put down Christian Greeks in order to bolster up a Mohammedan ruler was too much even for Metternich. Moreover, Russia, the deadly enemy of Turkey, favored intervention for the Greeks and not against them; and she actually was preparing an army to march against the Sultan. In 1827 England, Russia, and France demanded an armistice; but before the negotiations were completed a Turkish squadron was annihilated by an allied fleet at Navarino. This allied victory infuriated the Sultan, and he determined to resist the demands of the Allies. But Russian and French armies invaded Greece and inflicted severe defeats on the Turks. In 1829 the Sultan acknowledged the independence of Greece, which was later organized as a kingdom (1833) with a Bavarian prince as king.

On the whole the uprisings in 1820 were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, these first attempts to overthrow the Metternich System showed that the masses of Europe were no longer content to accept conditions imposed on them from above.

THE UPRISINGS IN 1830

The July Revolution. A decade later there was another, and far more determined, attack upon the Metternich System. It began naturally enough in France, where the revolutionary spirit was strongest. Charles's reactionary measures aroused a storm of opposition resulting in the July Revolution, that ended forever the reign of the Bourbons in France.

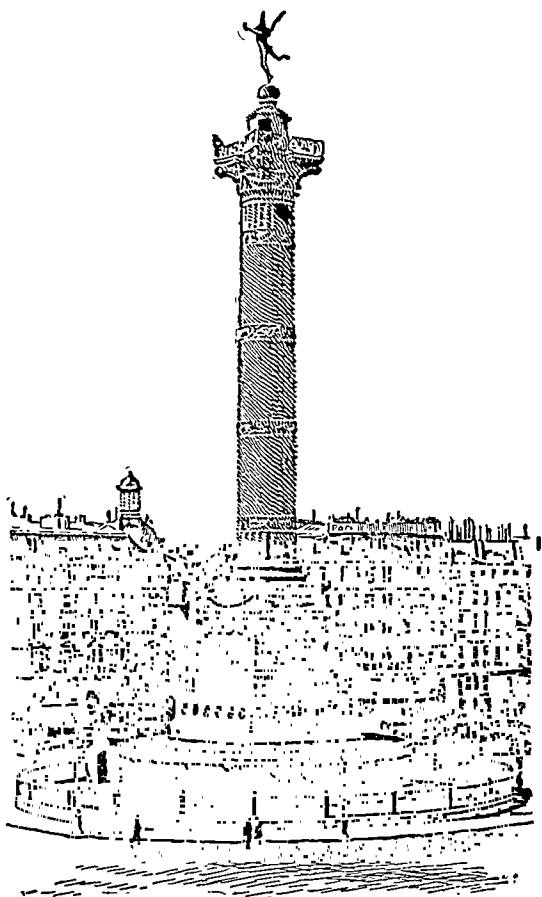
On July 28, 1830, rioting began in Paris. Barricades were erected in the streets, made of paving stones, old furniture, and overturned wagons; and behind them were armed revolutionists flying the tricolor. The troops were called out, but they could make little progress against the revolutionists; the streets were too narrow and crooked for the effective use of artillery and for cavalry charges. Through long practice the Parisians had become expert in the art of street fighting. They fired from behind barricades, from neighboring windows, and from roofs; they retreated only to reappear in the next alley more redoubtable than ever! In three days the revolutionists triumphed completely! Charles abdicated and fled to England.

Louis Philippe, King of the French. What was to be the next

government? Some said, let us be done with monarchy altogether and establish a democratic republic. Others more cautious said, let us try monarchy once more, but let us *choose* our monarch on *our* terms. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, a distant relative of Charles, was a willing candidate for the throne even though it was "perched on the barricades." He was chosen king "by the grace of God *and the will of the nation.*" The Revolutionary tricolor again became the national flag, replacing the Bourbon fleur-de-lys.

Disappointment of the working class. Important changes were made in the Charter in order to make it more democratic. Parliament was given power to initiate legislation; and the suffrage was widened by reducing the property qualification so that the bourgeois were given the vote. This

was very far from establishing democratic government; the entire working class, as well as large numbers of the peasantry, remained unenfranchised. As a result of the July Revolution France broke



THE COLUMN OF JULY

Erected in 1830 on the site of the Bastille to commemorate the taking of the prison by the mob in 1789. It is crowned by a statue of Liberty holding out the torch of progress and the broken chains of slavery.

definitely with divine right monarchy, but the outcome was a sore disappointment to the masses who had hoped for universal suffrage.

THE BOURGEOIS MONARCHY

Louis Philippe favors the bourgeoisie. Louis Philippe was shrewd enough to see clearly that the day of the aristocrats was over, and that a new class, the bourgeois was coming into power. He therefore decided to favor the capitalists as his predecessors had favored the aristocrats. Business enterprise was encouraged by the government with great success. A railway system, begun in 1837, was so rapidly extended that, by 1846, it was about 1100 miles in length. The first trans-Atlantic steamship line was started with the aid of government subsidies. Factories were built, and France entered the era of the Industrial Revolution. Trade, both domestic and foreign, advanced rapidly, and many made large fortunes.

As Napoleon had created a soldier nobility, so Louis Philippe created a capitalist nobility. Newly rich speculators, bankers, and manufacturers were made nobles and received at court, greatly to the disgust of the old nobles, who regarded these *nouveaux riches* with haughty contempt. The bourgeois-king, as Louis Philippe was called, was fond of parading his democratic manners. He sometimes walked the streets unattended, wearing a frock coat, trousers, and high hat, and carrying a cane or a green cotton umbrella, the symbols of the new régime, as wig, knee-breeches, cocked hat and sword had been of the old.

Wretched condition of the working class. Deep resentment was felt by the working classes at the Bourgeois Monarchy. They had fought behind the barricades, but the bourgeois had won the victory. They were without votes under the new régime despite its constitution, its parliament, and its democratic professions, as they had been under the autocratic Bourbons. Their economic situation was very bad. Wages were low; hours long, sometimes as many as eighteen; and factory conditions abominable. Women and children were employed under outrageous conditions. Trade unions were organized by the workers to fight for better conditions, and many strikes took place. As trade unions were not permitted by law, the government suppressed them and jailed the strikers.

Socialism. In this period a movement arose which was destined to play a great part in the future. It was socialism. When the working class appeared as a result of the Industrial Revolution it was at a time when every one was talking of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; naturally the workingmen, poor and down-trodden, became fervent advocates of democracy. Once absolutism was destroyed, they fondly believed, all evil and all unhappiness in the world would disappear. The magic word "constitution," was the sesame that would open the door to a happy land, in which there was no poverty, no ignorance, no tyranny, no evil. The French Revolution had indeed made vast changes in society, but poverty, tyranny, and ignorance were still in the world. Another attempt must be made. In 1830 the Parisian workingmen again went to the barricades, and once more despotism was overthrown. The magic word "constitution" was again spoken, but no door had opened. They were not only still poor and miserable, they were now disappointed and chagrined as well because they had been excluded from the suffrage.

They turned upon the victorious bourgeois who were now the enemy. The French Revolution, they argued, had benefited the peasants by freeing them from feudal dues and by giving them land; it had also benefited the bourgeois by lifting from their backs unjust burdens of taxation. The Revolution of 1830 had benefited the bourgeois still more by giving them control of the government. The next revolution, they said, was to be for the benefit of the working class. It was not only to establish universal suffrage; it was to free the workingman from the control of the capitalist, as the French Revolution had freed the peasant from the control of the lord.

Louis Blanc and the national workshops. The leader of the workingmen was an intellectual, a brilliant journalist and politician named Louis Blanc. He proposed that France should become an industrial republic by establishing "national workshops." The government was to loan capital to the laborers in each industry, who were to operate the factories and share the product on the principle of "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs." He urged the government to adopt the principle of the "right to labor," namely, that the State should guarantee all citizens the right and the opportunity to make a living. Needless to say, these ideas became popular among the Parisian workers.

Guizot. Louis Philippe could not, like his Bourbon predecessors, claim divine right; but he could act the tyrant for other reasons. Almost as soon as he was crowned he asserted his will to rule. The throne was not "an empty armchair," he was assured by his supporters. Like King George III of England he determined to use Parliament to bolster up his tyranny; and in Guizot he found his Lord North.

Guizot was a famous historian, a scholar in politics, yet he became the engineer of corruption for the King, and manipulated the electorate to grind out majorities for the government. As there were more political offices than voters, who numbered only about 200,000, patronage could be easily used to influence elections. Deputies were bribed by being appointed to office or by government contracts. The Chamber became a "bargain-counter" where votes were exchanged for favors, jobs, contracts, and money.

Government by corruption. The system of government by corruption adhered strictly to parliamentary forms, for parliament was neither overridden nor disregarded. The king must rule and the majority must agree with him, was Guizot's policy. For a time the rising tide of prosperity drowned all cries of opposition to a government that was both tyrannical and hypocritical. But its enemies were gathering force daily, and the time was soon coming when the Orleans dynasty would share the fate of the Bourbons.

THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION

Independence of Belgium. Discontent with the settlement of their fate by the Congress of Vienna was rife among the Belgians who, it will be remembered, were united with the Dutch. More numerous than the Dutch, they resented the dominance of the latter, who established Dutch as the official language of the country and who filled most of the public offices. Moreover the Belgians are intensely Catholic and the Dutch intensely Protestant; religious feeling widened the breach already existing between them.

The Revolution of 1830 in Paris inspired the Belgians to revolt against the Dutch. Riots broke out in Brussels and the entire country was soon up in arms. A national assembly was called, which formally declared Belgium an independent nation. In

1831 Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen ruler, as Leopold I, King of the Belgians. Little effort was made by Holland to suppress the revolt.

Article VII

*La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux
Articles I, II, et IV, formera un Etat indépendant et
perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même
neutralité envers tous les autres Etats*

THE TREATY OF 1839 — A FACSIMILE OF ARTICLE VII

"Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I, II, and IV, shall form an independent and perpetually neutral state. It shall be bound to observe the same neutrality towards all other states."

Neutralization of Belgium. The success of the Belgian uprising was another blow at the Metternich System. Would the Allies permit it? Russia and Prussia desired to intervene in favor of the Dutch. Louis Philippe, on the contrary, desiring popularity for his newly won crown, threw his influence in favor of the Belgians. This decision saved the day for them, and it was agreed to recognize the new nation. But on what terms? The case of Belgium was especially important because of her strategic position: she was a "pistol pointing at the heart of England," a road into France from Germany, a road into Germany from France, and a landing place for England against France or Germany. For the protection of her powerful neighbors against one another Belgium, like Switzerland, was given a privileged position in the European system in the treaties of 1831 and 1839. She was "neutralized." On the one hand, England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France guaranteed her territory from invasion; on the other, Belgium promised not to make alliances with any nation and not to allow her neutrality to be violated in case of war. In this interesting manner a new nation came into existence. For centuries the Belgians had been under foreign rule, either Spanish, Austrian, French, or Dutch. Now they were free and independent, and under the special protection of the powers of Europe.

THE POLISH REBELLION

Poland granted autonomy. In the Partitions of Poland¹ Russia had received the major share of Polish territory. It consisted of three regions, Lithuania, part of the Ukraine, and "Congress" Poland. The first two contained few Poles and were annexed by Russia outright. "Congress" Poland, so called because its status was fixed by the Congress of Vienna, was solidly Polish and received special treatment. In 1815 it was organized as a kingdom with the Tsar of Russia as king. Alexander I granted a liberal constitution establishing a diet with wide powers. This aroused much feeling among his Russian subjects, who hated the Poles as their hereditary enemies; conquered Poland received a constitution, while victorious Russia remained autocratic.

Rise of Polish nationalism. Strangely enough the national spirit in Poland arose *after* she died as a nation. Divided among three powers the Polish people were united as they had never been before. A Polish national movement was born, especially among the Russian Poles, who hoped to break the slender bonds that united them to the Empire.

Failure of Polish rebellion. Like the Belgians the Poles were inspired by the uprising in Paris against Charles X. In 1831 they rose in rebellion against Russia and declared their independence. Tsar Nicholas I was furious. He sent a large army into Poland which savagely suppressed the uprising, and "peace reigned in Warsaw" once more. As a punishment the Polish constitution was revoked, the diet was suppressed, and Poland was annexed to Russia. Russian officials now governed the country and Russian was made the official language. Thousands of families were uprooted from their native home and scattered throughout the Empire. Thousands became forlorn refugees in Western Europe, where they found much sympathy. "Poland is not yet lost" became the password of the defeated but undaunted patriots.

The Metternich System tottering. On the whole the attacks of 1830 on the Metternich System were more successful than those of 1820. Democracy was triumphant in France; nationalism, in Belgium and Greece. Moreover, rifts that seriously interfered with the policy of repression, were beginning to appear in the Holy Alliance. France was indifferent if not hostile; and Austria and Prussia were preparing for mortal combat.

¹ See page 202.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. "If Mirabeau . . . had come to life again in 1814, he would doubtless have been highly pleased with" the government of Louis XVIII. Do you agree or disagree with the statement? Why?
2. Charles X "never learned anything and never forgot anything." What didn't he learn? What didn't he forget?
3. How did the laws passed by the government of Charles X contradict the principles of the French Revolution? Result?
4. Why did the Catholic Church support the Bourbon monarchy? What were the differences in views between clericals and anti-clericals?
5. "The July Revolution was a triumph for middle-class liberalism." Justify the statement.
6. Why were the workingmen "disappointed with the outcome of the July Revolution"?
7. What is meant by national workshops? Why did they appeal to the workingmen?
8. What was Guizot's theory of government? What methods did he use to carry it out?
9. What reforms were introduced in Italy during the Napoleonic régime?
10. Give instances illustrating the restoration in Italy; in Spain.
11. What were the obstacles in the way of Italian unity?
12. What was meant by the doctrine of intervention? Where was it applied? Results? Why wasn't it applied in South America?
13. How did the Greek revolt threaten the Holy Alliance?
14. Russia and France helped stamp out nationalism in Italy and Spain in 1820. The same powers helped Greece gain her national independence a few years later. Why did they oppose nationalism in the one case and favor it in the other?
15. A historian, referring to the Dutch and Belgians in 1815, says, "There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them." What were the points of difference? What were the points of similarity?
16. What is the importance of the Belgian revolt?
17. What is a neutralized state? Name two. When was each neutralized? When was Belgium's neutrality violated?
18. At the time of the Partition of Poland Edmund Burke said, "No wise or honest man can approve of that partition or can contemplate it without prognosticating great mischief from it to all countries at some future date." Was Burke correct in his view? Why?
19. Describe the progress of nationalism and democracy in Europe by 1830.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

RETURN OF THE BOURBONS. Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, pp. 134-60; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern*

Europe, II, pp. 114-20; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 66-83; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 1-9.

REVOLUTION OF 1830. Andrews, I, pp. 160-79; Hayes, II, pp. 50-53; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 603-19; Hazen, pp. 83-99; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 9-14.

THE BOURGEOIS MONARCHY. Andrews, I, ch. VII; Hazen, pp. 114-36; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 73-75; Latimer, *France in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. II, IV.

NATIONAL WORKSHOPS. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 41-50; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 75-78.

THE GREEK REVOLT. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 46-50; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, ch. XV; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 386-88; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 604-11; Davis, *Short History of the Near East*, pp. 290-99; Fueter, *World History*, ch. IX.

INTERVENTION AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE. Hayes, II, pp. 20-26; Hazen, pp. 57-65; Fyffe, pp. 490-524; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 30-44.

INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM. Fyffe, pp. 619-25; Hazen, pp. 101-06; Ensor, *Belgium*, ch. VI.

THE POLISH REBELLION. Fyffe, pp. 625-30; Phillips, *Poland*, pp. 115-25; Hazen, pp. 106-09; Rambaud, *History of Russia*, III, pp. 45-71; Fueter, pp. 75-81; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 108-22.

CHAPTER XXXI

ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND

OLD ENGLAND

English conservatism. The English have a reputation for being a conservative people. Yet, as we have seen, the English had revolted against absolutism a century before the French Revolution. England's reputation for conservatism is mainly due to the fact that, during the convulsive period of the French Revolution, she managed to maintain her political and social institutions intact. The revolutionary waves that flooded Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain dashed against the chalk cliffs of England in vain.

English government liberal. Why was this? Surely not because the English system was so good that it could not be made better; nor because the English people were not open to new ideas. The chief answer is that the old system in England was more bearable and more capable of improvement than that on the Continent. In 1789 England was the one large state that could boast of a parliamentary government in which the monarch played a secondary part. The famous Bill of Rights established a degree of civil liberty in England that was unknown on the Continent. In ordinary times there was no arbitrary interference with the administration of justice, and Englishmen felt that their persons and property were secure against meddlesome officials executing the whims of tyrants. Although the Toleration Act did not establish religious equality, nevertheless the profession of an unofficial faith was allowed by English law. This was at a time when heretics were burned in Spain, when Protestants were exiled or outlawed in France, when Catholics were harried in Protestant Germany, and when Jews were in constant danger everywhere on the Continent. Feudalism in England had largely disappeared. Serfdom and peasant dues and services were memories of the past. Nobles and commoners were equal before the law. It is true that the nobles had privileges, but they were few compared with those enjoyed by the nobles on the Continent. To progressively minded persons in the eighteenth century, such

as Montesquieu and Voltaire, England was the happy land of tolerance and liberty, and a model for the oppressed nations who were struggling to be free.

Political abuses: (1) **Rotten boroughs.** If conditions were not as bad as on the Continent, there were many abuses in the English political system. In theory Parliament represented the English people; but who were the people and how were they represented? In those days it was neither the law nor the custom to allot representatives in accordance with population; nor to have periodic reapportionments in order to make representation keep pace with the growth and shifting of population. Virtually there had been no reapportionment since the Middle Ages! In the beginning of the nineteenth century the discrepancies became particularly glaring as a result of the changes due to the Industrial Revolution. In the coal and iron regions of the North cities grew quickly, but in the agricultural South towns decayed or disappeared entirely. Representation, however, remained unchanged; hence thriving cities like Birmingham and Manchester sent no members to Parliament, whereas decayed hamlets, like Buckingham with thirteen electors, Cromarty with nine were represented. Parks, ruined castles, green mounds, and deserted villages sent members to Parliament. So did Dunwich, once a coast town, but now sunk beneath the waters of the sea. Cornwall sent forty-four members, and Scotland, having eight times its population, sent only forty-five. Most of the places with few voters were known as rotten boroughs, others as pocket boroughs; in the former the lord, who was the proprietor, purchased or coerced the few voters, and in the latter he appointed the members outright. It has been estimated that as many as two thirds of the members of Parliament were the nominees of powerful landed proprietors. As the latter owned the land, likewise they owned its representatives.

(2) **Suffrage a privilege.** The suffrage had as little to do with citizenship as population had with representation. There was no such thing as a *right* to vote. Suffrage was a *special privilege* possessed by certain persons because they held certain property or certain offices, or paid certain taxes, or were members of certain corporations, or because they inherited the privilege. In some boroughs only the mayor and the aldermen could vote; in others, a few privileged persons known as "freemen." In order to vote

for members from the counties, one had to own land which produced an income of at least forty shillings a year. As very few owned land this meant that the suffrage was restricted to the aristocrats and their dependents. It is estimated that only about ten per cent of the adult males in the United Kingdom had the privilege of voting.

(3) **Political corruption.** Political corruption flourished naturally in this atmosphere of privilege. Wealthy men, eager to be members of the "best club in London," as Parliament was called, bought nominations from those who controlled the rotten boroughs. Voting was public, and the few electors were bribed or coerced into voting for certain candidates. Misrepresentation, property suffrage, and political corruption led to the control of the government by the wealthy classes, the landed aristocracy and the merchants.

The American and French Revolutions set many thinking about popular government. Could the new wine, democracy, be poured into the old bottle, Parliament? "Yes," said the reformers, who believed that England could avoid a revolution provided she was willing to adopt drastic reforms. Once that was accomplished, they argued, many other abuses, the heritage of ancient and evil days, could be easily corrected.

THE GREAT REFORM BILL

The reform movement. A movement for reform had taken place in the eighteenth century and had received the powerful support of the two Pitts. But the French Revolution checked this movement because it was greatly feared that reform might lead to revolution as in France which so horrified England. But soon after Waterloo a widespread agitation for parliamentary reform began. It took various forms, expressing itself in petitions, mass meetings, protests, books and pamphlets, and occasional rioting. This agitation had the support of the middle and working classes, who were the bulk of the unenfranchised and unrepresented. The great capitalists favored reform because they believed that it would have the effect of shifting political power from the country to the cities, where their influence was all-powerful. The workingmen favored it because they believed that a democratic parliament would raise them from poverty and ignorance. Liberal-minded persons from all classes,

aristocrats like Earl Grey and Lord John Russell, capitalists like Robert Owen, and workingmen like Francis Place joined the re-



WILLIAM COBBETT

formers for the simple reason that they were devoted to the ideals of progress irrespective of whose interests were hurt or benefited. One of the most interesting and influential figures in the movement was William Cobbett, famous as a popular editor and agitator. Cobbett reduced the price of his paper, the *Weekly Political Register*, from a shilling to twopence, and it became the first popular English journal. His trenchant articles were widely read both for their ideas and for their style. Cobbett was fiery, audacious, picturesque, abusive; and he attacked the opponents of reform without fear or favor.

He was called a radical, a term which then meant a thoroughgoing democrat in politics and an uncompromising believer in intellectual and religious freedom.

The Six Acts. During the Napoleonic Wars, prices were high and work plentiful. But with peace came a sudden and rapid depression of business, and for about twenty years after Waterloo England experienced the evils of a long-drawn-out panic manifesting itself in business failures, unemployment, falling prices, and low wages. Thousands of ex-soldiers, who but yesterday were heroes on the battle-field, were now beggars on the streets. Public places were filled with half-starved men looking for work, who helped to swell the rising tide of discontent. Radical societies were organized for agitation among the lower classes. Unemployed laborers demonstrated and rioted. The Tories, who had carried the country through the wars, were haunted by the specter of revolution; and they saw in every reform project a conspiracy of Jacobinism plotting to overthrow society. Badly

frightened, they resolved on acts of repression. A mass meeting in Manchester, called to protest against conditions, was broken up by the military amid scenes of bloodshed. The massacre of Peterloo (1819), as it was called, was followed by the passing of the infamous Six Acts, virtually abolishing freedom of speech and of assembly for a period of five years.

Wellington opposes reform. Repression, however, failed to cure the evil conditions. It likewise failed to stifle the reform movement which, on the contrary, was greatly strengthened by the success of the July Revolution in Paris. In 1830 the Duke of Wellington, a war hero and a staunch Tory, was Prime Minister. In a speech defending the existing political system he asserted that it "answered all the good purposes of legislation," and that it was so good that to make another like it was impossible "for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once." The Iron Duke was a great soldier but a poor statesman and a worse politician. A wave of indignation swept the country at his enthusiastic defense of an indefensible system. In Parliament many Tories who opposed the Duke for other reasons joined the Whigs, and the ministry was overthrown.

Passing of the Great Reform Bill. A Whig ministry was formed headed by Lord Grey. On March 1, 1831, the famous Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, the Whig leader and chief protagonist of the Bill. The opposition of the Tories was bitter; they denounced the measure as "destructive of all property, of all right, of all privilege"; as a new Pride's Purge; as a revolution that would "overturn all the natural influence of rank and property." The Bill was defeated and Parliament was dissolved. Riots broke out in various places, and the Duke's house was stoned. Very exciting elections followed, and both sides labored with all their might to win. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was the battle cry of its champions, the Whigs. The outcome was a victory for the latter, and in June, 1831, the Commons passed the Bill by a large majority. In the Lords it was overwhelmingly defeated. England was stirred as she had seldom been stirred before. Riots and demonstrations against the Lords took place from one end of the country to the other, and it was feared that England was drifting

toward revolution. In 1832, for the third time, did the tireless Lord John introduce the Bill in the Commons, where it again passed. Would the Lords continue their opposition to the measure? Grey resigned, and King William IV asked Wellington to form a ministry but the latter was unable to do so. Grey was recalled, and he accepted only on the condition that the Bill should become a law. But how? The King promised to create a sufficient number of peers favorable to it to assure the passage of the Bill through the Lords, in other words to swamp the upper house. The Lords, realizing that opposition was now hopeless, passed the Bill on June 4, 1832. Rejoicing was general, for a great change had been accomplished without a revolution.

Provisions of the Reform Bill. The law provided for the following: (1) *Reapportionment*. The rotten and pocket boroughs were disfranchised, and the large cities were given representation. Britain was not divided into equal electoral districts; only the most glaring abuses were abolished. Moreover, no provision was made for a periodic reapportionment of representatives as in the United States. (2) *Extension of the suffrage*. The suffrage was widened by reducing, not by abolishing, the property qualification. In the country the vote was given to the tenant farmers, but not to the agricultural laborers; and in the city to the middle class, not to the workingmen. At most only fifteen per cent of the adult male population could now vote. Parliament did not yet represent the people — only the property owners, large and small.

Triumph of the middle class. The Reform Bill of 1832 marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. Old England, the England of aristocratic privilege, was now rapidly going, and the new England of democratic equality was coming in. The Bill was the first installment of democracy, and it was to be followed by other reform bills until universal and equal suffrage was established. Indirectly the manner in which the Bill was passed constituted a marked restriction of the power of the House of Lords. It was now established as a precedent that the upper house must yield to the lower if the latter is supported by the people in an issue between the two. Perhaps the greatest result of the Bill was the establishment in England of reform rather than revolution as the method of progress, of "liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent." A change as important as

that brought about in France by the Revolution of 1830 had been made without bloodshed; and those who were still without votes had reason to feel that energetic agitation rather than barricades would bring whatever improvements they desired. The aristocracy had yielded before popular demands; moreover, they refused to conspire against the new order of things, accepting the reform as permanent. This course of action did much to lessen the hostile feeling that had been aroused against them.

ERA OF REFORM

Municipal reform. The Reform Bill of 1832 opened the way for many other reforms. For fully a generation thereafter England was engaged in sweeping away ancient abuses in many fields of human activity. In 1835 a municipal reform law was passed which did for the localities what the Bill had done for the nation. The cities had been governed by local oligarchies, chosen by a few specially privileged citizens, whose rule was a by-word for corruption and incompetence. The new law swept away the old government and established city councils elected by taxpayers.

Abolition of slavery. Slavery under the British flag flourished mainly in the British West Indies and South Africa. An abolition movement was so successful that Parliament, in 1833, abolished slavery throughout the Empire. About three quarters of a million negroes were freed from their masters, who were compensated by an indemnity voted by Parliament.

Evil conditions in the factories. An agitation to reform factory conditions attracted considerable attention. The manufacturers had no scruple in employing children even as young as five. These were generally pauper children "apprenticed" to the factory owner; and they were kept at work as long as fourteen hours a day and paid next to nothing. By day they worked at the machine under the supervision of brutal overseers who, by threats and blows, kept their little feet and hands constantly moving. At night they slept in relays in filthy dormitories near the factory. Poor and insufficient food, bad air, and hard labor was the portion of these unfortunate child slaves, for such they were. Those who survived and grew into manhood were undersized weaklings, demoralized and stupefied; yet they were expected to be good and patriotic citizens. Women were treated in much the same manner. Some were employed in the mines, harnessed to coal

carts which they dragged about on all fours. The manufacturers preferred to employ women and children whenever possible because they did not have to pay them as much as men. It was then very common for a whole family, father, mother, and children, to work in the factory in order to eke out an existence. The slave trade was "mercy compared to the factory system," said Southey, the poet.

Manufacturers and economists oppose factory reforms. Humane and patriotic Englishmen were shocked when they learned of these conditions, and proposals were made that Parliament pass laws regulating the employment of women and children. Such proposals encountered the vigorous opposition of the manufacturers. To their support came eminent statesmen like John Bright and famous economists like Ricardo. Bright was a devout Quaker, an active supporter of the Northern cause in the American Civil War, and a sincere democrat. Yet he bitterly and vehemently opposed factory reforms, and the reason was not that he was a hypocrite, but that he, in common with many other progressive men of his time, was a believer in the policy of *laissez faire*. Government intervention in such matters, they argued, was a violation of the principle of "freedom of contract," of the liberty of the individual to work on any terms that he saw fit. In the long run intervention would do more harm than good because English manufacturers would not be able to compete with the manufacturers of other countries where there was no such legislation, and they would consequently be forced out of business. Factories would close, and labor would be without employment. Evil conditions would right themselves because enlightened self-interest would teach employers that underpaid, discontented laborers did poor work.

Factory reforms. Factory reformers, especially the great-hearted Lord Shaftesbury who devoted his life to the cause of the wretched factory workers, argued that the young manhood of the English working class was being ruined by conditions in the mines and factories; and that only restrictive legislation could check the selfish greed of the manufacturers who were interested only in immediate profits. By the time they became "enlightened" the English working class would have sunk to a state of physical and moral degeneracy. It was generally agreed that the State should intervene in behalf of women and children, who were too helpless

to deal as free agents with their employers on the basis of "freedom of contract." Accordingly, in 1833, Parliament passed the first important factory law, prohibiting, in the textile industry, the employment of children under nine and limiting the hours of labor of those under eighteen years of age. In 1842 a law prohibited women from working in mines. The most radical of all the factory acts of the time, the famous Ten-Hour Law, was passed in 1847. It limited the labor of women, girls, and boys in the textile industry to ten hours a day. This law was then considered almost revolutionary, but it was really only a beginning. In the course of time England's factory laws became more comprehensive and more advanced, and constituted a great code that became the model for other nations.

FREE TRADE

Economists favor free trade. The most important reform in England's industrial system was the establishment of free trade. Since the Industrial Revolution many believed that the regulations imposed by the Mercantilist System restricted the market for the large quantity of goods produced by the factories, and so hindered business enterprise. Adam Smith's ideas¹ now found converts, and a new school of economists arose, the Manchester School, so called after Manchester, the industrial capital of England, that long influenced English economic and social policies. The famous writers of this school, Malthus, Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill, were firm believers in *laissez faire*. They laid one injunction upon the government, "Hands off Business Enterprise," saying that business men knew more about their affairs than any government, and all that the latter could do would be to hinder them through obnoxious regulations based upon ignorance.

Pitt's reciprocity treaty with France. Adam Smith had a distinguished convert in William Pitt who, in 1786, had concluded a reciprocity treaty with France. It provided for low tariff duties in England on French wines, brandies, cambrics, and linens; and in France on English hardware, cottons, and woolens. The subjects of both countries were given full liberty of commerce and navigation. Unfortunately the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars halted for a time this marked tendency toward commercial freedom. The next attack on the Mercantile System was made

¹ See page 243.

by William Huskisson, another disciple of Adam Smith, who entered the Cabinet in 1823. Huskisson induced Parliament to remove many of the restrictions on shipping, thus making the first breach in the Navigation Laws; by the middle of the nineteenth century not a vestige was left of these ancient laws. Foreign ships and sailors were put on the same basis as English. It was feared that English shipping would be ruined by foreign competition, but, on the contrary, it increased greatly. The liberal navigation policy of England indirectly effected a large increase in her commerce; foreigners could now send goods to England more easily and more cheaply.

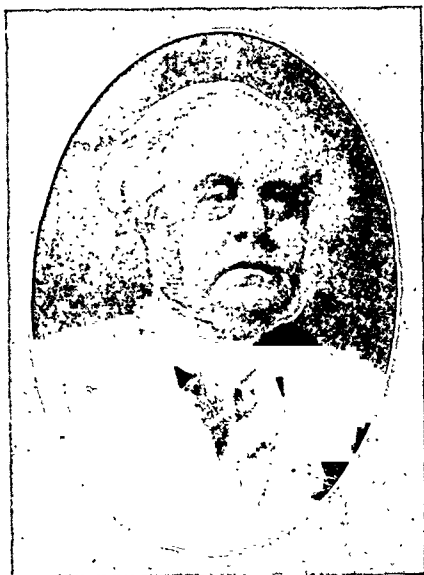
Demand for free trade. After the Napoleonic Wars, a free-trade movement arose that had the hearty support of the factory owners. In those days the British manufacturers did not fear foreign competition because England, being the pioneer in the Industrial Revolution, was far ahead of any other nation in her industrial development. The free traders argued that if foreigners were to buy manufactured articles from England they must be able to sell her freely what they produced, namely, food and raw material; and that if English ships, carrying cargoes of manufactured articles to foreign nations, would have no return cargoes it would mean a serious loss to the shipping interests.

Manufacturers favor free trade. The free traders were especially opposed to the Corn Laws, or the duties on foodstuffs. These duties were denounced as being hindrances to trade and as artificial means of keeping up the high cost of living. Just as the manufacturers stoutly championed free trade so did the landed aristocracy champion protection, and from the same motives, their interests. The landlords believed that, if the Corn Laws were abolished, English agriculture would be ruined by the competition of cheap food from abroad; their lands would consequently decrease in value. They accused the manufacturers of favoring the repeal of the Corn Laws because it would lower the cost of living, and so enable them to lower wages.

The Anti-Corn Law League. In 1838 the famous Anti-Corn Law League was founded by Richard Cobden, and it began a remarkable agitation in favor of free trade. Cobden developed an amazing capacity for presenting the subject clearly and cogently. Free trade, he argued, would mean prosperity all around: good markets for manufactures, steady work for laborers, and low cost

of living for everybody; moreover, it would promote peace and good will among nations and consequently lead to the abolition of wars which, he believed, were caused more by commercial rivalries than by national hatreds. In John Bright, Cobden found an able co-worker. Bright was a great orator whose eloquence made popular the arguments of Cobden.

Repeal of the Corn Laws. Famine, however, was more potent than arguments in convincing the nation. In 1845 the Irish potato crop failed, and as the potato was the chief article of food in Ireland, many died of starvation. The crops in England were spoiled by heavy rains, the rains, it was said, "that rained away the Corn Laws." The cost of



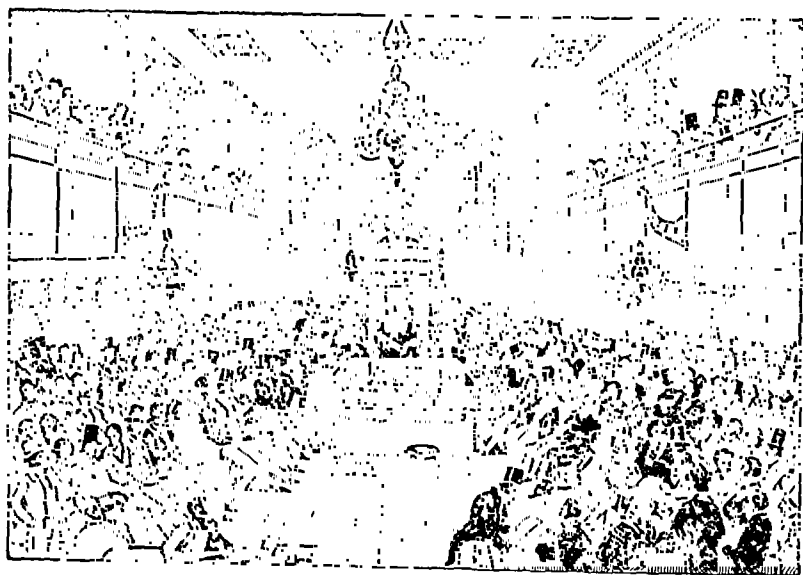
JOHN BRIGHT

living rose, and demands were made that foreign food be permitted to enter free of duty in order to help the starving people. Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative Premier hitherto committed to protection, was won over to free trade. In 1846 he induced Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws, greatly to the disgust of his party which repudiated him. Later the remaining duties were removed, and England became a free-trade country.

Golden Age of English industry. The quarter of a century beginning with 1850 was the Golden Age of English industry. England's factories supplied the world with manufactured articles; her ships carried the world's cargoes; her bankers financed the world's enterprises; and her mines supplied the world's coal and iron. Her economic policies were then regarded as the acme of business wisdom which would surely lead a nation to peace and prosperity.

THE REFORM BILL OF 1867

Disappointment of the working class with Great Reform Bill. Prosperity did not lead to the stopping of the agitation in favor of universal manhood suffrage. It was largely the workingmen who, in 1832, had marched, petitioned, assembled, and rioted for reform, but it was the middle classes who won the victory. Why had the workingmen been denied the ballot? In the first place, it was then generally believed that the ballot should be given to those only who had a stake in the country, those who had property, even if a little; and the workingmen had no property. The English reformers did not believe in the idea popularized by the French Revolution that suffrage was a natural right; in their view universal suffrage was "doctrinaire" and impractical, and was bound to lead to confusion if not to anarchy. Secondly, the workingmen had begun to form unions and to strike, which aroused the hostility of the middle classes. To give them votes simply meant giving them more opportunities for mischief. There was then no faith in the common man, in his essential moderation, in his earnest desire to fit himself for citizenship. On the contrary, there was the fear inspired by the Reign of Terror that he was ignorant and irresponsible, and ever ready to embark on a career of riot and destruction.



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN SESSION

This shows the old House of Commons which was destroyed by fire in 1834.

The "People's Charter." A movement known as Chartism appeared among the lower classes. A People's Charter was drawn up and presented as a petition to Parliament in 1839 signed, it was said, by over a million persons. It demanded nothing less than complete democracy. The chief points of the Charter were manhood suffrage, secret ballot, salaries for members of Parliament, equal electoral districts, a one-year instead of a seven-year term for members of Parliament, and abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament. The petition was overwhelmingly rejected. It was again presented in 1842, and was again rejected. Both Conservatives and Liberals united to keep the workingmen out of political life.

Failure of the Chartist movement. For about a decade the Chartist agitation continued fast and furious. The scenes leading to the Reform Bill of 1832 were repeated on a larger scale. Monster mass meetings, parades, petitions, pamphlets, and riots frightened many into the belief that a revolution was impending. The Revolution of 1848 in Paris had an electric effect upon the Chartists, and they determined to overawe Parliament by a great demonstration. A petition demanding the enactment of the Charter, signed with millions of names, was to be presented to Parliament by a procession of half a million men. There was great alarm in England, and the Duke of Wellington was recalled from his retirement and put in command of a voluntary force of special constables. The petition was rejected by Parliament but no revolution followed, only sporadic rioting which was easily suppressed.

Movement to extend the franchise. Although it failed, Chartism did bring vividly to mind the idea of enfranchising the working class. A new generation of Liberal statesmen, led by William E. Gladstone, refused to accept the Reform Bill of 1832 as a finality. A new generation of Conservatives, led by Benjamin Disraeli, believed that the masses, if enfranchised, would look to the aristocracy for leadership.

Reform Bill of 1867. In 1866 Gladstone, as leader of a Liberal House of Commons, introduced a measure reducing the property qualification for voting in such a manner as to give the vote to some of the workingmen. This moderate bill was defeated by a combination of those who wanted no extension of the franchise and those who thought the bill too moderate. Mass meetings and

rioting followed the defeat of Gladstone's bill, and the days of Chartism seemed to return. A Conservative ministry was formed in which Disraeli was the most prominent figure. If the Liberals, the party of reform, would not extend the franchise, surely the Conservatives would not. So every one thought. But such was not to be the case. In 1867 Disraeli introduced a measure which went much further than that of Gladstone, and to the great surprise of every one it actually became law. A popular cartoon of the day depicted a little boy marked "Disraeli" running away with clothes marked "Liberal principles" belonging to the distressed-looking Liberal who is bathing in a river.

The Reform Bill of 1867 did not establish universal suffrage. It reduced the property qualification for voting in order to enfranchise the workingmen in the cities. The agricultural laborers were not included because the Conservatives feared that they might use the ballot against the interests of the landed aristocracy. However, as it doubled the number of voters the Bill was another substantial installment of democracy.

THE QUEEN

Queen Victoria (1819-1901). During most of this period of political reform the reigning monarch was Queen Victoria. She ascended the throne in 1837, a girl of eighteen, and was hailed with enthusiasm by all classes. Shortly afterward she married a German prince, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, who became "Prince-Consort," not "King." Their married life was a supremely happy one, and the domestic virtues of the royal pair were an inspiration to all England.

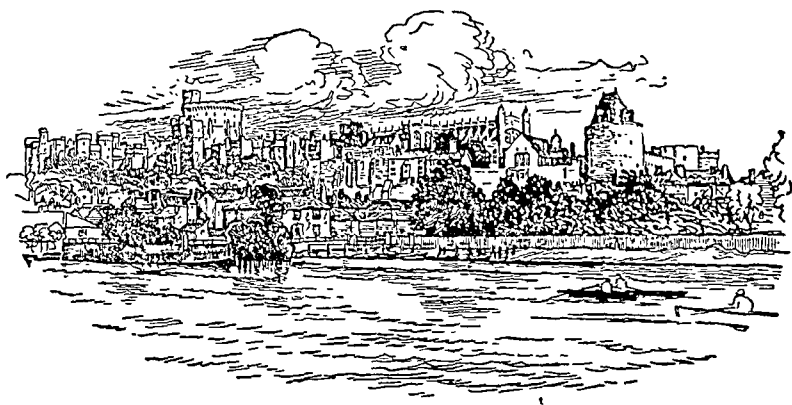
The Victorian Age. Victoria's long reign was a notable one. The Victorian Age rivals the Elizabethan and the Age of Louis XIV in its achievements in all fields of human endeavor. In statesmanship Gladstone, Disraeli, and Sir Robert Peel; in literature, Browning, Tennyson, Dickens, Thackeray, and Matthew Arnold; in history, Macaulay and Freeman; in science, Darwin and Huxley; these are only a few of the illustrious names that gave glory and renown to her reign.

Influence of the Queen. Victoria ideally fulfilled the requirements of an English monarch of the nineteenth century. Although she kept strictly within constitutional bounds, she was no figurehead. Nothing important was done by the government



Victoria R.P.

without consulting her; and more than once her views had a decisive influence on policies. In the early days of her reign her favorite minister was Lord Melbourne who undertook the political education of the Queen. In later days her favorite minister was Disraeli, whom she much admired and for whom she had a deep affection. Victoria was not a great queen in the same sense that Elizabeth and Catherine II were, for she neither initiated nor carried out great policies. Her ability was ordinary and her point of view rather commonplace; but she was industrious, well-intentioned, and above all high-minded.



WINDSOR CASTLE

One of the residences of British royalty.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why was not the French Revolution as influential in England as on the Continent?
2. Why did the political philosophers of the eighteenth century regard England "as the home of political freedom and liberty"?
3. "The Government of England before the Reform Bill of 1832 might be described as a government of the people, by the landlords, for the landlords." Explain.
4. How was the House of Commons subservient to the House of Lords before 1832?
5. Why did the manufacturers favor reform? Why did the workingmen favor it? Why did the Lords oppose it?
6. In what sense was the Reform Bill a triumph for radicalism? In what sense for conservatism?
7. What is the connection between the French Revolution of 1830 and the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832?

8. What were the chief provisions of the Bill? What is the importance of the Bill in English history?
9. Among the French an institution that has lost its usefulness is destroyed; but among the English it is paralyzed. Apply this statement to the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1830, and to the Reform Bill of 1832.
10. The English aristocracy is conservative, the French reactionary. What is the difference? Give examples.
11. What was the difference between the English and the American methods of abolishing slavery?
12. Why did manufacturers employ women and children? Why did economists oppose factory reforms?
13. What were the main ideas of the Manchester school of economists? How did their ideas differ from Colbert's?
14. Why did the English manufacturer of the early nineteenth century favor free trade? Why are many of them opposed to it to-day? Why did the landed aristocrats of the early nineteenth century favor protection? Who were the leading advocates of free trade? What were their arguments?
15. After the abolition of the Corn Laws, "the economic life of the world pivoted upon England." Explain. Why not to-day?
16. Why were the workingmen disappointed by the Reform Bill of 1832? Explain what is meant by Chartism. How was it a failure? A success?
17. In England suffrage was granted by installments. Explain. What installment was made in 1867? What classes remained without the vote after 1867?
18. What is meant by the Victorian Age?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- OLD ENGLAND. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 28-37; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 406-22; Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, pp. 905-14; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 239-45.
- THE GREAT REFORM BILL. Hayes, II, pp. 104-10; Hazen, pp. 428-38; Cross, pp. 914-18.
- ERA OF REFORM. Hayes, II, pp. 88-91, 112-16, 283-85; Hazen, pp. 422-28, 439-44, 455-64; Cross, pp. 918-26, 936-38; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 266-86, 289-92.
- FREE TRADE. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, chs. XIV-XV; Hazen, pp. 450-55; Cross, pp. 940-47; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 286-89; Day, *History of Commerce*, ch. XXXVI.
- CHARTISM. Hayes, II, pp. 110-12; McCarthy, I, ch. v, pp. 278-89; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 245-54; Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, pp. 174-78.
- THE VICTORIAN AGE. Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 85-88; McCarthy, I, ch. XXIX; II, ch. LXVII; Cross, pp. 1039-52.

CHAPTER XXXII

AUTOCRACY IN RUSSIA

ALEXANDER I

The Russian Empire, its geography. The Russian Empire was the largest contiguous territory in the world under one flag. It was an immense stretch, facing the Pacific in the East and the Baltic in the West, and constituted about one sixth of the land surface of the globe. Asiatic Russia, or Siberia, is an ice-bound, sparsely inhabited region and, except for certain fertile valleys, unfit for human habitation. European Russia is a vast, undulating plain traversed by large rivers, the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper, and resembles the Middle West of the United States.

Its many races. The population of the empire in 1914 was about 170,000,000 of which 10,000,000 lived in Siberia. It was composed of many races, the inhabitants of lands that had been annexed by conquest. The dominant race, the Russian, constituted a majority of the population, and was subdivided into Great Russians and Little Russians, or Ukrainians. Next in importance were the Poles who lived mainly in Poland, though many were to be found in Lithuania and in Little Russia which had once belonged to the Kingdom of Poland. Numerous smaller groups dwelt in the dominions of the Tsar. Lithuania was inhabited by Lithuanians and Poles; the Baltic provinces, by Letts and Germans; Finland, by Finns and Swedes; and in every case the first were the majority, generally poor, serf-like peasants who were lorded over by the second in the manner of medieval barons. In the Caucasus there lived a medley of races, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, and Turks. Rumanians were to be found in Bessarabia. On the steppes in southern Russia were the Cossacks, mainly Russian by race, who lived a life apart either as soldiers in special regiments or as cowboys on the plains. Fully one half of the Jews of the world, about five million, were under the Russian flag. They lived mainly in Lithuania, in Poland, and in Little Russia.

Russia, landlocked. During the nineteenth century Russian history was largely concerned with two movements; one, revolu-

tionary, which sought to destroy the autocratic government and to liberate the masses who were still serfs; the other, expansionist. At first sight it seemed strange that Russia, with her large territory, should desire more land; but in all her territory Russia had not a single seaport that was ice-free all year round. In time of war she could be easily blockaded in the Mediterranean by the power that controlled the Straits, and in the Baltic by the power that controlled the outlet to the North Sea. Although Russia lay sprawling over two continents, she was landlocked.

Alexander I. Russia emerged from the Congress of Vienna a great European power. She was both feared and admired by the despots of the Restoration as a semi-Oriental monarchy that controlled vast hordes of slavish people who could be used to stem the tide of revolution. Tsar Alexander I had been a sworn enemy of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, and his part in the Napoleonic Wars and in the Congress of Vienna has already been described. However, he tried to model himself on the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century, and not on the vengeful despots of the Restoration. At home Alexander displayed a liberal spirit, especially to the Poles and Finns to whom he granted local autonomy. Abroad he tried to convince his fellow monarchs to rule in a Christian spirit by forming the Holy Alliance. Privately the Tsar was ridiculed by the diplomats as a man who lacked common sense, but they humored and flattered him because they needed his armies. Alexander's ideal of the Holy Alliance was that of a league of nations bound together in Christian fellowship, but the revolutionary movement of 1820 frightened him, and he was persuaded by Metternich, against his inclinations, to help transform the Alliance into an agency of international repression. He died in 1825 "crushed beneath the terrible burden of a crown." There was a rumor that Alexander did not die in 1825, but that he retired and lived on for many years as a religious hermit.

THE NICHOLAS SYSTEM

The Decembrist uprising. Alexander left no children. His successor was to be his brother Constantine, but the latter had renounced the throne in favor of his younger brother, Nicholas. Even in far-away Russia did the French Revolution make itself heard, though in faint, dying echoes. There were many liberal-minded men among the educated classes who dreamed that even

Russia might be started on the road to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity if only a constitution were granted to her. A conspiracy was formed by the liberals to seat Constantine on the throne as a constitutional monarch. In December, 1825, a body of troops, who had been won over by the liberals, rose and demanded "Constantine and the Constitution." So ignorant were the soldiers of the very meaning of democratic government that they actually thought that "Constitution" was Constantine's wife. The "Decembrists," as the conspirators were called, were ruthlessly suppressed by Nicholas who was proclaimed Tsar.

Nicholas's crusade against liberalism. The Decembrist uprising was the first faint flicker of the revolutionary movement in



NICHOLAS I

Russia which was to have such momentous consequences for Russia and for the world. Nicholas was alarmed. Had the evil revolutionary spirit of Western Europe entered the body of Holy Russia? He determined to eradicate all liberal ideas at all costs and by all means. The reign of Nicholas I is a dark period in Russian history, and the Nicholas System rivaled the Metternich System in its policy of ruthless repression. The utterance of an unguarded word or the reading of a forbidden book brought swift and terrible punishment. The schools were carefully watched by spies and censors. Lest foreign influ-

ences corrupt good Russians they were forbidden to travel or study abroad without special permission; and foreigners and foreign books were carefully scrutinized before they were allowed to enter Russia. A political inquisition, notorious as the Third Section, was organized with power to arrest without warrant and punish without trial.

Persecution of non-Russians. No one was regarded as a true Russian by Nicholas unless he was of the Russian race, an adherent of absolutism, and a member of the Orthodox Church. As a consequence the Tsar encouraged a policy of racial and religious persecution. Dissenters from the Orthodox Church, Catholics, and Jews were harried in many ways. Some were forcibly converted; children were torn from their families and sent to military schools to be educated in "true" Russian beliefs. As has already been told he savagely suppressed the Polish rebellion of 1831.

Failure of Nicholas. Nicholas's heavy hand was felt outside as well as inside of Russia. He was the friend in need to sorely tried despots; and during the Revolution of 1848¹ he became the policeman of Europe. It was his armies that crushed the Hungarians and rehabilitated the Hapsburgs. He waged two wars with Turkey, one in 1828 and the other, the Crimean War,² in 1853, partly to liberate the Christians and partly to make himself lord of the Near East. He died in 1855, disappointed and embittered at seeing his designs balked by the Western powers, whom he despised. His great ambition had been to suppress Western influences in Russia, and to restore the spirit and traditions of the people as they had been before the reforms of Peter the Great. Nicholas had reigned for a generation, yet Russian history tells of nothing good that he accomplished though he was highly esteemed in his day as a man of great ability and sterling honesty.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS

Defeat awakens Russia. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War set many Russians thinking of their country's institutions, just as the crushing defeat at Jena had set the Prussians thinking of theirs. Had not the trial by battle proved the superiority of the institutions of Western Europe? Was it then not Russia's duty to reform herself in order to prevent future disasters? An era of reform followed the Crimean War comparable to that set in motion in the eighteenth century by Peter the Great.

Alexander II. Alexander II, the son of Nicholas, was not at all like his father. He was a humane, generous, liberal-minded

¹ See page 411.

² See page 393.

man, yet cautious and prudent. progress and enlightenment, and

Alexander's reign was one of his name is forever associated with the greatest reform in Russian history, the emancipation of the serfs.



ALEXANDER II

Serfdom. Serfdom as an institution began during the disintegration of the Roman Empire and flourished throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. In Western Europe it began to disappear slowly during the fourteenth century, but it was not entirely abolished until the French Revolution which, directly and indirectly, gave the death-blow to this evil heritage of former days. But in Russia serfdom continued to exist until well along the second half of the nineteenth century!

Before the emancipation of the serfs the land system in Russia was not very different from the manorial system of medieval Europe. The land was owned by great lords and cultivated by peasants, most of whom were serfs who owed the lord dues and services. Part of the estate was divided into small farms and cultivated directly by the peasants; the remainder was reserved to the lord and worked by his serfs as part of their services. The serf was not a citizen with civil rights; the proprietor was not only his master but his judge and his governor as well. The Russian lord had even more power over his serf than had the medieval lord; he could draft him into the national army, and he could exile him to Siberia.

Serfdom was recognized as an evil institution by enlightened opinion in Russia, even by many landlords. To some it was shocking that the Russian people should be in bondage to a few of their own compatriots. Others thought that it would be prudent for the government itself to abolish the institution lest it

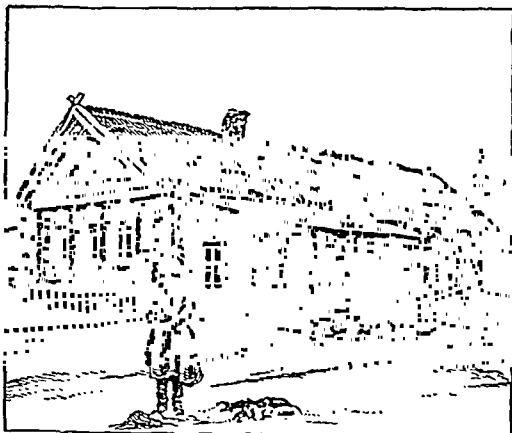
be overthrown by an upheaval from below. Sporadic uprisings of the peasants were constantly taking place which, though easily suppressed, were nevertheless warnings of what might happen.

Alexander issues Law of Emancipation. Alexander determined upon emancipation. Being a prudent man he realized that he must have the coöperation of the proprietors to put the reform through, otherwise a civil war might follow. He therefore appointed committees of officials and proprietors to study the question and to suggest ways and means for solving it. Acting upon their recommendations he issued, on March 3, 1861, the first Emancipation Law, the Magna Charta of the Russian peasantry.¹

Provisions of the law. On what terms were the serfs liberated? (1) They were declared citizens with full civil rights; (2) they were given legal ownership of the buildings, the cattle, and the implements that they had been using; and (3) they were allotted land. The last provision is of *great* importance. Once free, how were the peasants to gain a livelihood? was the natural question. By tilling the soil as they had been doing for ages, was the natural answer. But how were the peasants to get land, all of which was owned by the lords? Surely not through confiscation as in the French Revolution, for the Tsar was determined that under no circumstances would property rights be violated. The following was the plan adopted. About half of the estate was allotted to the peasants in small farms for which the lord was paid full compensation by the government. But the peasant did not get the land free; he was obliged to pay for his emancipation in the form of a special annual tax to the government called the Redemption Tax. The land was not given directly to each peasant but to the *mir*, which was to divide it among the peasants in lots according to the size of their families. The *mir* was an association of heads of peasant families that regulated local affairs in the village, especially in matters pertaining to the ownership of land and to methods of cultivating the soil. It was also used by the government as a convenient agency to collect taxes from the peasants.

¹ Emancipation was accomplished by a series of decrees, the last one issued in 1866. In all about 23,000,000 serfs, together with their wives and children, were freed.

Disappointment of the peasants. The Emancipation Law was a bitter disappointment to the peasants who had hoped that large farms would be given them free of all charges. What irritated them most was that they were required to pay for the farms that they had been cultivating for centuries and which they had always regarded as their own. "We are yours but the land is ours," they would say to the proprietors. Moreover the farms that the peasants received when freed were actually smaller and



A RUSSIAN PEASANT'S HOUSE IN A VILLAGE NEAR LENINGRAD

poorer than the farms that they had cultivated when serfs. The lords had kept the best lands for themselves. The fact that he was now a free citizen meant little more to the peasant than that "he now had the right to die on his own property." Rumors spread that a second emancipation was coming which would give the freedmen more land; and when none came, serious riots broke out which were suppressed

with difficulty. After Emancipation one cry was constantly heard in the Russian countryside, "More Land." The peasants could not make a living for their large families on their tiny farms, which they cultivated in very old-fashioned ways, knowing little of modern scientific agriculture. They were ready to follow any leader, any party, that promised them more land. It is impossible to understand the revolutionary movements in 1905 and in 1917 without understanding the land problems created by the Emancipation Law.

Political and educational reforms. Defective as it was the Emancipation Law was yet a great step of progress, for it liberated the mass of the Russian people. The Tsar-Liberator decided on other reforms. He issued a new code of civil and criminal laws based upon the best models of Western Europe. He established a system of local government. Russian education was reorganized

and an excellent system of secondary schools, modeled on that of the gymnasia of Germany, was introduced. Censorship of the press was greatly relaxed. The laws against the non-Russians were not enforced. Religious persecution ceased. Alexander wished to rule his people in the spirit of a father; at times he considered the idea of granting a constitution.

Assassination of Alexander. But the reforms, instead of allaying discontent, increased it. The revolutionary movement spread rapidly with growing violence and several attempts were made upon the life of the Tsar. This wave of discontent troubled Alexander greatly and sometimes he gave ear to the reactionary voices that told him to govern like Nicholas. He began to forsake his liberalism by reviving the censorship. In 1863 a rebellion broke out in Poland, which was easily suppressed. As in 1831¹ imprisonment, exile, confiscation, and execution were visited upon the conquered Poles. The Polish rebellion as well as the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 had the effect of distracting Alexander's mind from the problem of a free Russia. The terrorists determined to assassinate him, and in 1881 the Tsar was blown almost to pieces by a bomb that was hurled at him. The liberal-minded Tsar-Liberator paid with his life for the sins of his fathers.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why was Russia virtually landlocked in spite of possessing considerable coast line?
2. How do you account for the change of Alexander I from liberal to reactionary?
3. Describe the Nicholas System of repression.
4. Russia after Sebastopol was like Prussia after Jena. Explain.
5. Why did serfdom exist in Russia longer than in the countries of Western Europe?
6. Why was emancipation a disappointment to the Russian peasant?
7. What reforms did Alexander II introduce?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

ALEXANDER I. Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, I, chs. IV-XIII; Rambaud, *History of Russia*, II, chs. XIII-XIV; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, chs. I-II.

NICHOLAS I AND HIS SYSTEM. Kornilov, I, chs. XIV-XIX; Kropotkin,

¹ See page 360.

Memoirs of a Revolutionist, part I, ch. ix; Zilliacus, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement*, ch. II; Rambaud, III, chs. I-III; Skrine, ch. v.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS. Kornilov, II, chs. xx-xxiv; Kropotkin, part I, ch. viii, part II, ch. viii; Zilliacus, ch. III; Rambaud, III, pp. 212-34; Wallace, *Russia*, chs. xxviii-xxix; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 245-52; Skrine, pp. 178-91.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION (1815-78)

RACES IN THE NEAR EAST

Advance of the Turks in Europe. Long after the western part of the Roman Empire had disintegrated, the eastern part, the capital of which was Constantinople, continued to maintain itself. For centuries the Eastern Empire, as it is called, was battling for existence against Slavic hordes from the North who were invading the Balkan region, and especially against Mohammedan tribes from the East who seized the Asiatic possessions of the Empire and were constantly making attacks on Constantinople. In one sense the Crusades were relief expeditions sent out by the Western Christians to save that citadel of Christendom from falling into Mohammedan hands. Finally, in 1453, Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks, a fact of immense importance in the history of Europe. It created the Near Eastern Question, which has been the cause of many wars and culminated in the World War.

Constantinople, once in their hands, the Turks rapidly advanced upon Europe, and for several centuries the Turkish menace continued to frighten Christian Europe. In 1683 they laid siege to Vienna but were driven away. Thereafter slowly, very slowly, they were forced back, largely through the efforts of the Hapsburgs, upon whom fell the duty of defending Europe against the Mohammedans. In 1815 the entire Balkan peninsula was still in the hands of the Turks, and it is the fate of this region that constitutes the Near Eastern Question.

Turkey, home of many races. Although the Balkan peninsula was known as Turkey and had been part of the Turkish Empire for over three centuries, the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants (about ninety per cent) were not Turks. In number and variety not even the racial groups in the Hapsburg dominions could compare with those in the Balkans. Only the most important can be described here. The Yugo-Slavs, or Southern Slavs, living mainly in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, are of Slavic descent and speech, and are closely related.

to the Croats and Slovenes in the former Hapsburg Empire. The Bulgarians are Slavic in speech and partly Slavic in origin. The Rumanians speak a Latin tongue, and are the descendants of the Slavic invaders and of the Roman colonists who had settled in the region in ancient times. The Greeks proudly believe themselves to be the descendants of the ancient Hellenes; in reality they are largely a mixture of Slav and Hellenes. The Albanians are a nomadic, warlike people living in mountainous Albania. Scattered all over the peninsula and in many places in Asia Minor are the Armenians, the remnants of an ancient folk speaking an ancient tongue of their own. In some of the cities, especially in Saloniki, dwell Spanish-speaking Jews, descendants of those who were driven out of Spain by the Inquisition.



Character of the Turks. Although a small minority, the Turks were the dominant race. Between them and the rest of the population, differences in origin, religion, and social position made an impassable gulf. The Turks were of Asiatic origin, the subject

racés, chiefly European; the former were Mohammedans, the latter Christians;¹ and socially the former were landed aristocrats and civil and military officials, whereas the latter were peasants and small merchants. Although the Turks and their Christian subjects had lived side by side for centuries the only relation between them was that of conqueror and conquered. On the part of the Turks there was the deepest contempt for the Christians, whom they called "herds of cattle"; on the part of the Christians there was hatred and fear of their masters.

Subjection of the Christians. How did the Turks manage to maintain their domination? (1) *By terror.* All expressions of discontent were suppressed with a ruthlessness and ferocity that was appalling. Systematic massacres were organized by the government to terrorize the inhabitants into submission. (2) *By the old method of divide and rule.* The Christian nations in the Balkans hated the Turks, but they hated each other even more. Rivalries and jealousies among them would break out into bitter quarrels and occasionally lead to war. Bulgarians and Serbs were sworn enemies; so were Serbs and Greeks; likewise Rumanians and Bulgarians. A story is related of a Balkan prince that one day God appeared to him in a dream and asked him to name any favor that he wished to see conferred on his people, but on the condition that double this favor be given to a rival people. "Then, O Lord, strike my people blind of one eye," was the reply of the prince. The Turks took advantage of the jealousies of their subjects by setting one nation against another; in this way they prevented a union of all of them against themselves.

Corruption and inefficiency of Turkish rule. At the head of the Turkish government was the sultan, who was an absolute monarch. His rule became a by-word for incompetence and corruption. Bribery was almost universal; public money entrusted to officials found its way into their private pockets. In parts of the Empire lawless bands roamed at will murdering and robbing unwary travelers. Curiously enough the government permitted full freedom of worship to all faiths. Each religious group had an

¹ Nearly all the Christians are members of the Greek Church, which is neither Catholic nor Protestant, but the church of those who acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In doctrine and ritual it is almost identical with the Orthodox Church in Russia. The rule of the Patriarch is nominal, for each Balkan State has a national church which is self-governing.

officially recognized chief, and it was given a considerable degree of self-government. There was little interference with the customs, laws, traditions, and languages of the various subject nationalities. The Turks made no attempt to unify the country through the establishment of common laws or a common administration; nor did they teach a common language and a common national ideal. They cared neither to assimilate their subjects nor be assimilated by them. The Turks came into Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century an Asiatic tribe; and an Asiatic tribe they still were at the beginning of the twentieth. They prided themselves on being a superior people.

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Rivalry of England and Russia in the Near East. The Near



"WHAT NICHOLAS HEARD IN THE SHELL"

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in *Punch* for June 10, 1854. The Tsar is holding a bombshell to his ear to which he listens as children do to sea-shells. Meanwhile he sees a vision of armed men.

Eastern Question had three aspects: (1) the oppression of the Christians by the Turkish government; (2) the rivalries among the Balkan nations; and (3) the intervention of the powers in the affairs of Turkey. Time and again was Europe involved in bloody wars over the Balkans. Why? Is the region rich in natural resources, in coal, iron, copper, and oil? Is it highly developed, agriculturally or industrially? On the contrary it has little or no natural resources, and is a poor, backward land inhabited mainly by ignorant peasants and herdsmen. The importance of the peninsula lies entirely in its geographical situation; *it is the gateway*

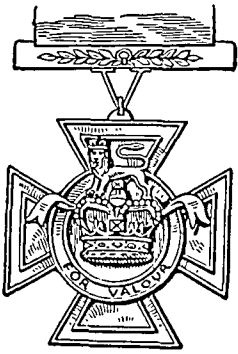
to the East and the way to the eastern Mediterranean. Until the end of the nineteenth century it was Russia and England that were most deeply concerned over the fate of Turkey. From the days of Peter the Great to those of Nicholas II, Russia had her eye fixed upon Constantinople which was her key to the Mediterranean because of its command of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Once the city was in Russia's hands she would no longer fear being bottled up in time of war, hence she was the inveterate and watchful enemy of Turkey, bent upon her destruction. England's policy, on the contrary, aimed to maintain the integrity of Turkey, not indeed because she cared for the Turks but because she desired to safeguard the route to India. Turkey was not strong enough to attack India, but Russia was; and possession of Constantinople would give her an excellent opportunity to do so. More than once was Turkey saved from the destroying hand of Russia by the timely intervention of England.

Russia plans to partition Turkey. The Greek War of Independence, already described,¹ was the first step in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Russia had been active in helping the Greeks, which aroused hopes among the Slavic subjects of the Sultan. Why should not the big Slav nation come to the aid of her "little Slav brothers," who were groaning under Mohammedan tyranny? A crusade against Turkey to rescue Constantinople, the cradle of the Greek faith, from the hands of the infidels, would arouse the enthusiasm of the devout Russian masses. Before long the Sultan realized that Russian policy in the Near East had one implacable aim, the disintegration of Turkey.

The Crimean War (1853-56). The Crimean War began in 1853, and its immediate cause was a religious dispute. The holy places in Palestine, sacred because of their connection with the life of Christ, were under the jurisdiction of the Christians. A quarrel arose between monks of the Catholic Church and those of the Greek Church over the control of the holy places. France came to the side of the Catholic, and Russia to the side of the Greek Church. Russia demanded of the Sultan that he grant her a protectorate of all subjects of the Greek Church. The Sultan refused, and fighting began. What followed was almost a general European war. To the side of Turkey came England, France,

¹ See pages 353 and 354.

and Sardinia. The motives of the Allies were mixed and peculiar.



THE VICTORIA
CROSS

Instituted in 1856.

England feared that a Russian victory would mean the seizure of Constantinople. Moreover Lord Palmerston, who was the most influential member of the ministry, believed that England had been too long at peace, and that a war would brace her up. Napoleon III joined Turkey because Tsar Nicholas, who had a low opinion of the Emperor, had addressed him as "My dear Friend," instead of "My Brother," the customary salutation among monarchs. Napoleon also felt that a successful war against Russia would make his régime popular. Sardinia joined Turkey for reasons that had no connection whatever with the Near Eastern Question. Cavour

saw an opportunity in this conflict to help the cause of Italian unity. By becoming associated with the great powers in war Sardinia would be represented in the peace conference, where she would plead the need of a united Italy before assembled Europe.

The Allies determined to attack Russia, and invaded Crimea, which became the theater of the entire conflict. The conduct of the war was as ignoble as its origin was frivolous. Incompetent generals recklessly led their troops to slaughter. A famous instance is the charge made by a brigade of about six hundred English soldiers against the Russian army. They obeyed the order of their commander, and many of them were slaughtered. This "Charge of the Light Brigade" was made famous by Tennyson in a poem which celebrates the



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

was made famous by Tennyson in a poem which celebrates the

heroism of the doomed men. The English commissariat and medical service broke down and thousands of soldiers died of disease, of cold, of hunger, and of neglect. An English nurse, Florence Nightingale, attracted world-wide attention through her activities on behalf of the soldiers. Like an angel of light she went among the stricken men braving death and disease. She displayed great efficiency in organizing a nursing corps which helped the army to battle with death inside its ranks. The activities of Florence Nightingale created a new profession for women, that of nursing, and later inspired the establishment of the famous Red Cross.

Fighting ceased with the taking of the great fortress of Sebastopol. The Congress of Paris was called, and the powers of Europe met to solve the Near Eastern Question. It accomplished nothing; the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1856, contained no important provision in reference to the Balkans.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

Triumph of Turkey. Turkey had emerged from the Crimean War triumphant and respected. Her great enemy, Russia, had been defeated; her territorial integrity and independence had been officially recognized by the powers. The Sultan promised to be generous to his Christian subjects and to reform his methods of government. For a while there was quiet in the Near East, but not for long. The independence gained by the Greeks, and the autonomy by the Serbs and by the Rumanians encouraged the others to try to throw off the Turkish yoke.

The Bulgarian massacres. In 1875 the peasants in Herzegovina, ground to earth by taxes and by cruel officials, rose in rebellion. This was a signal for a general uprising in the Balkans, and soon the region was the scene of a ferocious struggle between Christians and Mohammedans. A new sultan, Abdul Hamid II, came to the throne in 1876, and he proved himself a determined and resourceful despot. Turkish troops were turned loose among the Bulgarians who were especially active in the uprising. They fell upon men, women, and children, with fire and sword. Whole villages, inhabitants and all, were burned, and frightful cruelties were visited upon those who fell into their hands. The murderous conduct of the Turkish forces inflamed all Europe. Gladstone vehemently denounced the Bulgarian atrocities and demanded that the Christian nations band together to drive the "unspeakable Turk" out of Europe, "bag and baggage."

The Russo-Turkish War (1877-78). Naturally enough the Balkans cried for the help of the "big Slav brother." Tsar Alexander II, mindful of the Crimean War, emphatically declared that Russia had no intention of seizing Constantinople and asked the other powers to join her in war against Turkey. But none of them stirred. To be morally indignant was considered sufficient. Russia then decided to undertake the task herself; and, in 1877, she declared war against Turkey. Russian armies laid siege to Plevna, a strategic fortress, and it became the principal scene of the Russo-Turkish War. After a desperate defense Plevna capitulated, and the Russian armies marched forward rapidly and were before the very doors of Constantinople. Abdul Hamid decided to yield, and he signed a treaty of peace with Russia at San Stefano. This Treaty is important although it was not carried out. Its chief provisions were: (1) Bulgaria was created an autonomous state under Turkish sovereignty, and its boundaries included Bulgaria proper, Eastern Rumelia, and Macedonia; and (2) nearly all the rest of Turkey in Europe was divided among the various Balkan nations who were to be independent. The Near Eastern Question seemed solved.

Intervention of England. At this juncture England, fearing Russia's influence, demanded the abrogation of the Treaty of San Stefano on the ground that the division of Turkish territory should be made by a European congress. The war spirit flamed up in England, and in the music halls of London people were vociferously singing:

"We don't want to fight
But by Jingo if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships
We've got the money too."

An English fleet in the harbor of Constantinople served as a hint to the Russians. Austria seconded England's demand because she was deeply concerned over the appearance of independent Slavic nations to whom many of her Slavic subjects were related. The creation of a Greater Bulgaria aroused the jealousies of the Serbs and the Greeks, who themselves claimed Macedonia, for the region contains Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, and other races. Russia, fearing a coalition against her as in the days of the Crimean War, abrogated the Treaty of San Stefano.

Congress of Berlin. A European Congress was convened in Berlin in 1878. It was attended by many famous statesmen, among them Bismarck, who was its chairman, and Disraeli, who was its most influential member. At last the Near Eastern Question was to be solved by assembled Europe. Had not Turkey been defeated? Had not Russia yielded?

Provisions of Treaty of Berlin. The provisions of the Treaty of Berlin are important. Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania were declared independent. Bulgaria proper was recognized as an autonomous state under the Sultan; Eastern Rumelia was also given autonomy. Austria was given the right to occupy and "administer" Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was to remain under Turkish sovereignty. England was given the right to occupy Cyprus.

Problems unsolved by the Treaty. The Congress of Berlin marks an important step in the dismemberment of Turkey, though she retained a large part of her European territory, Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace. But the nations that emerged from Turkey were bitterly disappointed with the Treaty. All believed that they were not given sufficient territory; and all were right, as the Congress was more concerned with the interests of the powers than with those of the Balkan nations. Bulgaria continued to dream of the Greater Bulgaria, promised by the Treaty of San Stefano, and hated Serbia and Greece for thwarting her plans. Serbia and Montenegro, sister nations, were deliberately separated by a tongue of Turkish land called Novi-Bazar. The Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina aroused the bitterest opposition of the Serbs, who had hoped to get these provinces, inhabited mainly by people of their race.

"I bring you peace with honor," boasted Disraeli when he returned to England. But time was to prove that England in backing Turkey had "put her money on the wrong horse." Turkey was still in Europe "bag and baggage," and more than ever convinced that her safety lay in the rivalry of the powers.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What were the differences between the Turks and their subject races? How did the Turks maintain their domination? What European state did the Turkish Empire resemble? Why?
2. The Turks "were in reality an army of occupation encamped on European soil." Justify the statement.

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3. Why did Russia favor the dismemberment of Turkey? Why did England oppose it?
4. Why did each of the following oppose Russia in the Crimean War; France, England, Sardinia? Direct results? Indirect results?
5. Who was Florence Nightingale? With what modern organization is her name identified?
6. What were the immediate causes of the Russo-Turkish War? What were its real causes?
7. It has been said that had the Treaty of San Stefano been accepted by the European powers, the Near Eastern Question would have been solved. Do you agree or disagree? Why?
8. The Berlin Treaty of 1878 planted the seeds of future war in the Near East. Justify the statement.

Map questions. (See maps on pages 390 and 528.) Locate Crimea, Sebastopol, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnia, Macedonia, Bessarabia, Novi-Bazar, and Eastern Rumelia.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- THE TURKS IN THE NEAR EAST. Davis, *Short History of the Near East*, chs. XIX-XXII; Rose, *Development of the European Nations*, I, pp. 184-90.
- THE CRIMEAN WAR. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, III, chs. IV-VIII; Wallace, *Russia*, ch. XXVII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 389-94; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, ch. XXI; McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, chs. XXV-XXVIII; Davis, ch. XXVIII; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 148-60.
- THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR. Rambaud, III, chs. XIII-XV; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 394-98; Davis, ch. XXX; Fyffe, ch. XXV; McCarthy, II, chs. LXIV-LXV; Rose, I, chs. VIII-IX; Skrine, pp. 243-64.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

GERMANY'S POLITICAL BACKWARDNESS

Nationalism and democracy not achieved by Germany. Although Germany has shared the common heritage of European civilization, her political development has been markedly different from that of England and France. The startling facts about Germany are, that it was not until 1871 that she became a nation, and that it was not until 1919 that she became a democracy; the first as a result of three bloody wars, and the second as a result of the most terrible war in all history, the World War. Why? Is it because, as some say, that Germans are naturally less competent in matters political than Americans, Englishmen, or Frenchmen? That cannot be true as Germans have given ample evidence of great ability in the art of government. The true reason for Germany's slowness in achieving nationalism and democracy lies in the peculiarity of her history. In the Middle Ages the Holy Roman Empire had created a condition of affairs wherein the seed of nationalism could not be easily planted; and if planted, would not grow. The Thirty Years' War was largely a civil war in Germany, and it left that country more divided than ever. Consequently at the end of the eighteenth century, when England and France were already nations, Germany was still divided into its original medieval pieces.

Provincialism of the masses. It has been the history of almost every country in Europe that the solidarity of the people preceded the sovereignty of the people; modern democracy cannot take root except in the rich and fertile soil of nationalism. This was especially true of England and France, which had been nations a long time before they became democracies in the nineteenth century. But this solidarity did not characterize the German people. A people divided in their allegiance as were the Germans meant a people divided in their energies. The various states exhausted themselves in quarreling with one another, and consequently had no energy left to struggle for democracy. Moreover, the mass of Germans at the end of the eighteenth century regarded their princes with affection and loyalty. This is

humorously described by the poet Heine in the following manner: "In those days the princes were not overworked mortals as they are to-day. Their crowns sat very firmly on their heads, and at night they just drew their nightcaps over them, and slept in peace, while peacefully at their feet slept their peoples; and when these woke up in the morning they said, 'Good-morning, Father,' and the princes replied, 'Good-morning, dear children!'"

Cosmopolitanism of the cultured. The highly educated Germans of those days, the Goethes, the Kants, the Lessings, the von Humboldts, regarded nationalism as a narrow ideal and proudly considered themselves "citizens of the world." "The love of country," declared Lessing, "is a sentiment which I do not understand. It is, as it seems to me, at best a heroic infirmity which I am most happy in not sharing."

Influence of the War of Liberation. The French Revolution and Napoleon's consolidations exercised a profound influence upon Germany. Democracy and nationalism crossed the Rhine and awakened among the Germans a desire for liberty and union. During the War of Liberation a movement arose for a free and independent Germany that spread far and wide. In order to get popular support the princes held out promises of popular government, which they failed to redeem when they were no longer hard pressed by Napoleon.

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

Weak character of the Confederation. The German Confederation, organized by the Congress of Vienna, consisted of thirty-eight sovereign states. It was a very loose union, not unlike that of the American states under the Articles of Confederation, possessing only a weak common legislature, called the Diet, which met in Frankfort under the presidency of Austria. This body consisted of delegates appointed and instructed as to how they should vote by the princes of the various states. The states were virtually independent nations, having their own tariffs, laws, diplomacy, and coinage. Although they agreed not to make war upon one another, they were constantly intriguing, making alliances and counter-alliances, humiliating some members and exalting others. The Confederation became a center of intrigue, a plaything for the princes, but a sore disappointment to patriotic Germans who had hoped for a free and united fatherland.

Nationalism and democracy. During the nineteenth century Germany, like Italy, was profoundly influenced by two political currents, democracy and nationalism. Sometimes these currents flowed parallel to each other; sometimes, in opposite directions; generally, however, they united to form one mighty stream in the political life of the German people. As in Italy, the German princes were as much opposed to one as to the other.

Young Germany. It was to the rising generation that nationalism and democracy made their greatest appeal. Young Germany felt itself cramped by the autocracy of the petty princes, by the restrictions, by the narrowness of the Germany of their day. In the universities students organized secret societies known as *Burschenschaften*, which conducted a vigorous agitation in favor of liberty and union. They adopted a tricolor flag of red, black, and gold which became known as the emblem of German freedom. A new war of liberation was to be begun, this time against the tyrant princes at home.

The Wartburg Festival. The students determined to rouse the German people by means of a patriotic festival. They chose October 18, 1817, that date being the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and within a few days of the three hundredth anniversary of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses. The meeting took place at the Castle of Wartburg, famous in the history of early Protestantism. Patriotic addresses were made, and the closing of the festival was marked by a hilarious meeting around a bonfire where, in imitation of Luther's burning of the Papal Bull, the young patriots consigned to the flames certain reactionary books as well as a corporal's baton and an officer's wig and corset, the symbols of military tyranny. Another instance of the hostility to despotism was the assassination by a student of a secret agent of the Tsar of Russia, a journalist named Kotzebue, who spied on the democratic movement in Germany.

The Carlsbad Decrees. The Wartburg Festival and the assassination of Kotzebue, frightened the princes, and they determined to crush the student movement lest it spread among the people. Under the influence of Metternich a series of decrees, drawn up in Carlsbad in 1819, established a censorship so rigid that intellectual life in Germany was fettered for a generation. Spies were everywhere, especially in the universities. The student societies were dissolved and their members blacklisted.

Any teacher suspected of being a liberal and a patriot was dismissed. Strange as it may seem to-day, it was then a crime to be a patriot in Germany. The revolutionary movement of 1830 caused hardly a ripple in Germany, so effective were the Carlsbad Decrees.

The Zollverein. The barriers between the German states were economic as well as political. Each member of the Confederation had tariffs that operated against its fellow members as well as against foreigners. When factories and railways were introduced it was first realized that internal tariffs restricted German business. Led by Prussia the states formed a customs union, called the *Zollverein*, establishing free trade among themselves; and so advantageous was this union that by 1842 nearly all the German states were members. Austria, however, was kept out. The exclusion of Austria and the inclusion of Prussia served to strengthen the influence of the latter in Germany. The significance of the *Zollverein* lies in the fact that it was an important step in the unification of Germany. The liberal movement, in spite of repressions, made rapid headway among the rising generation in whom lay the hope of a unified Germany.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Germany was one of the last countries of Western Europe to achieve nationalism and democracy. Explain.
2. Why does national unity always precede democracy? Give examples.
3. In what respects was the German Confederation like the union of the Thirteen States under the Articles of Confederation?
4. Why was it a crime for a German or Italian to be patriotic before 1870?
5. In what way did the *Zollverein* bind Germany more effectively, than did the German Confederation?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT. Schurz, *Reminiscences*, I, chs. I-IV; Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, ch. VI; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, pp. 324-39.

THE ZOLLVEREIN. Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 391-96; Andrews, I, pp. 252-57; Henderson, II, pp. 339-40.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

The Revolution of 1848 a European movement. The uprisings in 1830 had, it is true, shaken the Metternich System. But they were not sufficiently widespread to threaten the existence of a reactionary régime that extended from Russia to Spain. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was attacked by a revolutionary movement that spread to almost every country in Europe. As usual it began in Paris and swept through Central Europe upsetting thrones and institutions; then it receded, but not without leaving the Metternich System a mass of wreckage. The Revolution of 1848 had great successes and great failures, both of which were to influence the course of European history down to the World War.

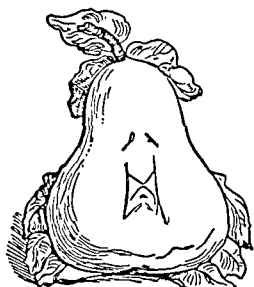
Spread of nationalism and democracy. At the outset it is important to note that the seeds planted by the French Revolution were beginning to sprout. In spite of repression and coercion a far-reaching revolutionary propaganda had been carried on by secret revolutionary societies. Ever-widening circles of people fell under the influence of liberal ideas that could not be stamped out by all the police and military at the command of all the despots. The middle and working classes were growing rapidly as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and both were vigorously opposed to absolutism as a system of government that discriminated against them in favor of privileged aristocrats. The Metternich System was doomed when it was confronted by a wealthy middle class and by a numerous working class.

FRANCE

Unpopularity of Louis Philippe. The régime established in France by Louis Philippe aroused widespread discontent. The King was attacked by "legitimists" who favored the exiled Bourbons, by republicans who were as opposed to constitutional as to absolute monarchy, by socialists who denounced the Citizen-King as the agent of the capitalists, and by Bonapartists who longed to reestablish the Empire. His friends and supporters

were mainly rich manufacturers who wanted no change in a government that was

so energetic in promoting business. Personal attacks on the King appeared in the Parisian journals which so infuriated him that he induced Parliament to pass the September Laws (1835) establishing a severe censorship of the press. To advocate forms of government other than the existing one was forbidden. As a result of the September Laws political agitation was driven "underground," and France



A CARICATURE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

was covered with a net-work of secret societies, liberal, radical, and revolutionary, all of them conspiring to overthrow the hated régime.

The February Revolution. Louis Philippe and Guizot utterly failed to realize the strength of the opposition. They stubbornly refused to make any concessions to the demands for universal manhood suffrage. "Get rich and you will have a vote." "Go into business, make money, and leave politics alone." "The agitators, not the people, desire change." Such were their answers to the reformers. A great meeting was arranged in Paris to take place on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1848, to demand universal suffrage. The government forbade the gathering, but a large crowd gathered at the meeting place. It was a typical Parisian crowd, workingmen, students, artists, journalists, loafers, agitators. The next day Paris awoke to find the streets bristling with barricades, erected during the night by the efficient revolutionaries. Once more the dread revolutionary tocsin was heard. Mobs invaded the Chamber. The soldiers, called out to

suppress the rioters, joined them instead. Events now moved rapidly. Guizot resigned. The King promised reform, but nothing short of the abolition of the monarchy would satisfy the revolutionists. On February 24 Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England. The February Revolution, as it is called, overthrew the Bourgeois Monarchy with surprising ease, and with little bloodshed. The provinces were not even aware of the change till it was all over, and as usual accepted the decision of Paris.

The provisional government. What was to be the new régime? Clearly a republic, said all. A provisional government was established which included several socialists. The leading members of this body were the eloquent poet-statesman Lamartine, and the socialist Louis Blanc.

Establishment of "national workshops." A new element now prominently entered the situation, the socialists. No sooner was the February Revolution over than the provisional government was face to face with a serious situation. The workingmen demanded that the Republic forthwith establish socialism. To mollify them social reforms were introduced. A labor commission was organized to investigate economic conditions and to suggest reforms. Decrees were issued reducing hours of labor. Most important of all was a decree establishing national workshops. These radical laws caused widespread opposition, but the government was at the mercy of the Parisian mobs and dared not repeal them. It did, however, decide to discredit the national workshops by entrusting the management to a man who was bitterly hostile to the idea and to its originator, Blanc. Thousands of all types of laborers were given a pick and shovel and set to work building fortifications at forty cents a day, greatly to the disgust of Blanc who denounced these "national workshops" as a travesty of his idea.¹ Nevertheless because of widespread unemployment, as many as a hundred thousand men were at work in the national workshops.

The "terrible June days." An Assembly, elected by universal manhood suffrage to frame a constitution, met in May, 1848. Almost the first thing that it did was to abolish the national workshops. This step roused the workingmen to fury. During June 23-26, 1848, the "terrible June days," Paris witnessed an

¹ See page 357.

uprising far more bloody than even the Reign of Terror. Once more the barricades went up, this time flying the red flag of socialism. Street fighting took place throughout the city between the military and the workingmen. After much difficulty the uprising was ruthlessly suppressed, but not until many were killed and many more taken prisoners.

Establishment of the Second French Republic. The constitution, drawn up by the Assembly, provided for a legislature of one house and for a president, both to be elected by universal suffrage. Among the candidates for president there was one who excited great interest, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great Emperor, and head of the Bonaparte dynasty. Since Waterloo Prince Louis Napoleon had lived in England, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, where he had led an adventurous life of a prince in exile. The life of his famous uncle was his constant preoccupation; for he believed that the day was coming when he would be Napoleon's successor and the heir to all his glory. Several times he appeared in France and attempted to incite rebellion among the soldiers; but these attempts failed and ended in his imprisonment. In the February Revolution this adventurer saw his opportunity to fish in troubled waters. He returned to France and offered himself as candidate for President of the Second Republic. So great was the enthusiasm evoked by the magic name "Napoleon" that he was swept into office by an overwhelming majority over all his rivals. "Why should I not vote for him, I whose nose was frozen in Moscow," said an old veteran when asked why he had voted for a Bonaparte.

Coup d'état of 1851. The Prince-President was not, however, content to be head of a republic. This position was to him merely a stepping stone to another of which he had dreamed all his life, that of Emperor of the French. He determined to overthrow the Second Republic as his uncle had overthrown the First, namely, by a *coup d'état*. On December 2, 1851, the anniversary of the Battle of Austerlitz, leading republicans all over the country were arrested by the military and arbitrarily exiled or imprisoned. A body of troops dispersed the legislature. The soldiers likewise seized the bell towers from which the dreaded tocsin would ring out summons to revolution. In spite of these precautions the barricades did go up in the streets of Paris. But in vain. The uprising was vigorously suppressed by the military,

who were prepared for the emergency. History repeated itself. This was the eighteenth of Brumaire all over again.

Establishment of the Second Empire. The President then issued a proclamation explaining his actions on the ground that he wished to "save the country and the Republic from harm." He then submitted to a plebiscite a new constitution, the chief features of which were: (1) that he was to be president for another term lasting ten years; (2) that laws were to be drawn up by a council of state appointed by the president; (3) that a senate was to be appointed for life by the president, and (4) that a popular legislature was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage. This constitution was ratified by a vote of over ten to one. About a year later the Senate proclaimed Louis Napoleon as Napoleon III, Emperor of the French.¹ This action was also ratified by a plebiscite, and on December 2, 1852, the *Second Empire* was officially inaugurated. Napoleon III had succeeded only too well in following the footsteps of Napoleon I.

Why Napoleon III appealed to the French people. An empire had succeeded a republic within four years. The chief reason for this startling change was that the property owners, bourgeois and peasants, had been badly frightened by the June days. They were convinced that democracy would inevitably lead to socialism and confiscation, and they looked to Napoleon as the strong man who would suppress the socialists as his great uncle had suppressed the Jacobins. Another important reason was that the name "Napoleon" evoked memories of grandeur and desires for dominance. Frenchmen believed that an emperor, a Napoleon, would lift their country from the low position in international affairs that she had occupied since Waterloo, and once more would she play the leading rôle on the European stage. The Second Empire, originating in deceit and violence, was destined to lead France to power and glory, and then to ruin.

AUSTRIA

Louis Kossuth (1802-94). The revolutionary storm of 1848 broke over Central Europe with great violence. Nowhere did it

¹ After Waterloo, Napoleon's only son ("Napoleon II") went with his mother to Austria where he died in 1832. He never reigned, but Louis Napoleon, desiring to give the idea of continuity to the Bonaparte dynasty, called himself Napoleon III.

rage more fiercely than in Metternich's citadel, Austria. The leading revolutionary spirit was the Hungarian, Louis Kossuth,



LOUIS KOSSUTH

one of the great orators and patriots of the nineteenth century. Kossuth, a thorough and uncompromising believer in the ideals of nationalism and democracy, was inevitably a militant foe of Hapsburg autocracy and imperialism.

Flight of Metternich. A speech, delivered by Kossuth on March 3, 1848, initiated the March Revolution throughout the Empire. He denounced the Austrian government as a political charnel house whence came stifling odors and pestilential winds that brought death to freedom. Barricades went up in the streets of Vienna, and the capital was soon in possession of the revo-

lutionists, mainly students and workingmen. "Down with Metternich!" was the cry that rang throughout the city. The famous diplomat, courtly and imperturbable as ever, politely requested Emperor Ferdinand that he be permitted to "resign." He then fled to England in disguise.

Constitution granted by Emperor. The flight of Metternich created a great sensation in Europe. For the moment it signified that the elaborate system of repression, of which he was the chief architect, was doomed. Emperor Ferdinand hastily granted a constitution; but the revolutionists, themselves surprised at their quick success, demanded the calling of a national assembly. So alarming were the popular demonstrations that Ferdinand fled from Vienna, which fell into the hands of a revolutionary committee of public safety.

The Hungarian "March Laws." In Hungary the Diet, under the influence of Kossuth, enacted the famous March Laws, which did for Hungary what the National Assembly had done for

France in 1789. Constitutional government was established; aristocratic privileges were abolished; the peasants were freed from dues and services; freedom of speech and of religion was guaranteed. Hungary was to be completely autonomous and to be united to Austria only by a personal union through the Emperor. Ferdinand was compelled to assent to these revolutionary changes.

Uprisings in Bohemia and in Lombardy-Venetia. Bohemia too raised the flag of revolt, and won concessions similar to those granted to Hungary. Lombardy-Venetia revolted and expelled the Austrian troops. The Hapsburg dominions were rapidly disintegrating, and it seemed as if the ancient empire would dissolve into many nationalities. But the situation unexpectedly changed.

Races in the Austrian Empire. The inhabitants of the Austrian Empire were of many races that had been conquered but not assimilated by the Austrians, who were Germans in race and speech. The emperor in Vienna was content to receive obedience and taxes from his subjects and cared little what language they spoke or what traditions they followed. Austria proper was inhabited almost entirely by Germans, who closely resembled the Bavarians in manners and ideals. In Bohemia two races struggled fiercely for supremacy: Slavic Czechs who were the majority and Germans who, though a minority, controlled the region. In Galicia, once a part of Poland, the Poles lorded it over the Ruthenians and the Jews. Near the Adriatic lived the Slavic Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, who are of the same stock as the inhabitants of Serbia and Montenegro. Next to the Germans the Magyars, or Hungarians, were the most numerous and influential element in the Empire. They were a proud and militant folk, and more than once Austria had good reason to fear their valor. In Transylvania most of the inhabitants were of the same race and speech as the Rumanians across the border. The Adriatic coast, once colonized by Venice, was under the influence of Italian civilization, and the ports, Trieste and Fiume, were largely Italian. And then there were the solidly Italian regions, Lombardy-Venetia.

Mutual hostility of the various races. The various races had no love for the German Hapsburgs who had tyrannized over them for centuries. But they had even less love for one another. One subject race is apt to regard another subject race with contempt;

in this way it tries to assert itself as important and superior. In the case of the Austrian Empire the dominant *race* in each region was also the dominant *class*, generally composed of great land owners and wealthy bourgeois.

Division among the revolutionists. When the crisis of 1848 sent the Empire tottering, the various races, instead of uniting to hasten its fall, flew at one another's throats. In Bohemia a bitter race war broke out between the Czechs and the Germans. The situation in Hungary was more critical. It was Hungary that had initiated the March Revolution; and on the Hungarians, the most powerful opponents of the Hapsburgs, depended the success of the movement. But these lovers of freedom refused to share their newly won liberty with their Slavic and Rumanian fellow citizens. They were as haughty in refusing it to them as they were in demanding it from the Austrians. Before long the Hungarians were locked in a desperate struggle with the Slavs, who believed that the freedom of Hungary meant the freedom of Hungarians to oppress them without interference by Austria.

Suppression of the Revolution in Austria. Austria understood the situation, and began to play off one race against the other. An army under General Windischgraetz was sent to the aid of the Germans in Bohemia. Prague was captured, and the liberties granted to the Bohemians were withdrawn. The victorious army then laid siege to Vienna, which surrendered after a severe bombardment. Parliament was dissolved, the constitution declared null and void, and the revolutionary leaders executed. An army under another able general, Radetzky, invaded Lombardy-Venetia. Sardinia came to the aid of these provinces but she was defeated by the Austrians. Lombardy-Venetia once more fell under Hapsburg rule.

Hungary declares her independence. It now remained to deal with Hungary. A scheme was devised to abrogate the March Laws. Emperor Ferdinand, who had sworn to uphold them, abdicated, and he was succeeded by his nephew, Francis Joseph who, it was asserted, was not bound by the oath of his predecessor. The March Laws were declared null and void. This aroused the Hungarians to a desperate step. In 1849 the Hungarian Diet, inspired by Kossuth, denounced the Hapsburgs as perfidious and perjured and declared Hungary a free and independent nation.

executed. Thousands fled to America to escape Hohenzollern vengeance, among whom were Carl Schurz, General Franz Sigel, and Doctor Abraham Jacobi, who later became distinguished citizens of this their adopted country.

The Prussian Constitution of 1850. King Frederick William had promised a constitution, and in 1850 he gave one. This constitution remained in force in Prussia until the end of the World War. It provided for a parliament to be elected by a complicated three-class system of voting which gave the property-owning classes almost entire control of the suffrage. To the king was given complete executive power and an absolute veto over all legislation. Altogether the constitution introduced only the thin edge of parliamentary government; the king continued to rule virtually as an autocrat.

The Frankfort Assembly. The demand for popular government was accompanied by a demand for national union. In the heyday of their success, when the princes were terrified into granting constitutions, the revolutionists determined to unite Germany in their own way. Popular elections took place throughout the Confederation for a national assembly to frame a constitution for a united fatherland. This body met in 1848, at Frankfort, and was watched with intense interest by the whole world. The unification of Germany on a democratic basis seemed at hand.

Failure of the Assembly to unite Germany. Almost from the start serious divisions appeared in the Frankfort Assembly. Some wanted to include Austria, others to exclude her; some wanted a republic, others a constitutional monarchy; some favored a moderate constitution, others a radical one. As most of the delegates were inexperienced politically, they wasted valuable time in discussion of abstract questions; it was more like an assembly of philosophers than of politicians. Nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties, the Assembly managed to draw up a liberal constitution, according to which Germany was to be a federal union presided over by an emperor with limited powers. The position of emperor was then offered to King Frederick William IV of Prussia. But that monarch, fearing to offend Austria and disdaining "to pick up a crown from the gutter," as he termed the offer of the democratic Assembly, refused the position of emperor. The Frankfort Assembly was dispersed by the troops, and all hope of uniting Germany through peaceful, democratic methods vanished.

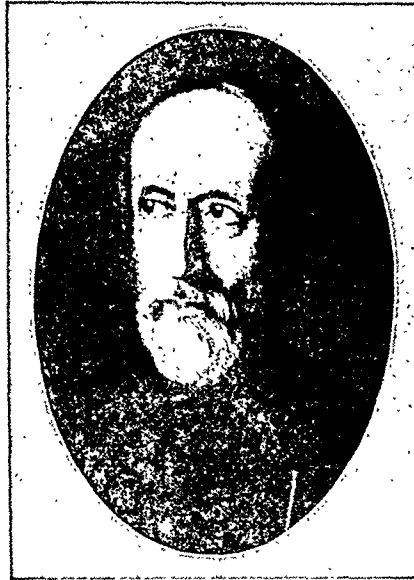
ITALY

Failure of the Carbonari. The Carbonari had failed in 1820 and again in 1830 to bring about the unification of Italy.¹ It was generally felt that the methods of conspiracy and terrorism employed by the Carbonari discredited the movement, hence its failure. New ideas and new methods came with the founding of the famous Young Italy Society by Joseph Mazzini.

Mazzini (1805-72) founds Young Italy. Serious-minded, idealistic young men always dream of freedom. In those days it was the tyrannical foreigner and the despotic prince who aroused their passionate resentment.

At the age of twenty-five Mazzini joined the Carbonari and participated in an uprising, for which he was imprisoned. It was while in prison, where he had plenty of time to think, that he evolved a new plan of freeing his country. Soon after his release, he left the Carbonari, and founded the Society of Young Italy (1831). It was composed of educated young men, who dedicated themselves to the task of liberating their country from foreign and domestic tyrants, and to the establishment of an Italian republic based on the principles of the French Revolution.

Unlike the Carbonari, Young Italy believed in agitation among the masses in order to arouse in them a passionate desire for a free and united Italy. A popular insurrection throughout all Italy was to be followed by the calling of a national assembly that was to inaugurate the Republic of Italy. Mazzini had profound faith in the idealism and generosity of youth and in its power to move the world forward. "Place the youth of the nation at the head of the insurgent masses," he declared. "You do not



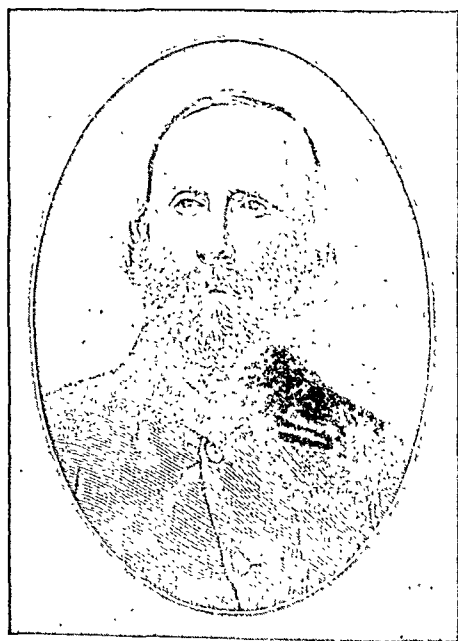
JOSEPH MAZZINI

¹ See page 352.

realize the strength that is latent in these young men or what magic influence the voice of youth has on crowds."

Ideals of Mazzini. Mazzini was one of the great personalities of the nineteenth century. He preached liberty with the fervor of an apostle, with the eloquence of a tribune, and with the vision of a prophet. He was a true patriot, not a "jingo." Just because he loved Italy "above all earthly things," he had the greatest respect and admiration for all other countries. It was his belief that every nation has something precious to give to civilization, and that it should be permitted freely to do so. Mazzini became an active champion of other oppressed peoples, such as the Hungarians and the Poles. He lived most of his life in exile, mainly in England, where he was greatly admired and beloved. By making unification a popular idea he laid the foundation for the success achieved later by Cavour and Garibaldi.

Revolution of 1848 in Italy. In Italy, as in Germany, the year 1848 marked a confluence of the streams of nationalism and



JOSEPH GARIBALDI

democracy. A series of uprisings took place throughout the peninsula. In Naples the King was compelled to grant a constitution. In Lombardy-Venetia the Austrians were hard pressed. Milan rose, expelled the Austrian armies, and voted to join Sardinia. Venice also rose and established herself as a republic. In one state, Sardinia, King Charles Albert voluntarily granted a constitution, which made him popular throughout Italy.

Garibaldi (1807-82). An uprising was organized in Rome by Mazzini and by his more famous follower, Joseph Garibaldi. The latter had joined Young Italy at the age of

twenty-four. Condemned to death for his revolutionary activity, he managed to escape to South America where he gained a reputa-

had been hoped for and so little had been gained. A new foreign army, the French, was now encamped on Italian soil to keep Italians divided and subjected. There was, however, one comfort for the patriots — Sardinia. She had fought the common enemy, Austria; she had remained faithful to constitutional government. Other times, other ventures.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Why the Revolution of 1848 failed to overthrow monarchy. The French Revolution popularized the idea that progress could be made quickly and easily provided conscious and vigorous efforts were made by those who desired it. It is this idea that explains the revolutions of 1820, of 1830, and especially of 1848. But what is not generally realized is that conditions in the life of a nation play as much of a part as ideas in determining the pace of progress. The reaction that followed the Revolution of 1848 everywhere can be explained by the fact that the revolutionists went further than conditions permitted. France was ripe for a democratic republic but not for socialism which the revolutionists attempted to establish. Austria was ripe for moderate constitutional monarchy and for limited home rule for the various races, but the revolutionists desired a democratic republic and complete autonomy. In Prussia and in Germany generally the middle and working classes were not yet numerous enough to dominate the country; their efforts to organize a free and united Germany were bound to fail because of the opposition of the backward peasants who were dominated by the princes and by the landed aristocrats. In Italy the same thing was true; in addition the intervention of Austrian and French armies made the situation hopeless.

Chief gains of the Revolution. Were there, then, any gains from the Revolution of 1848? There were, both direct and indirect:

(1) In the Hapsburg dominions, feudalism was forever destroyed. The constitution, granted to Hungary in 1848, was revoked, it is true; but it became the model for the grant of Hungarian autonomy in 1867.

(2) Prussia now had a constitution, though a meager one. The Frankfort Assembly had failed to unite Germany, but it was the first popular and organized effort to do so. This heroic attempt sank deeply into the memory of the German people; hence other efforts were bound to follow.

(3) In France universal suffrage triumphed. Although the rule of Napoleon III was arbitrary and despotic it was nevertheless based upon the popular will as was shown by his plebiscites and by his insistence upon universal manhood suffrage.

(4) In general, although reaction triumphed, the Metternich System had received such blows that its power was seriously undermined. Should uprisings occur in the future, intervention by foreign autocrats would be difficult if not impossible.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Referring to the political history of Europe from 1789 to 1848, Metternich remarked: "When France has a cold all Europe sneezes." Explain.
2. How did the Industrial Revolution help break down the Metternich System?
3. Why was the Louis Philippe government opposed by the workingmen? By the Bonapartists? By the Legitimists?
4. What is meant by national workshops?
5. What were the "terrible June days"? What were their immediate causes?
6. Trace the career of Louis Napoleon before he was elected President.
7. What is a *coup d'état*? How did Louis Napoleon emulate his great uncle?
8. Why did the property owners accept Louis Napoleon's government?
9. What was the attitude of the workingmen to the Empire?
10. In what parts of the Austrian Empire did revolutions break out in 1848? Why did the revolutions fail?
11. In what sense may Louis Kossuth be called the Mirabeau of Hungary?
12. The revolutions in Hungary and Bohemia were a second 1789. Explain.
13. Describe the Prussian Constitution of 1850.
14. What problems confronted the Frankfort Assembly? Why did it fail?
15. How did Mazzini prepare the way for Cavour and Garibaldi?
16. What is the difference between a "jingo" and a patriot? Which would better describe Mazzini? Why?
17. Why did Italian liberals look to Sardinia after 1848 for leadership in Italian unity?
18. Why did the Italian uprising of 1848 fail to accomplish Italian unity?
19. What were the chief gains of the Revolution of 1848?

Map questions: Indicate the territory of each of the following nationalities in the Hapsburg Monarchy: Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Italians, and Germans.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 136-43, 187-93; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 79-84; Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, I, ch. VIII; Latimer, *France in the Nineteenth Century*, chs. V-VII.

LOUIS NAPOLEON. Hazen, pp. 198-206; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 84-94; Latimer, chs. III, VIII; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 150-57.

REVOLUTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 674-728, 738-70; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, I, chs. V-XIV; Hazen, ch. VIII; Andrews, I, chs. IX-X.

MAZZINI. Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 115-18; Holland, *Builders of United Italy*, pp. 125-64; Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*, pp. 1-25; King, *Joseph Mazzini*; Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence*, I, pp. 379-403; Hinkley, *Mazzini*.

ment set in that made France the economic rival of England. In 1855 the famous Paris Exposition was held, and thousands came from all parts of the world to see the products of French industry and art.

Promotes welfare of working class. It was Napoleon's idea that the government should interest itself in the welfare of the lower classes. The old dynasties, he declared, had favored the aristocrats; the republic had favored the middle classes; but the Empire would promote the prosperity of all classes, especially "the most numerous and the most poor." In order to help the laborer when he was in distress, the government established hospitals, pawnshops, and employment agencies. Industrial courts mediated between employer and employee. A beginning in what is now called social insurance was also made. The prosperity of the country brought employment to the laborer as well as profits to the business man.

Rebuilds Paris. Modern Paris, the most beautiful city in the world, is largely the creation of Napoleon III. On his initiative a vast building scheme was carried out by a great civic architect, Baron Haussmann, who completely transformed the French capital into a city of magnificent boulevards, superb squares, and smoothly paved streets. Street barricades were no longer possible as in the old Paris with its narrow, crooked streets paved with cobblestones; and artillery could easily handle revolutionary mobs assembled in the new boulevards and squares. The fame of Paris spread, and many came from all parts of the world to enjoy themselves in the famous city.

Napoleon's marriage. Napoleon like his uncle desired to found a dynasty by marrying into a royal family. But no European dynasty wanted him as a relative because there was no faith in the stability of his throne. So he decided to marry "for love." In 1853 he married a beautiful Spaniard, Eugénie de Montijo, who presided over the magnificent court that he established. The marriage of the Emperor with a woman not of royal rank was considered by his admirers as another evidence of his "democracy."

FOREIGN POLICIES

Comparison of Napoleon III with Napoleon I. Because of the glamour of a great name many saw in Napoleon III the reincarna-

tion of Napoleon I. In truth the two were as different as it was possible for two persons to be. Napoleon I was great, original, daring, swaying the world through sheer genius; his nephew was merely talented and clever, succeeding largely through craft. The shifty eye of the nephew was not the eagle eye of the uncle. In one respect, however, they were alike: both were militarists and imperialists. Napoleon III well knew that he had floated into power on a wave of militarism which had been aroused by the name that he bore.

French chauvinism. On becoming Emperor he had declared that the Empire meant peace, and that he desired to devote himself to "moral and material" conquests, not to military ones. Napoleon III was no soldier, and he knew it, despite the fact that he wore resplendent uniforms and rode magnificent chargers. But he was a Napoleon, and every one expected him to fight, and fight he did. All during his reign he was constantly interfering in the affairs of other nations, conducting diplomatic intrigues, rattling the French saber, and engaging in war. In those days people feared French "chauvinism," as later they came to fear German militarism.

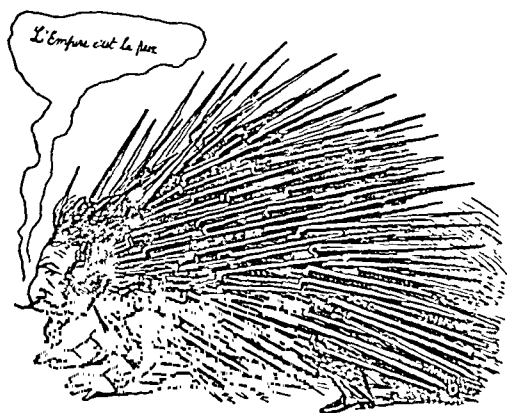
France again dominates Europe. Unlike Napoleon I, Napoleon III did not dream of organizing Western Europe as a French Empire. What he aimed at was to play the leading rôle on the European stage. He was a diplomat of great ability, and he did succeed in making France the dominant nation on the Continent, greatly to her delight. Conditions in Europe favored Napoleon's policies. Prussia and Austria, being rivals in Germany, were deadly enemies; Russia and Austria were unfriendly because the latter had refused to come to the Tsar's support during the



NAPOLEON III

Crimean War; Germany was disorganized and divided; and so was Italy. Napoleon took advantage of this situation to make France the arbiter in European quarrels. There was another aspect to the matter that favored his ambitions. For a generation the Holy Alliance had been intervening in the affairs of the nations in favor of absolutism. Napoleon decided on a policy of intervention to uphold the principle of nationality. The rising tide of nationalism would, he rightly believed, make French intervention popular and, at the same time, increase French power and prestige.

Wars of Napoleon. A long period of general peace had succeeded the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The European



"HE MAY BE AN INOFFENSIVE ANIMAL,
BUT HE DOESN'T LOOK IT"

In this cartoon, the caricatured Emperor Napoleon III is saying, "The empire means peace."

peoples were too busy struggling for democracy or for unity to have much energy left for foreign wars. Moreover the balance of power established by the Congress of Vienna was maintained by the Holy Alliance, which succeeded in keeping the peace of Europe for over a generation. It was not until 1854 that the general peace was broken by the Crimean War,¹ a conflict almost European in extent. Napoleon joined

the Allies for reasons already explained. The peace congress (1856) was held in Paris, which once more became the diplomatic capital of the world. Great was the rejoicing among the French people who now felt that they had recovered their "prestige." In 1859 Napoleon embarked on his second war by joining Piedmont against Austria. His reasons were, (1) his wish to revive the glories of the first Napoleon by defeating Austrian armies in Italy; (2) his desire to make France popular as the liberator of Latin nations; and (3) his hope of getting some territory from Piedmont. This time he again gained "prestige" and, in addition,

¹ See page 394.

something more substantial, the annexation of the tiny districts, Nice and Savoy. The cup of imperial joy was brimming full.

The Mexican Expedition. Napoleon was not content to play a great rôle merely in European affairs. America beckoned him also. He planned to establish his influence in the New World by intervening in Mexico. In 1862, on the pretext of protecting the rights of French citizens, a French army landed in Mexico and overthrew the Republic. An empire was then established under French protection; and Maximilian, a brother of Francis Joseph of Austria, was recognized as Emperor of Mexico. Napoleon's action was in violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but the United States was then engaged in the Civil War and could ill afford to make war on France. When the Civil War was over the American government demanded the immediate withdrawal of the French army. Napoleon complied. As soon as the French left, the Mexicans rose against the Empire which had no supporters in the country. Maximilian was seized and executed. The Empire was abolished, and the Republic was reëstablished.

The "Liberal Empire." The failure of the Mexican Expedition was the turning-point in the history of the Second Empire. The adventure had been costly and humiliating, and it roused a storm of opposition to the Emperor and his policies. The republicans openly denounced the government, and demanded an end of "Cæsarism." In 1868 a trial took place of a journalist who was being prosecuted for starting a subscription fund to raise a monument to a republican who had been killed during the *coup d'état* of 1851. The lawyer chosen to defend him was Leon Gambetta, then young and unknown. In an address that thrilled all France, Gambetta declared that it was the Empire, and not his client, that should be prosecuted. He delivered a terrible indictment of Napoleon's régime, declaring it to be criminal in origin, and to have been organized by "men without talent, without honor, without rank, without position." He prophesied that the country would one day impose upon the Empire "a great national expiation in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Gambetta immediately sprang to the fore as the leader of the republican opposition.

Was France at last becoming restive under Napoleon's rule? The Emperor determined to anticipate trouble by timely concessions. Accordingly the censorship was relaxed, elections were

made a little freer, and Parliament was allowed some initiative. By his supporters Napoleon's régime was now called the Liberal Empire.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Napoleon determines to war upon Prussia. Napoleon's concessions did not allay opposition. On the contrary the republicans were now freer to attack the government, and they did so with gusto. Hard pressed at home he, like other despots, thought of engaging in a foreign war to revive his popularity. He had avenged the enemies of the First Empire by warring against Russia in the Crimean War and against Austria in the Austro-Sardinian War. To fight England was out of the question. But why not Prussia? Had she not also been one of the coalition that sent Napoleon I to St. Helena? A war against Prussia would be popular in France where her efforts to unify Germany were bitterly resented. If a war with Prussia was successful it might result in the annexation of the Left Bank of the Rhine, the dream of France since the days of Louis XIV. But all his plans were destined to go awry, for in the third Napoleon France found another "architect of ruin."

Fall of the Second Empire. The story of the Franco-Prussian War is told elsewhere.¹ When the news came of the crushing defeat of the French armies at Sedan mobs paraded the streets shouting, "Down with the Empire!" "Long Live the Republic!" Napoleon was a prisoner in the hands of the Germans. A republic was proclaimed, and a provisional government headed by Gambetta was established, which continued the war until the capitulation of Paris. Elections were then held for a national assembly, which met at Bordeaux in 1871, and assumed full power in France. It voted the abolition of the Empire which, it declared, was responsible for the "ruin, the invasion, and the dismemberment of France."

Harsh terms of the Treaty of Frankfort. The Assembly chose Adolphe Thiers as head of the government with the title of Chief Executive, and with power to conclude peace with Germany. After much negotiation between Thiers and Bismarck a treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort. The chief terms were: (1) that Alsace and part of Lorraine be annexed to Germany; (2) that

¹ See page 439.

France pay to Germany an indemnity of a billion dollars; and (3) that France support a German army of occupation until the indemnity was paid. A billion dollars was an immense sum in those days, and it was demanded with the deliberate intention of crushing France, of "bleeding her white."

Sympathy for France. Never was a victory so complete as was that of Germany, and never a defeat so humiliating as that of France. During the Franco-Prussian War the sympathy of the world was on the side of Germany as the nation that was defending herself against the aggressive militarism of France. But the harsh treaty turned world opinion in favor of the latter. What was most resented was the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine. The French and the Alsatians demanded that a plebiscite be held in the districts, but Bismarck stoutly refused because he believed that the result would be favorable to France.

Alsace-Lorraine protests against annexation. The region, once a part of the Holy Roman Empire, had been annexed by Louis XIV. Its inhabitants, although of German stock speaking a Germanic dialect, had become ardently French in spirit as a result of the liberal reforms introduced by the French Revolution. The Alsatian representatives in the Assembly protested vehemently against being "handed over in contempt of all justice and by a hateful abuse of power to the domination of a foreigner," and they declared "null and void a compact which disposes of us without our consent." Germany's violation of the principle of nationality at the very moment that she herself became a nation, and her bold insistence on the ancient right of conquest outraged the conscience of the world. The question of Alsace-Lorraine was to be a disturbing factor in European affairs, and was not least among the causes of the World War.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. A historian has described Louis Napoleon's government as a "veiled despotism." Is the description justifiable? Why?
2. How did Napoleon try to win the support of the middle class? Of the workingmen?
3. Paris is considered to-day as the pleasure capital of the world. How was Louis Napoleon partly responsible for it?
4. How did the foreign policy of Napoleon III differ from that of his great uncle? How did European conditions in the time of each favor the execution of those policies?

5. What wars did Napoleon III wage? In each case state briefly his motives.
6. Why may the Mexican Expedition be considered the turning-point in the history of the Second Empire?
7. Napoleon III once declared that when France "draws her sword it is not to dominate but to liberate." Give one example that would justify the statement. One that does not justify it.
8. Why did Napoleon III make concessions to the liberals?
9. President Wilson said in his fourteen points that the wrong done to France in 1871 must be righted. What did he refer to? Has it been righted?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

GOVERNMENT. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 299-301; Andrews, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 151-53.

DOMESTIC POLICIES. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 272-77; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 157-61; Andrews, II, pp. 154-59; 160-63, 169-72, 177-79, 182-88, Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 87-92.

FOREIGN POLICIES. Latimer, *France in the Nineteenth Century*, ch. x; Thayer, *Cavour*, I, ch. XIX; Hazen, pp. 277-80; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 873-82, 959-61; Hayes, II, pp. 161-63, 169-71, 175-78; Deschanel, *Gambetta*, ch. III; Andrews, II, 163-69, 173-77, 179-81; Fisher, pp. 92-96, 100-23.

CHAPTER XXXVII

UNIFICATION OF ITALY

CAVOUR

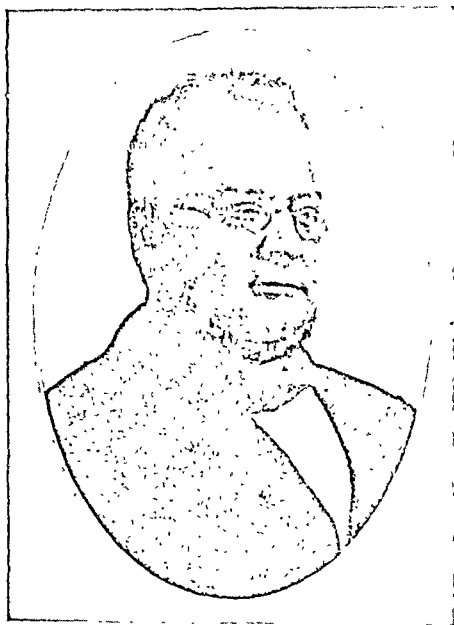
Sardinia champions Italian unity. Never did the prospect for unification look so hopeless to Italian patriots as after the failure of the movement in 1848. The conspiracies of the Carbonari had failed; the enthusiastic uprisings of Young Italy had failed; the war of Charles Albert had failed. What could now succeed?

Cavour (1810-61). The answer came with the resolve of one state, Sardinia, to become the champion of Italian unity. In spite of her crushing defeat, Sardinia had come out of the war with Austria with great prestige. She alone of all the states had risked a war for the fatherland; she alone had insisted on maintaining a constitutional government; she alone had a patriotic Italian as king. And she it was that was to produce the great statesman of unification, Count Camillo Cavour, who is to Italy what Bismarck is to Germany.

Cavour came of an aristocratic family of Piedmont. Early in life he had traveled extensively in England and France where he associated with liberals who greatly influenced his ideas. He became as ardent an admirer of parliamentary government as Bismarck was of absolutism. Like many other young liberals of his day, he threw himself into the movement for unification. Cavour's temperament, ideals, and policies differed widely from those of his fellow patriots, Mazzini and Garibaldi. He was no poetic orator like Mazzini; neither was he an impetuous adventurer like Garibaldi. Cavour was a clear-headed, cool, practical, cautious man, who could plan superbly and direct unerringly the way to success.

Cavour promotes industry. In 1852 Cavour was appointed Prime Minister of Sardinia by Victor Emanuel. The King, brave and loyal but not especially brilliant, relied upon his minister for whom he had great admiration. The population of Sardinia was about five millions, mainly poor peasants and fishermen under the domination of a small landed aristocracy. Cavour early realized

that the middle class, which was small and weak, must be enlarged and strengthened because from them alone could come the



CAMILLO BENSO CAVOUR

force and intelligence necessary to unite the country. He therefore became active in promoting the economic development of Piedmont. Railways and factories were built, the finances were reorganized, and business enterprise was encouraged through favorable legislation.

Cavour seeks aid of France.

Sardinia, unlike Prussia, was not strong enough to fight Austria single-handed. That had been proved in the war of 1848-49. Cavour therefore determined that she must have an ally, and that ally France, whose army was even then stationed in Rome. He believed, nevertheless, that

France was more likely than any other nation to give active assistance to the Italian patriots. In the first place Emperor Napoleon, in the days of his exile, had wandered into Italy and had joined the Carbonari. Secondly, a war of France against Austria in Italy would revive the glories of the first Napoleon. Finally, Piedmont had something to give to France in return for assistance: namely, Savoy and Nice, two French-speaking districts that had long been under the rule of the House of Savoy.

Sardinia joins the Allies in the Crimean War. The first step that led directly to the unification of Italy was the participation of Sardinia in the Crimean War.¹ As one of the peace delegates at the Congress of Paris, Cavour seized the opportunity of putting the Italian question before the world. He delivered a striking address, denouncing Austria as the arch-enemy of Italian freedom, and demanding the unification of Italy in the interests of the peace of Europe. Napoleon was impressed by the pleas

¹ See page 394.

and abilities of Cavour, and he decided to come to the aid of the Italians. He made a secret agreement with Cavour to help Sardinia in a war to drive Austria out of Italy, and in return, Nice and Savoy were to be ceded to France.

The Austro-Sardinian War (1859); Annexation of Lombardy. Cavour's plan was to make Austria appear as the aggressor. Through a series of diplomatic moves he provoked Austria into sending an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding that the latter disarm. Sardinia rejected the ultimatum; and in April, 1859, Austria declared war. Public opinion arraigned the latter for what was considered as an act of brutal aggression by a big power against a little one. French armies now poured over the Alps to help the Sardinians. The Austrians were defeated by the Allies in two battles, Magenta and Solferino, and were forced to retire from Lombardy. As preparations were being made to attack the Austrians in Venetia, Napoleon suddenly made a separate peace with them at Villafranca. He feared to help Italy too much lest she become strong enough to be a rival of France. Sardinia was now compelled to make peace, and signed the Treaty of Zurich. Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia because the inhabitants, in 1848, had voted to join her. A plebiscite, held in Nice and Savoy, resulted in favor of a union with France; and according to the agreement with Napoleon, these districts were ceded to France. In spite of their disappointment the Italians, in getting Lombardy, had taken a great step toward a united country. During 1860 plebiscites were held in Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and Romagna, all of whom voted overwhelmingly in favor of joining Sardinia.

GARIBALDI

Expedition of the Thousand. The patriot who was responsible for the next great step toward unification was Garibaldi. In spite of the recent annexations Sardinia was still smaller than the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; the latter must join the former or no unification was possible. But how? The problem was solved in a daring and original way by Garibaldi.

In 1860 he landed in Sicily with about a thousand men, badly armed and equipped, but daredevils all. His intention was nothing less than to conquer the southern kingdom which had a population of about eleven million! The story of the Expedition

of the Thousand reads like a romance with its battles against tremendous odds, its wonderful marches, its deeds of valor, its



"THE RIGHT LEG IN THE BOOT AT LAST"

A cartoon in *Punch* for November 17, 1860.

miraculous victories. The island had already revolted, and the rebels aided Garibaldi against the royalist forces. In less than a month Sicily was in control of Garibaldi and his Red Shirts.¹ All Italy, and for that matter all the world, was thrilled.

Annexation of Naples; Kingdom of Italy proclaimed. He then set sail for Naples. The moment that he landed, his scanty forces were swelled by desertions from the Neapolitan armies and by volunteers. His march upon Naples was more like a triumphal proces-

sion than a campaign. In the meanwhile Victor Emanuel led an army into southern Italy, and completed the conquest of the Neapolitan kingdom. The King of Naples fled, and Garibaldi assumed the dictatorship of the kingdom. Had he been a selfish militarist he could easily have established himself as a monarch, but that was not at all his intention. A plebiscite was held which resulted in a vote to join Sardinia. Garibaldi thereupon resigned his dictatorship. On February 18, 1861, Victor Emanuel was proclaimed King of Italy by the first Italian Parliament, which met in Turin, then the capital. Garibaldi, refusing all honors, gifts, pensions, and offices, retired to his farm to live as a private citizen. Seldom has history witnessed such magnanimity and unselfishness in a conqueror.

¹ The uniforms worn by the Thousand consisted of red shirts, slouched hats, and any kind of trousers.

CONQUEST OF ROME

Annexation of Venetia. The next step came as a result of the Seven Weeks' War. Italy allied herself with Prussia on condition that Venetia be given to her in case of victory. Prussia's great triumph in that war compelled Austria to cede to Italy Venetia, which was annexed after a favorable plebiscite. However, Bismarck was disposed to treat his opponent leniently, hence in the boundaries that were drawn between Austria and Italy, two Italian districts, Trieste and the Trentino, remained with Austria, the former for commercial and the latter for strategic reasons. The port of Trieste was necessary to Austrian commerce; and the mountainous frontier in the Trentino was so arranged as to bar an Italian invasion of Austria.

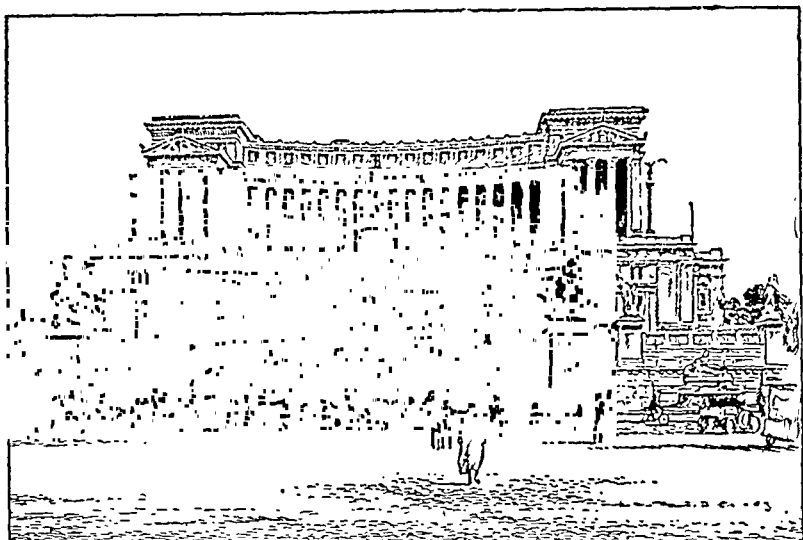
Rome. There still remained the knottiest problem to solve, namely, Rome. By 1870 all parts of the Papal States had been drawn into Italy except the Eternal City. Italy without Rome was unthinkable to the patriots; to them it was essential that the historic city with its immortal memories should become the capital of the new nation. Pope Pius IX hurled bitter reproaches at Victor Emanuel and his fellow patriots, whom he denounced as "forgetful of every religious principle, despising every right, trampling upon every law."

Catholic defense of Rome. Rome was defended by a Papal army of Catholic volunteers from all parts of the world and by a French garrison. For Italy to make war upon the Pope would surely mean war with France, and perhaps also with other Catholic powers. As the Italian people are Catholic it might lead even to civil war. The government therefore resolved on a policy of "watchful waiting."

Annexation of Rome. Italy's opportunity came with the Franco-Prussian War. When that conflict broke out, Napoleon III withdrew the French army from Rome to the scene of war. Immediately Italy took advantage of the situation, and an Italian army entered Rome on September 20, 1870. A plebiscite was then held, and by a vote of almost a hundred to one the Romans favored annexation to Italy. Rome was thereupon proclaimed the capital of the kingdom. Italy was united at last.

Rise of Italy as a great power. The consolidation of the petty Italian states into a powerful nation was a great achievement of the nineteenth century. Italy now assumed a new importance

in the world, that of a political power. No longer a "geographical expression" and a "museum" of the ruins of past civilizations, she was now admitted as one of the great powers in the family of European nations.



MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMANUEL II, IN ROME

This structure of white marble was begun in 1885 and dedicated in 1911. The pedestal in the center supports a gilded bronze statue of the king; and around its base are sculptured scenes symbolizing Italian history. The design of the surrounding wings and of the portico in the background was suggested by the plan of a ruined Roman temple at Praeneste.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. "We who have seen Italia in the throes,
Half risen but to be hurled to ground, . . .
 . . . think of those
Who blew the breath of life into her frame:
Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi: Three:
Her Brain, her Soul, her Sword; and set her free
From ruinous discords, with one lustrous aim."

MEREDITH

What period does the second line refer to? Why are Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, called "her Brain, her Soul, her Sword"? Explain the last line.

2. How did the political views of Cavour differ from those of Mazzini? Why did Sardinia take part in the Crimean War?
3. Cavour said, "Whether we like it or not, our destinies depend upon France." Why?

4. Why did Napoleon make a separate peace with Austria?
5. How did the following become part of Italian nationality: Kingdom of the Two Sicilies? Venetia? Parma? Modena? Tuscany? Lombardy? Rome? Why didn't Italy acquire Trieste and Trentino in 1866?
6. A French historian says that Italian unity was accomplished "in conformity with the principles of the French Revolution." Explain.

Map questions: Locate Magenta, Romagna, Palermo, Tuscany, Lombardy, Nice, and Turin. Indicate the states in Italy in 1815; indicate the territories gained by Piedmont in the first war with Austria, through the Expedition of the Thousand, and through the Austro-Prussian War.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

CAVOUR. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 118-21; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 215-27; Holland, *Builders of United Italy*, pp. 165-222; Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*, pp. 26-53; Cesaresco, *Cavour*; Thayer, *Cavour*.

GARIBALDI. Hazen, pp. 232-39; Holland, pp. 223-82; Marriott, pp. 54-78; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*; Orsi, *Modern Italy*, ch. XV.

VENETIA AND ROME. Orsi, chs. XVI-XVIII; Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy*, chs. XVIII-XX.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

PRUSSIA CHAMPIONS GERMAN UNITY

Steps toward German unity. The steps already taken toward German unity were:

(1) *Reorganization of Germany by Napoleon.* The great consolidation of states thus effected was the first step, and one of the greatest importance, in solving the problem of unity.

(2) *German Confederation.* This union, although very loose, was definite; it therefore clarified the problem. Many Germans were now induced to believe that all that was necessary was a "more perfect union."

(3) *Zollverein.* The tariff alliance showed the economic advantages of a unified Germany, and it therefore enlisted the hearty support of the commercial classes.

(4) *Frankfort Assembly.* Although it failed, the Assembly popularized the national movement and gave it a vitality that it had not enjoyed previously.

Prussia champions German unity. How was Germany to be united? The princes were unwilling, and the people unable to effect unity. Yet it had to be done, for the unification of Germany lay in the "logic of history," that is, the German people had to become a nation because, under modern conditions, nationality has become necessary in the political development of all peoples. The answer came in a surprising manner. Prussia decided to take it upon herself to unite Germany, and, if necessary, to fight all those who opposed a united fatherland.

Opposition of Austria and France to German unity. The chief obstacles in the way were Austria and France. So long as Austria was dominant in the Confederation no real union was possible. On the one hand she did not desire unification; and on the other the German people did not wish to be united under her leadership because the overwhelming majority of Austria's population was non-German. There was only one thing to do, and that was to exclude her from a German union. As for France her opposition would be based on a definite policy. France believed that her

position as the leading nation on the Continent was due to the fact that her neighbors were weak, either because they were small, like Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain or because they were disunited, like Germany and Italy. She would therefore be opposed to the creation of a powerful, united Germany that might lower the prestige of *la grande nation*. More than once had Germany served as a battle-ground, and as a recruiting ground, for French armies, notably in the days of Louis XIV and of Napoleon. To conquer divided Germany had been an easy matter for united France.

BISMARCK

King champions standing army. In 1861 William I ascended the throne of Prussia. He was very devoted to the army which he determined to reorganize by establishing a system of conscription. The Prussian Parliament, controlled by the Liberals, refused to vote money for the proposed army, which so embittered King William that he decided to abdicate.

Bismarck (1815-98). At this juncture the man of the hour arrived in the person of Otto von Bismarck, who was appointed Prime Minister in 1862. Bismarck came of a family of Prussian landowners and inherited the aristocratic traditions of that class. He was sent to several universities where he was known as a jolly good fellow rather than as a serious student. For a time he was in the public service, but his lively temperament was ill suited to the dull routine of official life. He gave up his



PRINCE BISMARCK

position and retired to his estate where he led the vigorous life of a country squire. Bismarck first came into prominence during the Revolution of 1848 as a bitter opponent of constitutional

government. Liberals he denounced as impractical windbags, and democracy a "government by phrases" which would inevitably lead to chaos. When he heard of the barricades in Berlin, he organized a company of peasants with the aim of marching on the capital to fight for "law and order." At that time he was as bitterly hostile to a united as to a free Germany, and he poured withering scorn on the efforts of the Frankfort Assembly.

Delegate to the Diet of the Confederation. In 1851 Bismarck was appointed Prussian delegate to the Diet of the German Confederation. This was an important phase in his career, for it was in the Diet that he first studied the problems that confronted Germany as a whole. There he saw the incessant wrangling and petty intrigues of the German states. There he saw the arrogant domination of Austria and her hatred for Prussia. Sharp debates took place between the cool, insolent Bismarck and the dignified, haughty Austrians. An incident happened which, trifling enough in itself, was yet significant of the coming clash between Prussia and Austria. It was the rule that at committee meetings only the Austrian delegates had the privilege to smoke. One day, during a meeting, Bismarck put a cigar in his mouth, walked over to the Austrian delegate, and coolly asked him for a match. This incident caused a sensation in Germany.

Defies Parliament. When Bismarck became Prime Minister he advised the King to lay taxes and make appropriations without the consent of Parliament. This was a plain violation of the constitution, but Bismarck boldly and frankly advanced the theory that necessity knows no constitution. "If you do not vote the money we shall take it where we can get it," he once told Parliament. This aroused widespread indignation, and Bismarck was threatened with the fate of the Earl of Strafford; who had performed a similar service for the English King Charles I. Regularly Parliament voted down the budget, but regularly money was collected for the army reforms. In the course of the struggle Bismarck gave utterance to a sentiment that clearly showed his contempt for democratic methods. "Germany," he declared, "does not look to Prussia's liberalism, but to her power. . . . The great questions of the day are not to be decided by speeches and majority resolutions — therein lay the weakness of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron!"

Bismarck won in his struggle with Parliament. But his suc-

cess destroyed respect for constitutional government among the Germans. By the rulers a constitution was now regarded as a "scrap of paper" to be flouted when it suited their purposes; and by the people, as a weak defense against absolutism which was not worth a struggle.

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR

Bismarck's diplomacy. Bismarck had now become a convert to German unity. Long before his appearance on the scene the idea had been spread among the people by philosophers and historians who had ardently favored the union of all the Germans into one nation. But Bismarck alone saw clearly the way to achieve this aim. Prussia must become the foundation of future Germany by compelling the other German states to join her in a federation and on her terms; and she must be ready to strike down any state that blocked her way. Bismarck soon established a reputation as a master-diplomat. To an amazing degree he combined cunning, deceit, brute force, daring boldness, and iron determination. And he knew when to employ one and when the other. The Bismarckian method was first slow, cautious, careful planning; and then sudden and swift action. He came to know the politics of Europe so well that his judgment was almost unerring.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. Three wars were fought by Prussia for the unification of Germany: with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870. The Danish War grew out of the Schleswig-Holstein Question. The inhabitants of Holstein were German, those of Schleswig were partly German, partly Danish. For many centuries these duchies had been united with Denmark through a personal union with the King of Denmark. In 1863 Denmark proposed to incorporate the duchies; and to this proposal objections were raised in many quarters, especially in Germany. Then a claimant appeared, who desired to rule over the duchies as a prince in the German Confederation. The Schleswig-Holstein Question was so complicated that Lord Palmerston once remarked that only three men had ever understood it; one was dead, the second was crazy, and he had forgotten it.

War with Denmark. Bismarck early saw in the situation an opportunity for Prussian expansion and a possible chance of a

conflict with Austria. He suggested to the latter that she join Prussia in seizing the duchies. In 1864 Prussia and Austria declared war on Denmark who was soon overcome. By the Treaty of Gastein (1865) Prussia and Austria divided the administration of Schleswig-Holstein. What was now to be the fate of the duchies? Neither Austria nor Prussia would be satisfied with a division of the spoils. Austria wanted the duchies as a state in the German Confederation because she controlled the latter. This was a sufficient reason for Bismarck to oppose the scheme. Austria was infuriated, and assumed a warlike attitude toward Prussia, which suited Bismarck perfectly. He realized that there must eventually be a reckoning with Austria, and he made preparations accordingly. Bismarck's great success as a diplomat lay primarily in the fact that he always succeeded in isolating his opponent. In order to isolate Austria he made an alliance with Italy, promising her Venetia in case she joined Prussia in a war on Austria. From Russia he had assurance of friendship because he had promised help to the Tsar during the Polish rebellion of 1863. He gained French neutrality by a suggestion to Napoleon that he would be permitted to gain some lands west of the Rhine.

Dissolution of German Confederation. The Schleswig-Holstein Question was agitating, and confusing, all Germany. Austria decided to bring it before the Diet of the Confederation. Prussia declared that she would refuse to abide by the decision of the Diet because the Treaty of Gastein had settled the matter. In 1866 the Diet ordered the mobilization of the armies of the Confederation against Prussia. The reply of the latter was to declare the Confederation dissolved. The various states in the Confederation took sides, most of them, however, siding with Austria. There was now civil war in Germany.

The Seven Weeks' War. The Seven Weeks' War, as it is called, is the shortest on record. That terrible military machine, the Prussian army, was set going; and in the great Battle of Sadowa the Austrians were routed by General von Moltke. Austria sued for peace. Flushed with victory King William wanted to march into Vienna and dictate severe terms. But that was not at all the intention of Bismarck. On the contrary, he had determined on a peace with no annexation and no indemnities to Prussia, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he prevailed on

the King to follow his advice. Bismarck clearly foresaw that Prussia would have need of Austria in the future and should therefore treat her leniently now. The war was closed by the Treaty of Prague, the chief provisions of which were, (1) that the German Confederation was to be dissolved and a new union to be formed from which Austria was to be excluded; (2) that Schleswig-Holstein was to be annexed to Prussia;¹ (3) that Venetia was to be annexed to Italy after a favorable plebiscite. In the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein there is seen a difference between the methods of Bismarck and those of Cavour which is characteristic throughout the unification of Germany and of Italy. Bismarck's method was conquest and annexation; Cavour's conquest and annexation if *favoured by a popular vote*. As a consequence Prussia was to conquer the rest of Germany and dominate her; but Sardinia was to become an indistinguishable part of united Italy.

The North German Confederation. The results of the Seven Weeks' War were of great importance. Prussia organized a new union, the North German Confederation, consisting of the northern states most of which were forced to join. The constitution of the Confederation, largely the work of Bismarck, was ratified by a convention elected for that purpose. It was identical with the constitution of the German Empire, which will be described later. The outcome of the war made Bismarck the most popular man in Germany. His plans had succeeded, and unification was at hand. The Prussian Parliament passed an act of indemnity legalizing his actions and those of the King during the period when they governed in defiance of the constitution. Might was made right.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Opposition of France to German unity. The rage in France knew no bounds when it was realized that a powerful, united Germany was appearing. There soon followed a great tragedy, the Franco-Prussian War, which had not a little to do with bringing about the world conflagration in 1914. If ever there was a useless, senseless war, it was that between France and Germany in 1870. It could have been prevented because *there was no conflict of interests between the two nations*. The German people plainly desired unification and had taken definite steps toward it.

¹ The Treaty provided for a plebiscite in northern Schleswig, but Prussia refused to carry out this provision.

France, as the leading champion of nationalism, should have welcomed Germany into the family of nations. Instead, she set to work to do all that she possibly could to prevent her unification. However, when we say "France" we mean the government of Napoleon III, whose autocratic methods had aroused resentment in France and in Europe generally. As the French people were not consulted about declaring war against the German people, the Franco-Prussian War was not of their making but of that of a monarch whose schemes were concerned mainly with the safety of his throne.

Isolation of France. Bismarck and Moltke made preparations for war with the French, each in his characteristic way. As in the case of Austria, Bismarck set to work to isolate France. Italy was an ally of Prussia. Russia's friendship could still be relied upon. Because of Prussia's moderation after Sadowa, Austria was not hostile. England would not intervene if Prussia respected the neutrality of Belgium, and Bismarck determined to do this at all costs. The South Germans, who were supposedly under French influence, had signed a secret treaty of alliance with Prussia. France was thus completely isolated.

Prussian preparations for war. General von Moltke's military preparations were marvellously efficient. France was carefully and completely mapped. Strategic railways were built to the French frontier. Army supplies and munitions were of the latest pattern, and the soldiers were thoroughly equipped. Nothing could surpass the efficiency of Prussian army organization; all that was necessary was to give the word of command and the military machine would begin its deadly work promptly and irresistibly.

The Ems dispatch. To make France appear as the disturber of the peace of Europe was Bismarck's aim. He bided his time, watching and waiting; and his opportunity was not long in coming. In 1868 the Spanish throne became vacant. One of the candidates was a Hohenzollern prince, Leopold, a Catholic relative of King William of Prussia. France immediately opposed him on the ground that it would be against "the interest and honor of France" to permit a Hohenzollern to be King of Spain. Count Benedetti, the French ambassador to Prussia, appeared before King William, who was at the time at a watering place called Ems, and requested that he persuade Prince Leopold to refuse the

Spanish offer. King William assented, and the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn. This, however, did not satisfy the French government which made a new demand, namely, that King William should promise that at no future time would he permit a Hohenzollern to be King of Spain. Count Benedetti presented the new French note, which was in the nature of an arrogant ultimatum intended to humiliate Prussia. King William received the French ambassador courteously, but declined to accede to the demand. He then sent a dispatch to Bismarck, informing him of what had just taken place. Bismarck decided to "edit" the dispatch with the object of converting it into "a red flag for the Gallic bull." He changed the wording in such a manner that it read as though Benedetti had been unceremoniously dismissed. In 1870 the famous "Ems dispatch" was published and the effect in both France and Germany was exactly what Bismarck had intended. Frenzied mobs thronged the boulevards of Paris demanding war with Prussia to avenge what they believed was an insult to the French ambassador. The Germans were likewise infuriated because they believed that King William had been insulted by an arrogant Frenchman. France, however, took the initiative, and declared war against Prussia, which put her in the position of being the aggressor.

The Franco-Prussian War.

German armies under Moltke invaded France through Al-

sace-Lorraine, carefully respecting the neutrality of Belgium. In



"VÆ VICTIS!" ("WOE TO THE VANQUISHED!")

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in *Punch* for March 11, 1871. William I, dressed as an ancient Germanic chieftain, rides over the body of prostrate France. The Crown Prince, Bismarck, and others appear in the background.

the struggle that followed lasting ten months, both sides fought bravely, but the French were defeated in nearly every battle. The most crushing defeat was at the Battle of Sedan in which a French army of a hundred and twenty thousand was captured. Among the prisoners was Emperor Napoleon who, when released, fled to England. When Paris surrendered France signed an armistice which ended hostilities.

The German Empire proclaimed. On January 18, 1871, while the siege of Paris was in progress, a historic ceremony took place in the Hall of Mirrors in the famous palace of Versailles. King William was proclaimed German Emperor by his fellow princes; and the North German Confederation gave place to a new union, including the South German states, called the German Empire. At last Germany was made — made with “blood and iron.”

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why did Austria oppose German unity? Why France?
2. Why was it easy for Napoleon I to conquer Germany? Why difficult for Napoleon III?
3. Describe Bismarck's attitude to German unity.
4. Why did Bismarck violate the Prussian constitution?
5. About 1852 Austria aimed at securing admittance into the *Zollverein*, but Bismarck, a member of the Diet, opposed her. Why?
6. What did Bismarck mean when he said, “The great questions of the day are not to be decided by speeches and majority resolutions, . . . but by blood and iron”?
7. Describe the character of Bismarck. Compare him with Napoleon III; with Cavour.
8. Why did Bismarck take a great interest in the Schleswig-Holstein Question?
9. How did Bismarck prepare for the struggle with Austria? Results of the war?
10. What was Prussia's contribution to Italian unity?
11. If Italian unification was accomplished in conformity with the principles of the French Revolution, German unification was not. Explain.
12. Why did Bismarck consider the war with France inevitable?
13. What preparations did Prussia make for the Franco-Prussian War?
14. How could the Franco-Prussian War have been avoided?
15. Germany was unified as a result of three wars. What were they? What steps toward unity were made at the end of each?
16. What were the immediate causes and results of the Franco-Prussian War?

Map questions: Locate Sedan, Metz, Alsace-Lorraine, and Holstein. Indicate the boundaries of the German Confederation; the *Zollverein*; and the North German Confederation.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

BISMARCK'S EARLY LIFE. Smith, *Bismarck and German Unity*, pp. 1-18; Headlam, *Bismarck*, pp. 1-69; Robertson, *Bismarck*, chs. II-III.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE PRUSSIAN PARLIAMENT. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, pp. 379-84; Robertson, pp. 120-40; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 911-20; Headlam, ch. VII.

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION. Headlam, chs. VIII-XI; Henderson, II, pp. 385-410; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 256-68; Fyffe, pp. 933-50; Robertson, pp. 161-229; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 144-55.

THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION. Headlam, ch. XII; Robertson, pp. 230-54; Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 444-45.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. Robertson, pp. 263-98; Hazen, ch. XIII; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 155-65; Henderson, II, ch. X; Headlam, chs. XIII-XIV; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 195-206.

SECTION IV

ERA OF REFORM

Advance of nationalism. The period of 1870 is an important landmark in the progress of nationalism and democracy. After a half-century of effort Germany and Italy had become unified nations. The triumph of the North in the American Civil War had established "an indestructible union of indestructible states." Hungary had at last gained recognition of her nationality through the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria emerged from the Turkish flood that had overwhelmed them centuries before. Within the British Empire the principle of nationality was recognized by the establishment of the Dominion of Canada. In far-off Japan feudalism was abolished, and the country was organized as a modern, national state. The fall of the temporal power of the Pope marked the disappearance of the last vestige of the Papal Empire of the Middle Ages.

Advance of democracy. Democracy too made great strides. A democratic republic was established in France. The grant of universal suffrage for the Reichstag was a concession to the democratic spirit in the German Empire. The new Italy was governed by a parliament and king. In England the working classes were at last enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1867. The abolition of serfdom in Russia and of slavery in America were indirectly due to the almost universal influence of the principles of democracy.

Incompleteness of nationalism. In spite of these great advances the problems of nationalism and democracy were far from being solved. In Eastern Europe there were many "submerged" nations who were under alien rule: in Russia, the Poles, Finns, Jews, Letts, and others; in Austria-Hungary, the many Slavic nations; in Turkey, the Christian subjects of the Sultan. In Western Europe nationalism was incomplete. Ireland was still ruled by England. In Germany every effort was made to stamp out the national spirit of the non-Germans in the empire. Norway, against her will, was still under Swedish rule.

Incompleteness of democracy. Democracy too was incomplete. Russia was a naked autocracy, and Germany was a veiled one. Universal, equal suffrage was not yet established in England, for less than half of the adult population could vote in 1870: The suffrage in Austria-Hungary was so restricted that only the well-to-do of the governing races could vote. In Italy there were property and educational qualifications for voting. In Japan restrictions of the suffrage disfranchised the masses completely. China was still an absolute monarchy, and India under the autocratic rule of England. How the new era of reform dealt with these problems will be described in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

THE PARIS COMMUNE

Thiers (1797-1877). The Second Empire was dead. What government was to be its successor was the anxious question of many who recalled the revolutionary history of France. The National Assembly moved to Versailles which was declared the capital. A majority of the members were monarchists, a minority, republicans. Fortunately for the latter, the former were not united on one candidate for the throne; some favored the Orleanist claimant, the Count de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe; others, the Bourbon, the Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X. In the face of the national crisis all parties patriotically rallied behind Thiers whose title was changed from "Chief Executive" to "President." The choice turned out to be a very fortunate one. He was a determined, clear-headed old man of seventy-three who had begun his political career almost half a century before. He resolved to devote himself single-mindedly to the reconstruction of France; and the work that he accomplished in 1871-73 gave him a far greater reputation than all the rest of his political activity.

Working class discontented. Three great problems immediately faced the France that emerged from the Franco-Prussian War. These were, (1) the Commune, (2) peace with Germany, and (3) the establishment of a permanent government. No sooner was the war with Germany over than France was in the throes of a civil war that threatened to have even more disastrous consequences. The story of the Paris Commune is a fearful tale of a working-class uprising which in loss of life was far more bloody than the Reign of Terror or the June days of 1848. During the Second Empire there had been an iron repression of all agitation in favor of democracy or socialism, and the period of quiet led many to believe that never again would revolution raise its head in France. But the agitation had merely gone "underground." As a result of a century of experience French revolutionists had become as expert in the art of secret revolutionary

agitation as they were in that of barricade fighting. During the reign of Napoleon III there had existed secret societies of the most violent kind that were waiting an opportunity to appear in the open.



A STREET BARRICADE IN PARIS, 1871

The Paris Commune. This opportunity came with the Franco-Prussian War. Bitterness of defeat aroused revolutionary sentiments among those who blamed the government for the nation's misfortunes. Not infrequently has a revolutionary uprising followed the military defeat of an absolute monarchy. Paris, which had just undergone a terrible siege, was seething with discontent. Many, ruined by the war, were evicted from their shops. Many former soldiers were unemployed and they wandered around the streets hungry and desperate. Fear of the Paris mob caused the National Assembly to transfer the capital to Versailles, which greatly angered the Parisians. Agitators appeared who harangued huge crowds, demanding the overthrow of the Versailles government. A committee of revolutionists was organized which seized control of Paris. Elections were then held for a general council, and the result showed a majority for the communards, as the revolutionists were now called. Paris proclaimed

herself a commune, adopted the red flag, and virtually seceded from France.

The communards desired to break up highly centralized France into a number of self-governing communes loosely united into a federation. Since most of them were socialists, they believed that it would be easier to establish socialism separately in the city communes than in the entire nation. The Commune of Paris called upon the various cities to defy the Versailles government and establish themselves as communes.

Suppression of the Commune. There was great alarm in France at the action of Paris, and the Versailles government determined to suppress the Commune. A new siege of Paris was begun in April, 1871, this time by French armies. The communards defended the city desperately, and six weeks passed before the army captured it. This was not, however, the end. A gigantic struggle followed, more violent than any in the revolutionary annals of Paris. No quarter was asked or given by either side. Finding themselves hard pressed, the communards attempted to burn the capital, and they did succeed in destroying some of the famous public buildings. Finally, however, the army got the upper hand, and took a terrible vengeance. Thousands were executed and thousands more were imprisoned or exiled.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Payment of the indemnity to Germany. The government, having suppressed the Commune, turned its attention to the problem of reconstruction. The indemnity to Germany of a billion dollars ¹ was paid by 1873, and the German army of occupation left France. The payment was largely due to Thiers, who succeeded in floating several liberty loans that were subscribed to many times over both at home and abroad. The Assembly declared that he deserved well of his country, and hailed him as the "Liberator of the Territory."

Gambetta (1838-82). Now that the country was safe from revolutionists and free from the Germans it turned its attention to the problem of government. Was France to be a monarchy or a republic? On this question the Assemblies of the great Revolution that at times it recalled the assemblies of the great Revolution. The leader of the republicans was Léon Gambetta who, as a

¹ See page 425.

young lawyer under the empire, had sounded the keynote of militant republicanism. During the siege of Paris he had escaped in a balloon, and had organized a resistance to the Germans that made a better showing than the imperial armies. After the war he was elected to the Assembly where he became the leading opponent of the monarchists. His reputation as an orator and statesman grew rapidly. So inspiring was his presence, so eloquent was his speech, so shrewd his judgment, and so sound his statesmanship that he was acclaimed by his countrymen as the very man to lead France into new paths of progress. If, as Plato says, oratory is the art of enchanting the soul, Gambetta was a very enchanter of men. His speeches electrified vast audiences who saw in him a brave and eloquent tribune of the people ready at all times to battle for his ideas. Gambetta was an ardent champion of the principles of the French Revolution which, he declared, would bring forth "the efflorescence of the élite of the nation." He was a prudent man, an opportunist, who believed



LÉON GAMBETTA

in continuous progress, *one step at a time*. In his day the next step was to rescue France from monarchist parties and from monarchist traditions, and he consecrated himself to this purpose with all his energy.

Thiers becomes a republican. The critical period in the history of the Third French Republic was 1871-79. During those years party strife was exceedingly bitter, between the monarchists and republicans, and between the monarchist factions. The rapid recovery after the "terrible year" 1870-71 and the quarrels of the monarchists converted many to a republic. Thiers, a life-long monarchist, announced his conversion to republicanism, "that form of government which divides us least." This caused the

Assembly to pass a vote of censure against the "Liberator of the Territory" (1873), who then passed out of office.

Question of the flag. A staunch monarchist general, Marshal MacMahon, was elected president by the Assembly. The Bourbon and Orleanist factions finally came to an agreement; the Count de Chambord was to be king, but he, being childless, was to make the Orleanist claimant his heir. When the Count received the offer of a crown he accepted it, but on the condition that the old Bourbon flag, the fleur-de-lys, be restored with him. Under no condition would he consent to reign under that "symbol of revolution," the tricolor. The Assembly refused to abolish the flag which had floated on so many victorious battlefields.

The "Organic Laws" of 1875. The flag incident turned the tide in favor of a republic. Fearful of losing their control the Assembly, in 1875, passed a series of "organic laws," forming a skeleton constitution, that provided for a Parliament of two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, and for a President whose term was extended to seven years. The monarchists hoped that MacMahon would keep the place safe until they were in a better position to choose a king. A year later the Assembly went out of existence, and elections for Parliament took place. The chief figure in the campaign was Gambetta, who went up and down the country denouncing the monarchists as reactionaries who wanted to restore the Bourbon days of Charles X. To the deep disappointment of the monarchists, the republicans swept the country and captured the Chamber; the Senate had a small monarchist majority, solely because one quarter of its members had been appointed for life by the Assembly before its dissolution. Gambetta had won his case before the people.

Republicans versus monarchists. France was now a house divided against itself. The President and Senate were monarchist; the Chamber was republican. Soon these two elements were at deadly war with each other. A republican ministry, although it had the support of the Chamber, was dismissed by MacMahon. Gambetta again roused the country against the personal government of the President, denouncing his action as a *coup d'état*. In 1877 MacMahon, with the consent of the Senate, dissolved the Chamber. The elections that followed were the most bitter in the history of the Third Republic. All the reac-

tionary and conservative forces in French life lined up behind MacMahon, the nobles, the military, the peasants, and the clericals. The clergy were especially active on the side of the monarchists; in Gambetta and the republicans she saw her deadly enemies, the successors of Danton and Robespierre.¹ The outcome was a sweeping victory for the republicans. In 1879 MacMahon was forced to resign, and he was succeeded by Jules Grévy, a life-long republican. The republic was now in the hands of its friends.

Triumph of the republic. The Third Republic which came into existence in this unexpected way has been the most stable government in France since 1789. There was great rejoicing when the republic was at last assured, and to symbolize the triumph of the principles of the French Revolution, July 14 was once more made the national holiday.

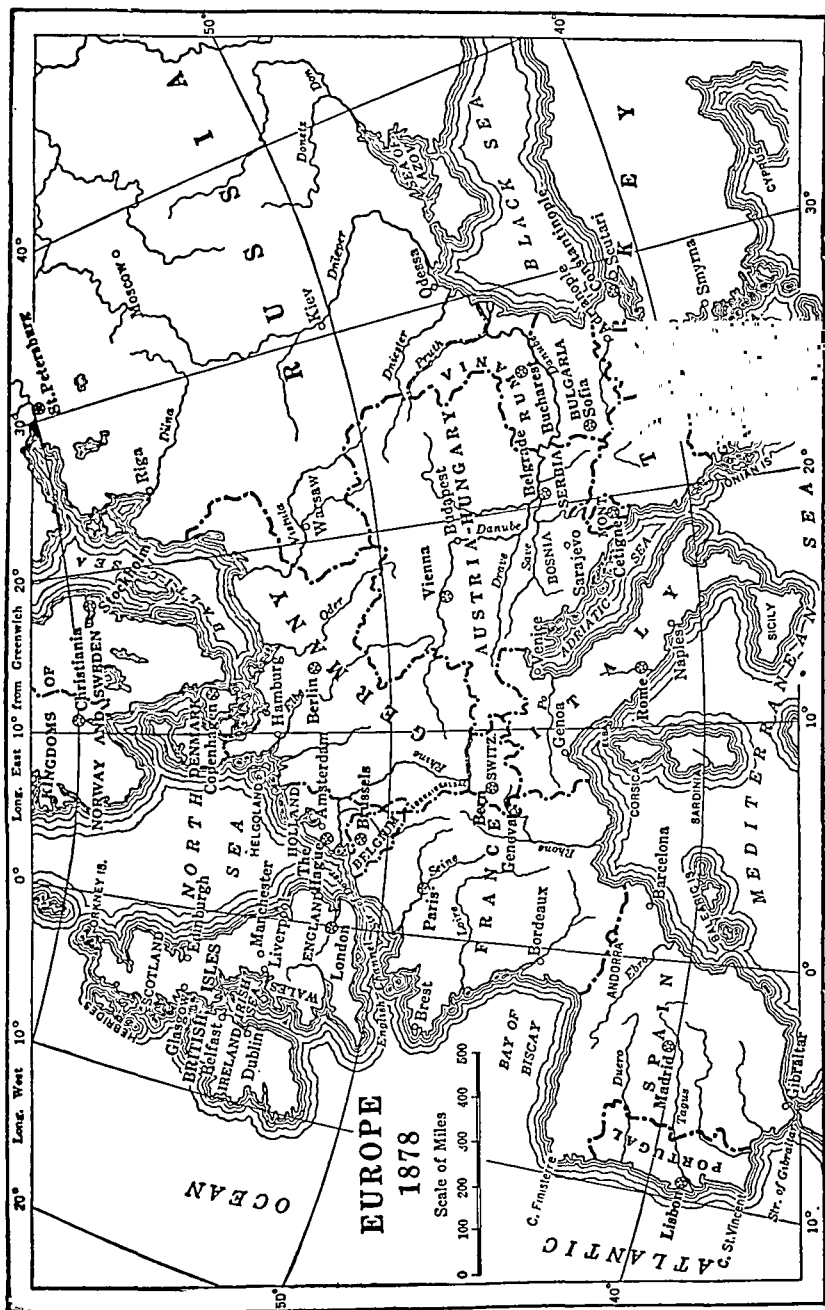
RECONSTRUCTION

Reconstruction of France. After her defeat, France was deeply mortified but not at all crushed and hopeless. On the contrary there began a national revival that soon made France once more a power in the affairs of the world. The following plan of reconstruction was adopted and vigorously carried through.

(1) *Military.* There was an immediate need of reorganizing the army which had completely broken down during the war. The triumph of Prussia spelled the triumph of her military system, which was adopted by nearly all the nations in Europe. In 1872 conscription was established in France. Fearing another invasion, the German frontier was magnificently fortified, especially at Verdun and Belfort, the key positions.

(2) *Educational.* In part the victory of Prussia was ascribed to the fact that she had a system of universal education. France at that time had no such system, hence illiteracy was widespread. Jules Ferry, one of the prominent republicans of the day, became the leading champion of popular education. It was largely through his efforts that the famous Ferry Laws were passed (1881-86), which made primary education compulsory, and which established at public expense a free, national system of public schools. Religious instruction of any kind was strictly forbidden in the public schools. It was especially designed that they should

¹ See page 350.



teach the rising generation loyalty to the newly established republic.

(3) *Expansion.* It was the Third Republic that created a colonial empire which rivaled the one of Louis XIV. France acquired Algiers, Tunis, Madagascar, Morocco, and the Senegal valley in Africa; and Tonkin in Asia. It cannot be said, however, that the



"AU REVOIR"

Germany: "Farewell, Madame, and if—" France: "Ha! We shall meet again!" A cartoon printed in *Punch* at the end of the German occupation of France, in 1873.

colonial ambitions of the Republic were very popular. It cost much money to conquer and to hold these places. Moreover, many Frenchmen did not relish the idea of sending their sons to Asia and Africa to fight strange peoples with whom they had no quarrel. France, because of her stationary population, is not a colonizing nation, and there are few Frenchmen beside officials and soldiers in the French colonies. The latter serve two purposes, as places of investment for French capitalists and as sources of recruiting for French armies.

(4) *Economic.* The Third Republic marked the highest industrial advance in the history of the nation. Large iron deposits in the northeast were mined extensively after 1870, but owing to a lack of a large supply of coal, France did not become as highly industrialized as England and Germany. Most of the people were peasants who generally owned the land that they cultivated. Though their farms were small they managed to make a comfortable living, largely as a result of hard work and close saving. The Republic has protected the interests of the peasants by high tariffs on foodstuffs and by limiting the right of those who have financial claims on farms. As she produced nearly all the food that she consumed France was more self-sufficient than either England or Germany.

Luxury industries. The urban population consisted mainly of shopkeepers, skilled artisans, and professionals. The working class was small, and was to be found in the industrialized northeast, the region of mines and large factories. Much of France's prosperity came from the production of luxuries, silks, wines, jewelry, articles of women's wear, artistic products, costly furnishings, and the like. She exported these expensive products to all parts of the world, and in return imported coal and raw materials, such as cotton and wool. In 1890 a new tariff law was passed which established high protection duties on both industrial and agricultural products.¹

THE BOULANGER AFFAIR

Disappointment of the monarchists. The Republic was established, but was it safe? The monarchists were infuriated because the prize had been snatched out of their hands. It was quite unlikely that the country would again elect a monarchist government, for the new schools were teaching the rising generation to be good republicans. When the old generation passed away all monarchist sentiments would pass away with it.

Monarchists control army. Chagrined and desperate, the monarchists began plotting in secret. One element in the government, the army, was on their side. The officers, almost to a man, were monarchist at heart, and secretly had only contempt for the Republic that they had sworn to protect. This attitude was due to the fact that they came mainly from the upper classes, and had been educated in monarchist traditions under the Empire. Might not the army be the means of destroying the Third Republic as it had been the means of destroying the First and the Second? So reasoned the monarchist conspirators.

Discontent with the Republic. In the eighties there was a rising discontent with the government. Several scandals came to light, the most important being the Panama scandal. A corporation organized to build the Panama Canal failed, and an investigation disclosed the fact that government officials had been bribed by the promoters of the scheme. A "Republican scandal," said the monarchists, who charged that the Republic was in the hands of corrupt politicians who were enriching themselves at public expense. Another cause of discontent was the pacific

¹ Great changes took place after the World War. See page 714.

policy of the Republic. The French had taken deeply to heart their defeat in 1870, especially the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, "the open wound in the side of France." Some day they would have their *revanche*, and Germany would be compelled to restore the "lost provinces." "Think of it always, speak of it never," Gambetta had enjoined his fellow countrymen. But the republicans were not over eager to engage in a war with Germany because they believed that France was not yet strong enough to do so. The monarchists on the contrary openly and insistently demanded that France take an aggressive attitude toward Germany and charged the Republic with cowardice for not doing so.

Boulanger. Before long a "man on horseback" appeared. He was General Boulanger, a handsome, dashing soldier, who became a popular hero. Whenever he appeared on the boulevards, wearing a gay plumed hat and mounted on a coal-black steed, he would be followed by immense crowds yelling "Vive Boulanger!" He made blustering speeches eulogizing the army, and many believed that the General was the man who would lead victorious French armies across the Rhine.

Collapse of the Boulanger movement. The republicans feared that the General was plotting a *coup d'état*, and they determined to get ahead of the "man on horseback." The various republican factions ceased their quarrels and "concentrated" against Boulanger. In 1889 he was summoned for trial on the charge of conspiring against the State. Instead of boldly facing his opponents, he fled to Belgium where he committed suicide. The entire Boulanger movement then suddenly collapsed, and the dashing soldier was now universally regarded as an empty braggart and ridiculous *poseur*. But the trials and tribulations of the Third Republic were not yet all over.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

First trial of Dreyfus. Toward the end of the nineteenth century there occurred the famous Dreyfus Affair which, for a decade, convulsed France, and held the whole world in breathless attention. In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the French army, was found guilty by a secret military court of having betrayed his country by selling military information to a foreign power. He was expelled from the army in disgrace, and sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island near French Guiana in South America.

Anti-Semitism. Captain Dreyfus was a Jew, and this fact intensified the feeling against him. Many Frenchmen, fearful of Germany, were ready to believe anything of anybody accused of treason, and the popular prejudice against Dreyfus was fanned into a flame by anti-Semitic agitators.

Picquart. Two years after Dreyfus's conviction, Colonel Georges Picquart was appointed head of the secret service department of the army. On examining the documents on which Dreyfus had been convicted, he came to the conclusion that they were not in the handwriting of Dreyfus, and he so informed his superiors. He was told to drop the matter, but he refused, and he was therefore retired from the army. Picquart was now convinced that Dreyfus was innocent and the victim of a conspiracy among the generals. During the Affair he was the tireless and devoted champion of Dreyfus, often in great peril of his life, all for the sake of righting a wrong done to an innocent man.

Dreyfusards versus anti-Dreyfusards. Before long the country was divided into two hostile camps, the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards, who denounced each other in unmeasured terms. The overwhelming majority were anti-Dreyfusards because they blindly accepted the decision of the military authorities whom they trusted implicitly. The Dreyfusards were few but influential—the writers, Émile Zola and Anatole France, the radical politician, Georges Clemenceau, and the socialist orator, Jean Jaurès, who denounced the condemnation of Dreyfus as a crime against humanity committed by a military clique in the name of the nation.

Republicans consolidate against monarchists. The Affair soon got into politics. It was noticed that the active anti-Dreyfusards were monarchists, clericals, militarists, and former followers of Boulanger. Especially active against Dreyfus were the priests who, through pulpit and press, denounced the condemned Captain. Why were all the anti-republican forces leagued against Dreyfus? As the Affair developed it became more and more evident that the conspiracy against Dreyfus was really a conspiracy against the Republic. "The Republic is in danger!" was now the cry and, as in the days of MacMahon and Boulanger, the republican factions consolidated against the monarchists. In 1899 a remarkable ministry was appointed, headed by a distinguished statesman, Waldeck-Rousseau, which pledged itself "to defend energetically republican institutions." It contained re-

representatives of all the republican factions from the most moderate to the most radical. For the first time in history a socialist, Alexandre Millerand, became a Cabinet member.

Second trial of Dreyfus. The ministry determined to get to the bottom of the Dreyfus Affair. The prisoner of Devil's Island was brought to France for a new trial by a military court. For five years he had suffered imprisonment in the heat of the tropics, yet throughout his trial Captain Dreyfus bore himself with quiet dignity. He declared that he was innocent of any wrongdoing, and asked that he be completely exonerated. But again he was found guilty. The second trial was open, and so plainly did the judges show their prejudice against the prisoner that many were convinced that he was innocent. Dreyfus was pardoned by the President, and his case was then put into the hands of the supreme court for a thorough revision. In 1906 the court rendered a decision, declaring that Dreyfus was completely innocent, and the evidence against him forgeries and lies.

Army republicanized. The government determined to punish those responsible for the persecution of Dreyfus, and to destroy root and branch all the monarchist influences in the country. Dreyfus was restored to the army, promoted in rank, and decorated with the Legion of Honor. Picquart was made a general, and later Minister of War. The anti-Dreyfusard officers in the army were compelled to resign or were reduced in rank. The army was put in charge of trusted republicans who ruthlessly cleared it of monarchists.

ANTI-CLERICAL LEGISLATION

The Church and the Republic. The Dreyfus Affair marked an epoch in the history of the Third Republic. It resulted in the passing of important laws, and in the coming to the front of three famous statesmen, Clemenceau, Jaurès, and Aristide Briand. The chief outcome of the Affair was an attack on the Catholic Church in France. It will be recalled that the clergy had opposed the establishment of the Republic and had been prominent in every move to overthrow it. After the Boulanger Affair, Pope Leo XIII advised the French clergy to accept the Republic which, he declared, was now firmly established. Most of the priests resented the Pope's interference in French affairs and paid no heed to his advice.

Association Law. The activity of the Catholics against Dreyfus gave the anti-clerical government its opportunity. Again the Church was denounced as the enemy of the Republic, and two laws were passed which made drastic changes in the relations between Church and State. One, the Association Law of 1901, was directly aimed at the Catholic orders of monks and nuns. According to this law no order could exist in France unless it was chartered by the State. Most of the orders refused to become chartered because they feared to give knowledge of their affairs to a government that was seeking to destroy them. They were promptly dissolved, their property confiscated, and their activities suppressed.

Separation of Church and State. In 1905 the famous Separation Law was passed which broke the centuries-old union between Church and State. Its chief provisions were: (1) The Concordat was abrogated, and the government declared that henceforth it would neither recognize nor subsidize any faith; (2) the budget for maintaining the churches was suppressed; (3) the Church was to govern herself without interference by the State; (4) a system of pensions was adopted for those priests already in the service; and (5) all church buildings and church property in each parish was to be in the legal control of local boards of directors.¹

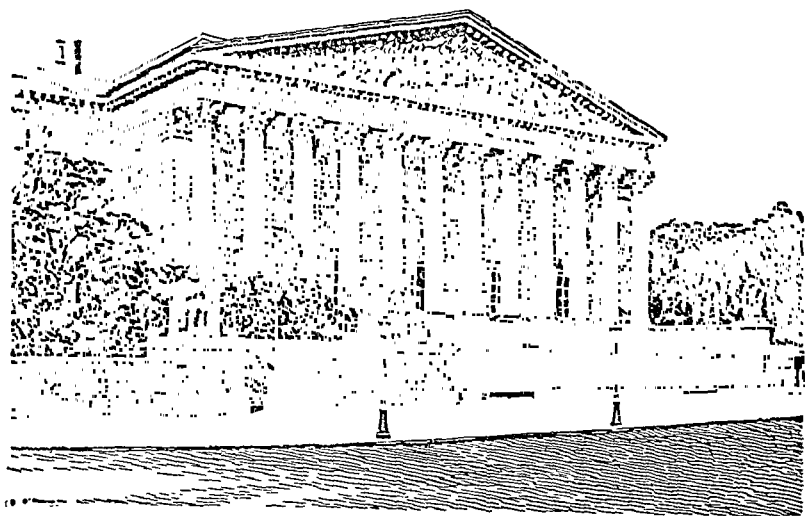
The Separation Law was largely the work of Briand, then a young Deputy who belonged to one of the socialist factions. It caused widespread opposition among French Catholics, but it was carried out vigorously by the Clemenceau ministry (1906-09), though some compromises had to be made to make it workable. Many Catholics now left the monarchist parties, and formed the Popular Liberal Party which loyally accepted the Republic.

GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES

Difference between the French and English cabinets. Although republican in form the French government is modeled largely on that of England, for its essential feature is the parliamentary system with a responsible ministry. The Chamber is elected for four years by universal manhood suffrage; the Senate, for nine years by electoral colleges in the *departements*. The cabinet is a committee of parliament, appointed nominally by the

¹ This provision was modified in 1921, when control of Church property was given to the priesthood.

president, and is responsible in theory to both houses, but in practice to the Chamber only. Unlike the cabinets in England those in France are short-lived; it is not unusual for a cabinet to fall after existing only a few months. But these changes do not at all mean that the government is unstable because the fall of a cabinet in France does not have the same significance as a similar event in England. When an English cabinet falls, a dissolution of Parliament generally follows; and if the opposition wins, the new cabinet is of a different party from that of its predecessor and follows different policies. But in France no such thing happens. When a cabinet falls the Chamber is not dissolved; since Mac-Mahon's dissolution in 1877, no French president and senate have dared to dissolve the Chamber before its term has expired. The new cabinet frequently includes members of the old, and follows the same general policies. A change of ministry in France is generally a shuffle, not a historic event as in England. Then why the change? It is chiefly because the political groups that support the cabinet do not have a common policy; often some of them join the opposition to overthrow the cabinet.



THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS

The president. The French president does not correspond to the American president, but to the King of England; he is not really the executive head of the nation but its figurehead. He is

3
elected for a term of seven years by the National Assembly, a name given to a joint session of both houses.

Left and Right. There are no political parties in France or anywhere else on the Continent, as the word "party" is understood in America and England.¹ Candidates are nominated by petition or by small associations. Generally a candidate manages his own campaign, pays his own expenses, and even writes his own platform. After election the deputies form themselves into groups, some very small, others fairly large. If one were to walk into a Continental parliament he could tell at once the opinions of the members without knowing any of them because of the system of seating members according to their opinions. To the left of the president of the house sit the radicals; to his right, the conservatives; in the center, the moderates. And they are known as "Left," "Right," and "Center." At the extreme left are always the socialists; and at the extreme right, the reactionaries; and in between, the various shades of radicals, liberals, and conservatives. In parliament the cabinet is supported by a bloc, the name given to a combination of groups that unite often temporarily to form a majority. It takes little to dissolve a bloc which has little of the party-machinery that, in Anglo-Saxon countries, smooths the path of lawmaking.

NEW PROBLEMS AND LEADERS

Poincaré, Clemenceau, Briand, and Jaurès. French political "parties" come and go so quickly that it is impossible to describe them. However, there are certain definite tendencies that are fairly clear. The Moderates are conservative republicans who are inspired by the ideas of the cautious Thiers, who had once declared that "the Republic will be conservative or it will not be." Their leader, Raymond Poincaré, was especially active in foreign policies, and did much to cement the friendship between France, Russia, and England. The Radicals are uncompromising democrats and anti-clericals, inspired by the ideals of Gambetta. The most prominent of the Radicals, Clemenceau, was a disciple of Gambetta, and had bitterly fought monarchists and clericals all his political life. A brilliant and witty speaker and writer, an adroit politician, yet bold and incisive, Clemenceau gained the

¹ An exception is to be made in the case of the socialist parties who are as well organized as the English and American parties.

enthusiastic admiration of many of his fellow countrymen. Another group are the Radical Socialists who, besides being democrats and anti-clerical, are also social reformers who desire to better the conditions of the laboring masses. Briand was, in a sense, a Radical Socialist though he entered politics as a socialist. He was an able and far-seeing statesman, bold in his views but cautious in his policies. The most famous socialist of his day was Jaurès, who won a world reputation as an orator and popular leader. He was strongly opposed to war, and pleaded with his fellow countrymen that they should come to an understanding with Germany. When the World War broke out he was assassinated by a fanatic.

Social legislation. France has not been as radical in social matters as she has been in political and religious matters. She has lagged far behind Germany and England in progressive social legislation. This is mainly due to the fact that France is not highly industrialized, hence the working-class problem is not so great as in the other two countries. Hardly any social legislation was enacted until the Dreyfus Affair convinced many that the Republic would gain staunch supporters among the working classes if it did something for them. A workingmen's compensation law was passed; in 1906 a law prescribed one day of rest in every week for all workingmen; in 1910 an Old Age Pension Law gave pensions to old workingmen.



"SOWING THE SEEDS
OF LIBERTY"

A design used on French postage stamps of the present day.

Syndicalism. It was the Third Republic which legalized trade unions. The law of 1884 for the first time fully permitted workmen to organize trade unions and to strike. Organized labor made rapid headway, and in 1895 a federation was formed of all the trade unions in France, called the General Confederation of Labor. This body was at first conservative, interesting itself only in fighting for higher wages and shorter hours for its members. Later it came under the influence of syndicalism, a revolutionary ideal of trade unionism. Syndicalists, unlike socialists, do not believe in "political action," namely, political agitation to influence the State to pass progressive measures. They believe in "direct

action," that workingmen should get better conditions not by appealing to the State but by forcing employers to give it to them through constant strikes and through sabotage, or the damaging of the property of the employers. Syndicalists also believe that the entire working class should engage in a general strike, paralyze industry, and take possession of the factories, mines, and railways.

Great strike of 1910. The Confederation was responsible for a series of strikes that greatly alarmed the country. It culminated in the famous railway strike of 1910 which tied up the entire railway system of France. Premier Briand took a firm stand against the strike which he denounced as a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the government. His action in the matter was novel. An order was issued mobilizing the strikers as reservists, an order which they dared not disobey for fear of serious punishment. Then, as reservists, the government put them to work in the railways; in other words, the strikers were forced to be their own strike-breakers. The railway strike immediately collapsed.

The Three Years' Military Law. A serious problem in France has been the low birth-rate. In 1914 France had a population of about 39,000,000, only 3,000,000 more than in 1870; but Germany had 69,000,000, almost double that of 1870. In case of war with Germany the French armies would be outnumbered. France decided to increase her army by increasing the length of military service; and in 1913 a bill was introduced requiring three, instead of two, years of active military service. There was bitter opposition to the proposed law, voiced chiefly by Jaurès and the socialists, and it passed with great difficulty. New elections took place in 1914 with the Three Years' Military Law as the issue, and the result was a large increase in the socialist vote. The government was faced by a determined opposition that sought to repeal the new law. But the great international crisis of 1914 changed the situation completely. When France was invaded by German armies political strife was hushed, and all parties in the Chamber united to support the government.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. The majority of the National Assembly was monarchist; then why didn't the Assembly set up a monarchy in France?
2. Gambetta once proclaimed Thiers "the liberator of our territory." Explain.

3. Explain the origins of the Commune of 1871. With what other uprisings may it be compared? Why did it fail?
4. To what extent was Gambetta responsible for the founding of the Third French Republic?
5. Explain historically why the French president is elected for seven years.
6. It is said of the Bourbons that they never learned anything and never forgot anything. Give examples to justify the statement.
7. What did Gambetta mean by the statement, "Clericalism, that is our enemy"?
8. Why are French cabinets less stable than English cabinets?
9. To which government does the French government correspond more; the English or American? Why?
10. The French have learned from their past history that to give too much power to their executive is dangerous. What experiences have taught them that lesson?
11. What is a "bloc"?
12. If you walked into a Continental parliament how could you tell where each of the following sits: socialists, conservatives, moderates?
13. Why did the Third Republic establish a system of compulsory education?
14. How may you explain the fact that France is industrially backward? What are some of its chief industries?
15. What is the significance of the Boulanger Affair in the history of the Third Republic?
16. A historian says that the Dreyfus case "really marked an important epoch in the history of the Third Republic." Explain.
17. What were the main provisions of the Separation Law of 1905?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

GAMBETTA. Deschanel, *Gambetta*; Stannard, *Gambetta*.

THE FOUNDING OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC. Wright, *History of the Third French Republic*, pp. 44-74; Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 326-30; George, *France in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 69-78.

GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES. Ogg and Beard, pp. 330-72; Poincaré, *How France is Governed*, chs. vi-x; George, ch. v-vi.

RECONSTRUCTION. Wright, pp. 35-43; Coubertin, *Evolution of France under the Third Republic*, ch. i.

ECONOMIC POLICIES. George, ch. x; Bracq, *France under the Third Republic*, chs. ii-iii.

THE BOULANGER AFFAIR. Wright, pp. 98-103; Coubertin, pp. 214-38; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 215-18.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR. Wright, pp. 123-41; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 218-23.

CHURCH AND STATE. Bracq, chs. ix, xiii-xv; Poincaré, ch. xi; George, chs. vii, xiii; Coubertin, chs. x-xi; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 223-32.

NEW PROBLEMS AND LEADERS. George, chs. viii-ix, xii; Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 282-305, 326-30; Bracq, chs. vii-viii.

CHAPTER XL

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI

THE Victorian Age was prolific in great statesmen. The early period could boast of Peel, Melbourne, Palmerston, and Lord John Russell; and the later period produced two statesmen who rank among the greatest in Britain's annals, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli. These two differed from each other in every possible way, in personality, race, ideals, temperament, and abilities; yet each in his way was the true spokesman of his day and generation in England.

Gladstone (1809-98). Gladstone came of a family of wealthy merchants. He was educated at Oxford where he distinguished himself. Shortly after his graduation he was elected to Parliament as a Tory. His first speeches were so eloquent that he was hailed by Macaulay as the "brightest hope of the stern, unbending Tories." In his early career Gladstone was a devoted follower of Peel from whom he learned that the statesman's art consists in adapting ideas to changing conditions. He observed and studied the great transformation that was going on in the political and social life of his country, how it was ceasing to be a land of aristocratic privilege and becoming one of equal rights. Slowly his convictions underwent a change from Toryism to Liberalism, and he became the idolized leader of the Liberal Party for almost half a century.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

Gladstone was the very model of English liberalism, and nineteenth-century England had no more doughty champion of reform, political, religious, educational, and financial. Yet, strange to say, he had no understanding of the problems of the working class, hence he was not a champion of *social* reform. His views on the Empire were those of an anti-imperialist who regarded the colonies as more of a burden than as an asset. Gladstone was very successful in domestic affairs but he made blunder after blunder in foreign affairs which brought him much unpopularity. To his credit it must be said that his influence was always for peace, and he could proudly say that "My name stands in Europe for a symbol of the policy of peace, moderation, and non-aggression."

Personally the Great Commoner, as Gladstone was called, was a grave, almost solemn, man. He was deeply and earnestly religious, and he fervently believed that all political questions were at bottom moral questions. His admirers beheld in him the very model of a Christian statesman who sought to apply Christian ideals to worldly affairs. The history of reform in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century is almost the biography of Gladstone, so great and fruitful were his accomplishments.

Disraeli (1804-81). The career of Benjamin Disraeli is almost a romance. Born a Jew he was baptized a Christian with the consent of his father who was a free thinker. From his youth Disraeli passionately dreamed of being a great political leader. He was elected to Parliament as a Tory, where he caused a sensation because of his odd appearance. He was attired like a dandy, and attempted to speak like a Demosthenes when he looked like a Beau Brummel. He did not get very far, for he was howled down by the members.

Before long several novels appeared from his pen, notably *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, that attracted wide attention. These books are not really novels, but political essays thinly disguised as such. They show such great knowledge of the political situation in England and such profound insight into the nature of English politics that their author was praised as a second Burke. The style of these books is elegant, sometimes florid, with a sparkling wit and epigram making light the heavy burden of serious thought. Disraeli tries to answer the question, "Can the English monarchy and aristocracy find a place in the hostile atmosphere

of democracy?" He suggests two ways by which they can: In the first place, they should become the leaders of the common people who, he declares, had been betrayed by the Liberals in 1832. The workingmen should be given the vote, and their interests should be looked after through social legislation. In the second place, they should awaken Britain to the fact that she is the mother of a mighty empire, scattered throughout the world, which she had neglected and almost deserted because of the anti-imperialist policy of the Liberals. As a world power Britain should take a vital interest in world affairs, and assert her policies aggressively.



BENJAMIN DISRAELI

In 1841 Disraeli was again elected to Parliament, this time as a Conservative. He began what he called the "education of his party," in the new ideas. For almost a generation he sat in the Opposition persistently fighting the policies of the Liberals and "educating" the Conservatives. At first he repelled his associates, later he fascinated them. The English aristocracy came to see in this highly imaginative Jew the savior of their class and their party, and they followed him devotedly. It was through his efforts that the Conservatives were induced to support the Reform Bill of 1867, a democratic measure which was against their aristocratic ideas and prejudices.

ERA OF REFORM

The Forster Act. The Reform Bill of 1867, like the Reform Bill of 1832, opened the gates to further reforms. Both the Conservatives and the Liberals were bidding for the votes of the newly enfranchised workingmen with promises of reform. The elections of 1868 resulted in a Liberal majority, and Gladstone

became Prime Minister. This was his first ministry (1868-74,, and he made a notable record as a great reformer. When Gladstone took office he declared that his mission was to pacify Ireland, and he succeeded in putting through Parliament two important laws in reference to that island, the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church (1869) and the Land Act of 1870.¹

"We must educate our masters," was the sentiment when the workingmen were enfranchised. To avoid the reproach of an illiterate democracy the Forster Act was passed in 1870, which provided for the establishment of elementary schools, under national authority, to be supported by local and national taxation and managed by local school boards. Illiteracy, once common, rapidly disappeared as a result of this school law.

Secret ballot. Now that the workingmen were enfranchised it was necessary to protect them from coercion by their employers. Public voting, which was then the practice, encouraged coercion, bribery, and violence and not, as it was said, courage and independence. Accordingly another installment of democracy took place through the adoption of the secret ballot in 1872.

Trade unions legalized. The legal position of trade unions was a matter of great concern to the new voters. It will be recalled that under the Combination Laws trade unions were not permitted to exist; but they did exist, hence these laws had to be modified constantly as trade unions grew in numbers and importance. In 1871 and in 1875 the Combination Laws were entirely repealed. Workingmen were henceforth permitted to organize and to strike; and the principle of collective bargaining was definitely recognized.

Disraeli's ministry. In the elections of 1874 the Conservatives were successful, and Disraeli became Prime Minister. No longer was he regarded as an eccentric adventurer, but as a statesman of genius whose policies would redound to the greater glory of Britain. Queen Victoria signalized her esteem for her favorite minister by raising him to the peerage as Lord Beaconsfield.

Disraeli's ministry was as notable in foreign affairs as Gladstone's had been in domestic affairs. In 1875 England got control of the Suez Canal, which gave her a foothold in Egypt.² Wishing to dramatize the pride of Empire, Disraeli induced Parliament to create a new title for the Queen, that of Empress of

¹ See the chapter on Ireland.

² See page 578.

India. This was a sign of the new imperialism which was destined to play so prominent a part in subsequent history. Russia's advance in Turkey in the Russo-Turkish War caused alarm in England. Disraeli dared the Russians to go to Constantinople, and was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Congress of Berlin.¹

Reform Bill of 1884. But England's imperial and diplomatic glory did not compensate her for the neglect of home problems. "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform" was the slogan of Gladstone, who was carried into office in 1880 by a Liberal wave. It was now the turn of domestic reform. Among the many progressive measures, the Reform Bill of 1884 was the most notable achievement of Gladstone's ministry. This law, in making the qualifications for voting in the country the same as in the city, gave the vote to the farm laborers. The third Reform Bill doubled the number of voters, and established what was practically universal manhood suffrage. Again democracy made a big stride as a result of agitation and reform.

By far the most important domestic problem was Ireland. Gladstone had become intensely interested in the Irish Question and he made two notable attempts to establish Home Rule, which will be described in the next chapter. The general elections in 1895 turned on the issue of Home Rule, and the result was an overwhelming Conservative victory.

THE CONSERVATIVE ERA (1895-1906)

Salisbury and Balfour. For ten years the Conservative Party governed England. This decade is of great importance in the history of the Empire, which now appealed to the imagination of Englishmen as never before. It was the period when Kipling appears as the poet of the far-flung British Empire of whose glories and triumphs he sang. A new generation of Conservative statesmen came to the front, Lord Salisbury, Arthur James Balfour, and Joseph Chamberlain. Lord Salisbury was an aristocrat of aristocrats who was at home with the "select few" of all lands with whom he consorted to determine the policies of nations. To domestic problems he brought the point of view of a great landowner and a member of a privileged class. His nephew Arthur James Balfour (later Lord Balfour) was one of the most ad-

¹ See page 397.

mired and beloved men in English public life. He was a writer and philosopher with fine gifts of literary style, and he brought into the sphere of politics the high qualities of a man of culture. His political views were those of a liberal-minded Conservative.

Chamberlain (1836-1914). The ablest of the Conservatives was Joseph Chamberlain, an ex-Liberal who had joined the Conservatives because he opposed Home Rule. A man of dynamic energy and shrewd political judgment, Chamberlain soon became influential in the Conservative Party, whose policies he greatly influenced. He became a convert to tariff reform, by which, in England, is meant protection, a policy which he urged upon his party. The period of Conservative rule was characterized by imperialism and vigorous foreign policies; it was the period of the Boer War¹ and of the Fashoda Affair.² In domestic legislation little was done that was noteworthy, except the passage of the Wyndham Act.³

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

After 1870 England continued to maintain her position as the leading industrial nation of the world, though with difficulty. The other nations were developing rapidly, and were no longer as dependent upon English manufactures as they had once been.

Advance of English industry. England's prosperity rested upon: (1) textiles, especially cotton; (2) coal and iron; (3) shipping; and (4) foreign investments. The cotton factories of Lancashire manufactured enormous quantities of goods for export. English cotton goods, famous for quality and cheapness, continued to maintain their lead in spite of foreign competition. As a producer of coal England, in 1914, ranked second only to the United States; during the period 1880-1914 production doubled. Large quantities of English coal were sent to the Continent, especially to France and to Italy. As a producer of iron and steel England showed a marked decline; in 1914 she was a bad third, with the United States first and Germany second. The British merchant marine continued to maintain its long-established leadership. Between 1870 and 1914⁴ it had more than doubled in tonnage, and consisted largely of vessels of the latest type.

¹ See page 575.

² See page 631.

³ See page 487.

⁴ In that year England's tonnage was four times that of Germany, her nearest rival.

Handsome profits were earned by British ships that carried not only English goods but those of foreign nations in all parts of the world. After a century of money-making England became so rich that she could not use all her capital at home, and invested heavily abroad, especially in her empire. English money built railways in Canada, dockyards in Australia, factories in India, and steamboats on the Nile.

Germany, England's industrial rival. "England lives on foreign trade and every Englishman knows it" is a common saying in England. She produces only about one fifth of the food that she needs; and of raw material, very little, no cotton, no silk, some wool, little flax. She is a gigantic factory that uses her labor and coal and iron to manufacture things for the outside world in return for food and raw material. Since 1870 Germany appeared as England's rival in the world's market. The foreign trade of both was increasing, but that of Germany much faster, especially in exports of manufactured goods. Fear was expressed that before long Germany, not England, would be the "workshop of the world."

Protection *versus* free trade. One of the solutions offered was tariff reform, championed by the Conservatives. In a famous speech Chamberlain declared that "Agriculture has been practically destroyed, sugar has gone, silk has gone, iron is threatened, cotton will go." He proposed that England abandon her free-trade policy, and put a moderate tariff on foodstuffs and manufactures to protect herself against German competition. A fundamental part of tariff reform was imperial preference. By a series of preferential tariff rates a protective system was to be built up in the Empire which, in time, would establish a free-trade union between England and her dominions, but with a high tariff on foreign goods. It was argued by the tariff reformers that, in this way, England would get her raw material and food from the colonies, and in return send them her manufactures. The Liberals opposed tariff reform, arguing that England, in abandoning free trade, would lose her foreign trade which was very much greater than that with her colonies. A high tariff, they declared, would in truth keep out foreign goods but it would also keep out foreign customers; if a foreigner could not sell anything to England he could not buy anything from her. Conservatives at first refused to favor tariff reform; later however, they adopted it as their

chief issue. The Liberals consistently upheld their policy of free trade.

THE LIBERAL ERA (1906-16)

The Liberal ministry. There was great dissatisfaction with the Conservatives largely because they had been in power a long time and had neglected domestic reforms. In the elections of 1906 the Liberals were overwhelmingly victorious. A Liberal ministry came into power that governed the country for a decade. It contained a notable group of statesmen, Herbert Henry Asquith who was Prime Minister during most of the period, John Morley, Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, and David Lloyd George.

Lloyd George (1863-). The one who was to play a leading part in the history of his country and of the world was Lloyd George. He came of a poor family in Wales, and consequently had none of the advantages of wealth and station. The story of his life reads like that of great Americans who rose to fame from poverty and obscurity. Lloyd George became a lawyer and politician in his little home town, and was elected to Parliament as a Liberal. Almost from the beginning of his political career the "little Welsh attorney" gave evidence of his remarkable gifts. His speeches were eloquent, witty, lucid, and forceful. He also showed talent for the game of politics which he quickly learned to play like a master. Gifted with a quick and penetrating mind Lloyd George realized that the Liberalism of Gladstone had done the work of its day by extending the suffrage, by abolishing ancient abuses and privileges, by removing religious disabilities, by spreading education, and by reforming legal codes; but owing to the belief in the doctrine of *laissez faire* it had taken little interest in the problems of the working class. It was Lloyd George who swung the Liberal Party into the new path of social reform, and who became the chief spokesman of the radical England that began to make war on poverty as at one time the liberal England had made war on privilege.

Rise of the Labor Party. A notable result of the elections of 1906 was the appearance of a Labor Party. Since the enfranchisement of the working class there had been a movement to organize a political party to represent the interests of this class. Several socialist parties appeared, but they failed to get much support

from the British workingmen. In the beginning of the twentieth century there was great discontent among the lower classes owing to the constantly increasing cost of living. Wages were rising but prices were soaring. This resulted in many strikes, and in one of them an issue arose that had important consequences. During a strike on the Taff Vale Railway the company sued the union, alleging that it was responsible for the acts of its members, who were charged with intimidating strike breakers. The union was found guilty and ordered to pay heavy damages to the company. The Taff Vale Decision (1901) caused great alarm among the trade unions, who feared that, if it were allowed to stand, no strike could succeed; the employers, by bringing suit, could empty the treasuries of the unions. A series of conferences, attended by representatives of the trade unions and of socialist organizations, resulted in the formation of the Labor Party. In the first trial of strength, in the elections of 1906, it elected about thirty members, who proclaimed themselves as the representatives of the working class. This caused much concern both to Conservatives and Liberals who, to please the workingman, united to pass the Trades Disputes Act (1906) which nullified the Taff Vale Decision by forbidding damage suits arising from trade disputes with a trade union. The Labor Party increased in numbers at every election and was soon recognized as a powerful influence in British politics. Its basic principles are socialist, but it is opposed to revolutionary methods. The Labor Party advocates radical social reforms which, they believe, will in time lead to socialism.

Social reforms. The Asquith ministry achieved so notable a record in many fields of legislation that it takes rank with the famous ministries in the history of modern England. Especially important were the social reforms, which repudiated the doctrine of *laissez faire* and asserted the doctrine of State intervention in the affairs of capital and labor. In 1906 a Workmen's Compensation Act was passed requiring employers to compensate employees who met with accidents in the course of their work. In 1908 an Old Age Pensions Act allowed pensions to working men and women over seventy; the funds for this purpose were to be provided entirely by the government. In 1911 the National Insurance Act was passed. It provided that all workingmen must be insured by the government against illness; in case of sickness the insured were to receive money and medical aid. Another part

of this Act provided that those employed in certain trades where work was not steady and regular must insure against unemployment; and when out of work the insured were to be given allowances for a certain length of time. The funds for sickness and unemployment insurance were to be contributed by the employers, the employees, and the government.

The budget of 1909. To carry out these schemes of reform required large sums of money. How was the government to raise them? Put on a high tariff, said the Conservatives. But the Liberals, being free traders, refused. Tax the landowners, said Lloyd George who was now Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1909 he introduced a budget that proposed "to lay the heaviest burden on the broadest back" by putting special taxes on large estates. This aroused the deepest resentment among the aristocrats, and they denounced Lloyd George as a demagogue who was attacking the interests of property. The budget passed the Commons where the Liberals had a majority, but was defeated by the Lords where the Conservatives had a majority. Premier Asquith decided to appeal to the country, and Parliament was dissolved. In January, 1910, elections took place with the budget as the issue. Lloyd George vigorously criticized the Lords who, he charged, in defeating the "people's budget" had acted more in the interest of their class than in that of their country. In one of his speeches he attacked the land monopoly of the aristocracy by asking, "Who ordained that a few (aristocrats) should have the land of Great Britain as a perquisite? Who made ten thousand people owners of the soil and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth?"

Labor and Irish support Asquith ministry. The result of the elections was not at all what the Liberals had expected, for they came back much reduced in numbers. They had about as many seats as the Conservatives, hence to hold office the Asquith ministry had to have the support of the Labor and Irish parties. This the latter were willing to give, but for a price. The Irish asked for Home Rule, and Labor for legislation in favor of the trade unions, to both of which Premier Asquith agreed. Again the budget was introduced, and it was passed in the Commons by the Liberal-Labor-Irish combination; it now also passed the Lords who, faithful to the precedent of 1832, yielded to the wishes of the people.¹

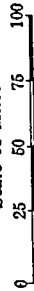
¹ See pages 367-68.

**THE
UNITED KINGDOM
1914**

Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100

The map displays the following geographical features and labels:

- Islands:** Shetland Islands, Orkney Islands, Sutherland, Caithness, Lewis, Harris, Mull, Skye, Ross, Cromarty, Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Argyll, Fife, Angus, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall.
- Cities and Towns:** London, Canterbury, Dover, Southampton, Portsmouth, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, Bath, Oxford, London, Canterbury, Dover, Southampton, Portsmouth, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, Bath, Oxford, London, Canterbury, Dover, Southampton, Portsmouth, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, Bath, Oxford.
- Water Bodies:** Atlantic Ocean, North Sea, English Channel, Irish Sea, Celtic Sea, Bay of Biscay, Bay of Cadiz, Bay of Cádiz, Bay of Gibraltar, Strait of Gibraltar, Strait of Messina, Strait of Sicily, Strait of Otranto, Strait of Bonifacio, Strait of Messina, Strait of Sicily, Strait of Otranto, Strait of Bonifacio.
- Topography:** Contour lines showing elevation, major rivers like the Thames, Severn, Trent, Mersey, Tyne, Ussie, Forth, Clyde, Great Ouse, St. Lawrence, Rhine, Danube, Elbe, Oder, Vistula, Dnieper, Don, Volga, Ural, Ob, Yenisey, Lena, Amur, Yangtze, Yellow River, Mekong, Irrawaddy, Salween, Brahmaputra, Ganges, Indus, Nile, Niger, Congo, Zaire, Amazon, Rio Negro, Parana, Uruguay, La Plata, Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Florida Current, Gulf Stream, North Atlantic Drift, Canary Current, Benguel Current, Agulhas Current, Mozambique Current, Somali Current, Equatorial Countercurrent, South Atlantic Drift, Brazil Current, Falkland Current, Antarctic Circumpolar Current.



A T L A N T I C

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N O R T H

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Parliament Act of 1911. But the budget campaign had roused the country on the subject of the Lords. Threats had been made to "mend or end" them. The Liberals were furious because they had lost their majority in the Commons. The Irish knew that no Home Rule bill could pass the Lords. The Laborites were opposed to the very existence of an aristocratic house. Backed by this combination Premier Asquith decided to reduce the powers of the Lords. In December, 1910, Parliament was again dissolved, and the result of the elections was about the same as in January. In 1911 the Parliament Act was introduced into the Commons. It provided: (1) that a money bill, if passed by the Commons, and not passed by the Lords within one month, becomes law; (2) that any other bill if passed in three successive sessions of the Commons, and not passed by the Lords, becomes law, provided two years have elapsed between the first introduction of the bill and its final passage; and (3) that Parliament should be elected for a term of five instead of seven years. But this very Parliament Act had to be passed by the Lords; in other words, the latter were asked to commit political suicide. Naturally they refused. What was to be done? The Cabinet decided to force through the measure by packing the upper house, and prevailed upon King George V to promise to create a sufficient number of peers pledged to vote for it. This was 1832 all over again. Confronted with the prospect of being swamped, the Lords yielded and passed the bill.

Supremacy of the Commoners established. The Parliament Act of 1911 is of great importance in the history of England. It decreed that the Lords should go the way of the crown; like the latter it was to have dignity without power. The Commons, once merely an advisory body to the King, was now the indisputable master of the government of Great Britain.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

During the period of Liberal rule, a new political movement came prominently to the fore, woman suffrage. All classes had now been enfranchised. Could democracy go any farther? Yes, came a response from an unexpected quarter, the women of England. What sort of democracy was it, they argued, which denied the vote to *half* of the adult population!

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97). At the end of the eighteenth

century a remarkable Englishwoman, Mary Wollstonecraft, had first sounded the modern note of complete equality in society of men and women. In her book, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, she demanded that women be enfranchised, that they be educated like men, that they be given full opportunity to enter any business and profession, and that all laws discriminating against them should be repealed. Mary Wollstonecraft's voice was a voice in the wilderness, and she was denounced as a "hyena in petticoats" whose ideas were ridiculous and whose influence was evil.

Suffragists versus anti-suffragists. Nevertheless a movement began, known generally as feminism, to realize these ideals. It progressed very slowly because of the almost universal belief that "woman's place was at home" where she was sheltered and protected. It was in England, where politics is considered all-important, that the movement for woman suffrage first arose. When the Reform Bill of 1867 was before Parliament, the eminent philosopher and economist, John Stuart Mill, offered an amendment extending the franchise to women, which was defeated. An agitation was started to convert England to equal suffrage that enlisted the support of many well-to-do, educated women. The suffragists argued that although women were recognized as citizens they were taxed without being represented and governed without their consent, hence a government exclusively in the hands of men made a mockery of democracy. The anti-suffragists replied that all government rests on force, and as women did not have the duty of fighting they should not have the right of voting. Quite apart from "duties" and "rights" most people were opposed to woman suffrage because it was feared that, if women took part in politics, they would neglect their homes to the ruin of family life.

The suffragettes. It was not until the appearance of the suffragettes in the beginning of the twentieth century that the question of woman suffrage became prominent. A group of women, led by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, decided upon militant tactics. Bands of suffragettes, or "militants," would descend upon Parliament with cries of "Votes for Women!" Public men would be waylaid and annoyed; meetings would be broken up; telegraph wires cut; pictures in museums mutilated; famous buildings set on fire. Hardly a day passed without out-

rages committed by daring and fearless suffragettes who occasionally resorted even to rioting. When arrested and jailed, they would go on a "hunger strike," inviting death by starvation as martyrs of their cause. By these methods the suffragists believed that they would direct the attention of England to the demands of the women for equal rights. For over a decade England was in a daily turmoil over "Votes for Women."

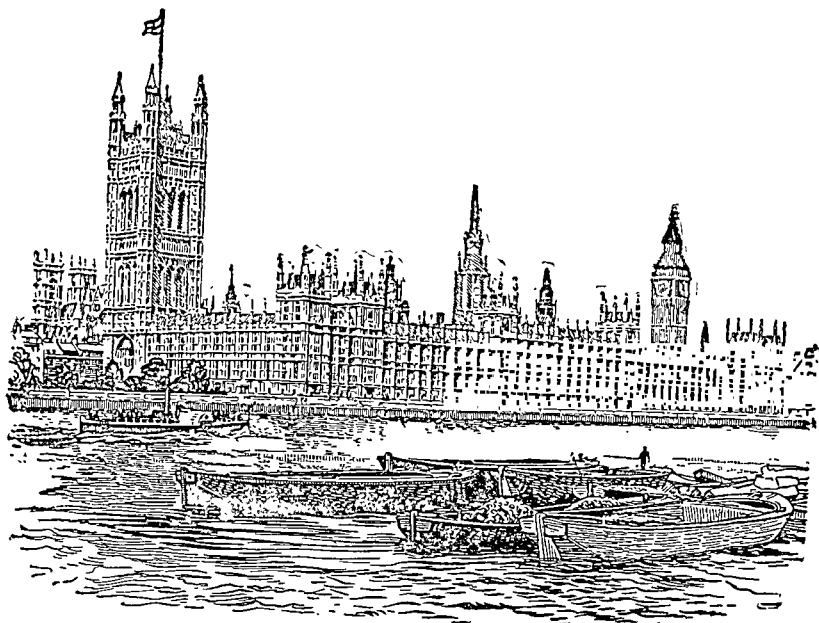
Woman Suffrage Bill. When the World War broke out the suffragists did much to help the government by organizing groups of women who helped in the munitions factories, on the farms, in the hospitals, and on the battle-field. They rendered notable service, and many men were convinced by their actions who were deaf to their arguments. In 1918 the fourth and final Reform Bill was passed, which gave the vote to women.¹ For the first time England had universal, equal suffrage.

GOVERNMENT

The king "reigns but does not rule." During the nineteenth century England's march toward democracy was slow and steady, never plunging forward nor rearing backward. Yet the essential framework of her government has not altered, one might say, since the seventeenth century. It is still that of King, Lords, and Commons. However, within this framework, such great changes have taken place that England is now a complete democracy despite her royal head and her hereditary upper house. The King "reigns but does not rule," for he exercises no power in the government. His chief function is that of being a symbol of the unity of the world-wide British Empire. The monarchy is popular in England because it is an ancient institution that inspires reverence among the masses, which brings stability both to the system of government and to society.

Supremacy of the Commons. Parliament consists of two houses, Lords and Commons. The Lords are mainly peers, hereditary noblemen known by the titles of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron. Since the Parliament Act their power is limited to delaying legislation. The Commons is elected by universal suffrage for a term of five years, unless sooner dissolved by the King, which, in practice, means by the Cabinet. Its power is supreme, for its will is the law of the land.

¹ See page 705.



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON

Erected in 1840-50, the Houses of Parliament occupy the site of the old Palace of Westminster, which was burned in 1834. On the tower at the right is the clock whose hours are sounded by the great bell "Big Ben."

Ministerial responsibility. The Cabinet is a committee of Parliament composed of members of either house, appointed nominally by the King but really by the party that has a majority in the Commons. Its chief is the Prime Minister, who is always the leader of the majority party. The functions of the Cabinet are (1) executive, as in the name of the King it appoints all officials to carry out the laws; and (2) legislative, as its members introduce all the important bills in Parliament. Should the Commons defeat such a bill or should it pass a resolution of no confidence in the Cabinet, the latter must forthwith resign and the ministers become private members. Who take their places? Formerly the King called the leader of the opposition party to form a cabinet, and if he was able to get a majority of the Commons behind him well and good; if not the Commons was dissolved and new elections determined which party had the majority. To-day the defeat of a cabinet is almost certain to be followed by a dissolution of the Commons. The Cabinet thus is now really responsible to the voters and not to the lower house.

Comparison of English and American systems. The English system of government is in sharp contrast to the American in two important respects. The essence of the American system is the separation of powers; in the English it is the union of powers. Parliament passes the laws and executes them through the Cabinet; if the two disagree, harmony is restored by dissolution and new elections. For the Executive to be of one party and the Legislature of another, a common situation in America, is impossible in England. Another contrast is that the English have no constitution, that is, a single document which establishes the framework of government, and to which all laws must conform or be declared null and void by a supreme court. In England Parliament is supreme, and everything that it does is constitutional. Once the Commons passes a bill, the Lords can hold it up for two years at most; the King does not veto it; and the courts cannot declare it unconstitutional. What acts as a brake upon radical legislation is, what is called in England, "precedent," that is, certain traditions and customs, certain great documents like the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and certain great laws like the Reform Bills. Considering its great powers Parliament has, on the whole, been very moderate.

As in America the government of England is a government by parties. Two well-organized parties contend for mastery in the elections. Party responsibility, party politics, and party organization are of great importance in the game of British politics. When elections are over the majority takes office to pass and to execute laws, and the minority to oppose and to criticize. The appearance of the Labor Party threatened for a time to destroy the traditional two-party system; but the decline of the Liberal Party after the World War led to the recognition of the Conservatives and Laborites as the two official parties.

England the political model for other nations. The English system of government has been the model for nearly all the other nations, who have adapted it to suit their conditions. It combines responsibility with democracy, and therefore appeals to those who desire to progress as England has done, slowly and surely.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Compare Gladstone with Disraeli as to (a) origin and education, (b) political views, (c) attitude toward social reform, (d) attitude toward the Empire and foreign affairs.
2. What reforms did Gladstone introduce during his first ministry?
3. How did the Empire of India come into existence?
4. What class was enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1832? 1867? 1884? What element of the population was still unenfranchised?
5. Explain the change in England's economic position between 1870 and 1914.
6. What arguments did the Conservatives present in favor of protection? What is meant by imperial preference? What arguments did the Liberals present against protection?
7. Why did protection become an issue in the latter part of the nineteenth century and not fifty years earlier?
8. What are the main differences between the liberalism of Gladstone and the liberalism of Lloyd George?
9. What were the main causes of the rise of the Labor Party? May it be described as a socialist party? Why?
10. Show how the budget of 1909 led to the Parliament Act of 1911.
11. What are the main provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911? How does the passage of the Parliament Act resemble the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832?
12. How did the Industrial Revolution affect the position of woman? Trace the progress of the woman-suffrage movement in England.
13. What were the main arguments of the suffragists? anti-suffragists? What tactics did the suffragists use to gain their ends? How did the World War affect woman's suffrage? What are the chief provisions of the Reform Bill of 1918?
14. Why may England be described as a crowned republic?
15. What is meant by the statement, "The Cabinet is now really responsible to the voters and not to the lower house"? To whom is the Cabinet responsible in France?
16. What are the main differences between the English and American systems of government?
17. "For the Executive to be of one party and the Legislature of another, so common in America, is impossible in England." Why?
18. Name at least four European states that have adopted the English parliamentary system.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

GLADSTONE. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Time*, I, ch. XXIV; Russell, *Gladstone*.

DISRAELI. McCarthy, I, ch. XVI; Froude, *Lord Beaconsfield*.

ERA OF REFORM. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 477-84, 490-96;

- McCarthy II, chs. L-LII, LIX; III, pp. 139-51; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 255-58, 289-92.
- PROTECTION AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION. Day, *History of Commerce*, ch. XXXVIII; Marris, *Joseph Chamberlain*, ch. XXXI; Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, pp. 442-47.
- LLOYD GEORGE. Dilnot, *Lloyd George*; Hayes, *British Social Politics*, pp. 140-43, 324-29, 361-80, 470-73, 511-35.
- THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE LABOR PARTY. Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 294-303; Alden, *Democratic England*, pp. 215-37; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 294-301; Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 384-92; Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, pp. 594-649; Hayes, *British Social Politics*, pp. 77-106.
- THE WAR ON POVERTY. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 307-19; Alden, pp. 1-191; Ogg, pp. 265-79; Hayes, *British Social Politics*, pp. 1-22, 107-09, 130-34, 185-87, 217-20, 263-69, 347-61, 421-38, 506-11.
- GOVERNMENT. Ogg and Beard, ch. XI, pp. 237-46, ch. XIII; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 290-97; Masterman, *How England is Governed*, Preface, chs. I-III, XIII-XVI.
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CHAPTER XLI

IRELAND

ASPECTS OF THE IRISH QUESTION

Difficulties of the Irish Question. How the Irish Question arose has already been explained. How it was to be solved troubled England throughout the nineteenth century. So intricate and so vexatious was this question that, over and over again, it baffled the best efforts of British statesmanship. The bitterness and the hatreds to which it gave rise confused even clear-sighted and liberal-minded men who were striving to solve the question in a manner satisfactory both to the English and the Irish.

Constitutional *versus* revolutionary solutions. The Irish Question had three aspects, religious, economic, and political. It was religious in that it sought to establish equality between Catholics and Protestants; economic in that it sought to restore the land to the peasants who worked it; and political, in that it sought to establish self-government in Ireland. Two parties appeared that differed widely as to methods of solving this question. One may be described as constitutional: it favored Home Rule, or local autonomy under the crown, the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, and the buying out of the landlords by their tenants, aided by government funds. These reforms were to be accomplished by orderly methods of agitation and through laws passed by the British Parliament. The other party was revolutionary: it favored an independent Irish Republic; the giving of land to the peasants by confiscating the estates of the landlords; and the abolition of all religious discriminations and privileges. Such a program could not be accomplished peacefully; naturally the revolutionary party favored violent methods, from assassination of officials to a general uprising.

Social and religious divisions. Had the Irish presented a united front, their problems might have been solved sooner. But there were bitter divisions in the country itself, based upon class, race, and creed. Not all of its inhabitants considered themselves Irishmen without qualifications. About seventy-five per cent were Celtic in race, Catholic in religion, peasants and working-

men by occupation. About ten per cent were Anglo-Irish of English descent, Anglican in religion, and landlords, officials, and professional men by occupation. The remaining fifteen per cent were Scotch-Irish of Scotch descent, Presbyterian in religion, and business men and farmers by occupation, living mainly in the province of Ulster. These three elements had not completely fused into one nationality, and regarded one another with distrust, and even with hatred.

PERIOD 1815-69

Catholic Emancipation. The Act of Union had indeed united Ireland and England but not the Irish and the English. Centuries of wrong would have to be righted before the two peoples could live in peace and amity with each other. Almost immediately after the close of the Napoleonic wars an agitation began to repeal the anti-Catholic laws. It was led by Daniel O'Connell, an orator of remarkable eloquence, whose speeches stirred the entire country. O'Connell was a constitutionalist, and conducted the agitation taking scrupulous care to avoid violence, for, as he said, no reform was worth the shedding of even one man's blood. All Ireland was astir with immense parades and mass-meetings demanding the repeal of the anti-Catholic laws. In defiance of the law which, in effect, barred Catholics from being members of Parliament,¹ O'Connell became a candidate, and was overwhelmingly elected. To make an appearance in Parliament would mean ejection. Great demonstrations took place in



DANIEL O'CONNELL

¹ By the Act of Supremacy (1563) members of Parliament were required to take an oath recognizing the king as the head of the English Church, an oath no consistent Catholic would take.

Ireland, and threats of revolution were made demanding that O'Connell be given his seat and that the anti-Catholic laws be repealed. The government, fearing an uprising, decided that it would be the better part of wisdom to grant the Irish demands. Accordingly, in 1829, Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which removed nearly all the disabilities of the Catholics. O'Connell entered Parliament in triumph.

The great famine. The most important event in the history of Ireland during the nineteenth century was the great famine of 1845-47. The chief crop of the peasants was potatoes, which was their principal food. A failure of the potato crop occurred, resulting in nothing less than a national tragedy. Thousands died of starvation, and Ireland became a house of death. Famine brought other evils in its train. Landlords evicted tenants wholesale in order to convert their lands into pastures; cattle-raising was considered more profitable than farming. "Cows ate men" was the saying. It was at this time that the first great emigration of the Irish to America took place. Thousands of Irishmen fled to the New World as to a Promised Land in order to escape starvation and tyranny in the land of their birth.

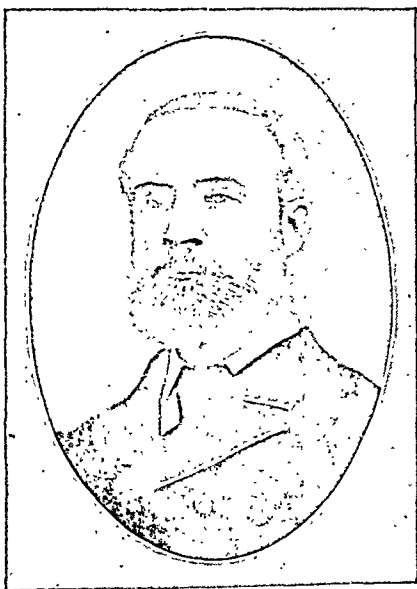
Revolutionary activities. Under such circumstances discontent mounted high in Ireland. In the forties a nationalist movement, known as Young Ireland, became prominent. It was led by educated young men who favored an independent Irish Republic. During the revolutionary year 1848 Young Ireland rose in rebellion, but the British government managed to suppress the movement by imprisoning or exiling the leaders. Although it failed Young Ireland awakened the revolutionary spirit of '98, and before long a new movement, called Fenianism, appeared, organized by Irish Americans on American soil. In England the Fenians committed acts of terrorism by blowing up prisons and attempting to assassinate officials. One of the interesting results of Fenianism was a great improvement of the submarine by an Irish-American inventor, named John P. Holland, who designed an under-water boat with the object of sinking the British navy.

Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. These uprisings proved futile but they did serve to attract considerable attention to the Irish Question. Gladstone became so interested in it that he devoted the rest of his political life to its solution. One of his first steps in that direction was the disestablishment of the

Anglican Church in Ireland. Although the Catholic Emancipation Act had removed the disabilities of the Catholics it had not removed the privileges of the Anglicans, whose church was supported in part by public taxation. In 1869 Parliament, under Gladstone's leadership, passed a law separating Church and State in Ireland. Every faith was henceforth to be supported by voluntary contributions.

PERIOD 1870-1914

Parnell (1846-97). Revolutionary methods of solving Ireland's problems had failed. Force was met with force, and England's overwhelming superiority easily overpowered Ireland's desperate efforts. A constitutional movement was therefore begun with the object of persuading England to solve the Irish Question, and it succeeded in making Home Rule and Land Reform the chief issues in British politics. The leading figure in both these agitations was Charles Stewart Parnell, the greatest Irish statesman since O'Connell. Parnell came of a Protestant family, and received his early education in England. Personally he was haughty and reserved, hardly a typical Irishman, yet his fellow countrymen followed him devotedly, and he became the uncrowned king of Ireland. He was a strict constitutionalist, hence opposed to the revolutionary element that was constantly plotting violence.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

The Land League. In 1879 was founded the Land League, which began an extensive agitation for land reform. The land system in Ireland was evil in every possible way. The large estates were owned by absentee landlords who lived in England on the rents received from their Irish tenants. The estates were

managed by agents who were ever demanding larger rents from their peasant tenants in order to satisfy the landlords. Prompt eviction was the answer to those who could not or who would not pay the "rack rent." Whatever improvements were made on a farm were made by the tenant but they belonged to the landlord. The Land League demanded (1) that the government step in between landlord and tenant to protect the latter; and (2) that the land of Ireland should pass into the hands of those who tilled it.

The Land Acts. The feeling against landlordism ran high, and many outrages were committed by enraged tenants. It was during this land agitation that the "boycott" originated. An agent named Boycott had become so unpopular that his neighbors agreed not to have any relations with him whatsoever. No one would sell him anything; no one would work for him; no one would give him professional service; no one would speak to him. This was so effective that he was compelled to leave. "Boycotting" now became a favorite Irish method of fighting landlordism. The revolutionary element resorted to violence, and so many outrages were committed against landlords that the government passed a series of Crimes Acts virtually establishing martial law in Ireland. But Gladstone was looking for a solution of the problem, not for methods of suppression. Accordingly he induced Parliament to pass a number of land reforms, the most important being the laws of 1870 and of 1881, which were the first steps toward the solution of the land problem. A Land Commission was established in Ireland with great powers: it could regulate rents, prevent evictions, and give legal right of tenants to whatever improvements they made on their farms.

Parnell's policy of "filibustering." The political problem was attracting no less attention than the land problem. A new political party appeared, the Irish Nationalists, proclaiming Home Rule as its chief object. How could a small party of about eighty members become influential in the British Parliament? This question was answered by Parnell when he became its leader. His answer was by "filibustering," another Irish invention. Parnell was determined that nothing would be done for the British Empire unless something was done for Ireland. He was an able parliamentarian, and succeeded in completely tying up the business of the Commons by points of order, roll calls, long speeches, previous questions, and resolutions. At one time the

house was in continuous session for twenty-two hours! He also made a breach in the two-party system whenever either the Liberals or Conservatives needed the votes of the Irish to stay in power. In 1885 he joined the Conservatives to put the Liberals out of office; in the following year he joined the Liberals to put the Conservatives out.

The two Home Rule Bills. In 1886 Gladstone, realizing that he could not stay in office without the support of Parnell, introduced the first Home Rule Bill. The measure was bitterly denounced as a step that would lead to the destruction of the British Empire because, it was said, if Ireland had Home Rule she would be in a better position to become independent; and once independent she would ally herself with the foes of England on the Continent. Ireland lies on the flank of Britain, which enables her to block the exit of British ships and to serve as a basis for attacks on the British Isles. There was another outcry. The Protestants of Ulster declared that Home Rule would give political control to the Catholics who, they asserted, would use their power to persecute the Protestants; and they appealed to the English Protestants to save them from persecution. The Liberals were split by the issue, and a group led by Chamberlain joined the Conservatives. As a result the Bill was defeated in the Commons, and the ministry fell. In 1893 Gladstone was again in office, but by the grace of the Irish whose votes, as in 1886, were necessary to sustain his ministry. He introduced the second Home Rule Bill, which passed the Commons but failed in the Lords. Gladstone, now an old man, retired from politics, deeply disappointed with the outcome of his efforts to give self-government to Ireland.

The Land Act of 1903. Home Rule was the chief issue in the elections of 1895, and the outcome was a great Conservative victory. But the Conservatives determined to "kill Home Rule with kindness" by passing a number of land laws in favor of the Irish. The most important of these laws was the Wyndham Act (1903) which voted large sums to the Land Commission with the object of helping the Irish tenants to become proprietors. If a tenant desired to buy a farm the Commission loaned him money on long terms and at low rates of interest; it also gave a bonus to the landlord. Like a good fairy the British government showered favors on both parties, by helping one to buy and by inducing the other to sell. Naturally both were satisfied. So rapidly did the

tenants buy their holdings that landlordism in Ireland has now all but disappeared. Under Sir Horace Plunkett a remarkable co-operative movement was launched that proved of great benefit to the Irish farmers. The coöperative societies built creameries, bought expensive machinery, loaned money, marketed farm produce, and did many other things of advantage to the peasants. The miserable tenant of former days has become the fairly prosperous proprietor of to-day.

The third Home Rule Bill. Home Rule suffered an eclipse during the decade of Conservative rule. John Redmond, the leader of the Irish Nationalists, realized that England, the "predominant partner," must be converted to Home Rule, and he strove unceasingly to convince the English that they had nothing to fear from the Irish who, far from regarding Home Rule as a step toward independence, would be satisfied with it and become loyal citizens of Britain; and that the Catholics had no intention of persecuting the Protestants, and were willing to give guarantees of religious liberty to the latter.

In the elections of 1910 the Liberals found themselves a minority in the House; and to remain in office they had need of the Irish Nationalist support. Premier Asquith promised to introduce a Home Rule Bill, which he accordingly did in 1912. The Bill passed the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords; nevertheless it was expected to become law in 1914, according to the Parliament Act of 1911.

Ulster opposes Home Rule. Bitter opposition arose to the third Home Rule Bill as in the case of the first and of the second. In Ulster a volunteer army was formed by Sir Edward Carson which swore to resist the proposed Dublin Parliament, which so alarmed the Irish that they too organized a volunteer army. It was expected that Ireland would be the scene of civil war when the Home Rule Bill became law in 1914. But a far greater question arose, the World War. When England declared war against Germany, both Carson and Redmond pledged the loyalty of their followers to the flag. Parliament, to avoid trouble in Ireland, voted to postpone the operation of Home Rule until the end of the War.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

The Sinn Fein movement. During the agitation a new move-

ment arose, the Sinn Fein, which was later to become all important in Ireland. The failure of the first and second Home Rule Bills put the Irish Question in a new light. The revolutionary movement to establish self-government had failed. So had the constitutional movement. Was it then hopeless? Or was there still another way that could succeed? The appearance, in 1906, of the Sinn Fein Society (Gaelic, *ourselves*), organized by a journalist, Arthur Griffith, marked a new effort in the age-old struggle for Irish self-government. Its fundamental principle was to apply the boycott to the British government: Irishmen should refuse to send representatives to the British Parliament, to serve as British officials, to bring cases to British courts, to join the British army and navy, in short, to refuse to coöperate with the British in the government of the country. A voluntary Irish government should be called into existence composed of Irish lawmakers and of Irish officials which the Irish people should recognize and obey. The great error of the Home Rulers, asserted the Sinn Feiners, was that they looked to England for a solution; they should have looked to themselves. Some of the Sinn Feiners favored an independent Irish republic, others desired to remain under Britain, but all agreed that whatever was to be done should be decided by an Irish national assembly.

Sinn Fein proclaims Ireland a republic. During the World War Ireland was sullen and apathetic. It was a great opportunity for the Sinn Feiners to spread their ideas, which they did with remarkable success. The revolutionary element raised the old cry of "England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities." During Easter, 1916, an uprising took place in Dublin, which was suppressed. When the War was over, elections for Parliament were held in December, 1918. In Ireland the Sinn Feiners put up candidates against the Home Rulers, and succeeded in capturing nearly every seat held by the latter. Instead of going to the British Parliament, the Sinn Fein members remained in Ireland and organized a national assembly, called the Dail. In January, 1919, the Dail proclaimed Ireland a republic, and elected Eamon de Valera as President. There were now two governments in Ireland, the Irish and the British.

Civil war in Ireland. What followed was a war without battles; instead, a series of outrages were committed by both sides, shootings, burnings, kidnappings, raids, and bomb-throwing.

Parliament, in 1920, passed a fourth Home Rule Bill ¹ providing for two separate governments in Ireland, one for Ulster and the other for the rest of Ireland; both sections were to send representatives to the British Parliament. Ulster accepted the new law and elected a Parliament which met in Belfast. The rest of Ireland refused to recognize the right of England to legislate for Ireland, and guerrilla warfare continued. The outrages were so fearful that the situation became intolerable; and, in 1921, a treaty was signed by the representatives of the British government and of the Sinn Fein. It was agreed that Ireland, except Ulster, was to be organized as a "dominion," on the model of that of Canada.² Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland by being given a Parliament for local affairs and representation in the British Parliament.

The Irish Free State. An Irish provisional government drew up a constitution in 1922, which was accepted by the Dail, acting as a national assembly, and by the British Parliament. It declared that the "Irish Free State is a co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." A Parliament was provided for, consisting of a Senate and a Dail, both to be elected by universal suffrage according to proportional representation. The Dail was given supreme power in legislation; the position of the Senate was made similar to that of the British House of Lords. Executive power was vested in the crown; in theory to be exercised by its representative, the Governor-General, but in practice by a cabinet appointed by the latter and responsible to the Dail. Both Gaelic and English were declared to be official languages. A Bill of Rights was included to protect the rights of citizens. The constitution forbade the establishment of any religion or discrimination against a citizen because of his or her religion.

End of the English occupation. The Irish people accepted the Free State, which gave them complete self-government and the protection of the British Empire. A dramatic event symbolized the new situation. The English army, after an occupation lasting well-nigh a thousand years, evacuated the country. Ireland was at last free though not independent.

¹ The third Home Rule Bill was allowed to lapse.

² See page 569.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Trace the origins of each of the following aspects of the Irish Question: economic, religious, political.
2. What were the chief difficulties to the solution of the Irish Question?
3. Show the part played by Daniel O'Connell and Gladstone in helping to remove the religious aspect of the Irish Question.
4. What were the main differences between the constitutional and revolutionary parties?
5. What were the political and economic views of Parnell in reference to the Irish Question? What methods did he use to gain his ends?
6. What were the principles of the Land League? When and how were these principles granted?
7. What is meant by the term "boycott"? In what connection is it used to-day?
8. What were the arguments used by the opponents of Home Rule?
9. Who was Parnell? With what issue in British politics is his name associated?
10. What part did each of the following play in the Home Rule movement? Chamberlain? Gladstone? Redmond?
11. What was the fate of the third Home Rule Bill?
12. How did the views and methods of the Sinn Feiners differ from those of the Constitutionalists?
13. Describe how Ireland ultimately gained self-government.
14. What is the present relationship of the Irish Free State to England? Of Ulster to England? Of Ulster to the Irish Free State?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM. Gwynn, *History of Ireland*, ch. xxxix, pp. 468-71; Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, part III, ch. iv; McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, II, chs. LVII-LVIII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 292-96; Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*, chs. xxvii, xxix.
- THE LAND PROBLEM. Murray and Law, *Ireland*, pp. 166-77; Gwynn, pp. 477-81, 489-92; Paul-Dubois, part II, chs. I-II; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 472-77, 490-92, 501, 505-06; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 296-300, 302-05; Johnston and Spencer, ch. xxx.
- HOME RULE. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 322-26, 846-48; Murray and Law, chs. xiv, xvi-xx; Gwynn, 472-73, 482-86, chx. XLIV-XLV; Johnston and Spencer, ch. xxxv; McCarthy, II, ch. LIII, III, chs. x, xiv.
- PARNELL. O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*; O'Connor, *Parnell Movement*, McCarthy, III, pp. 63-71, ch. xii; Bowers, *The Irish Orators*, ch. ix.

CHAPTER XLII

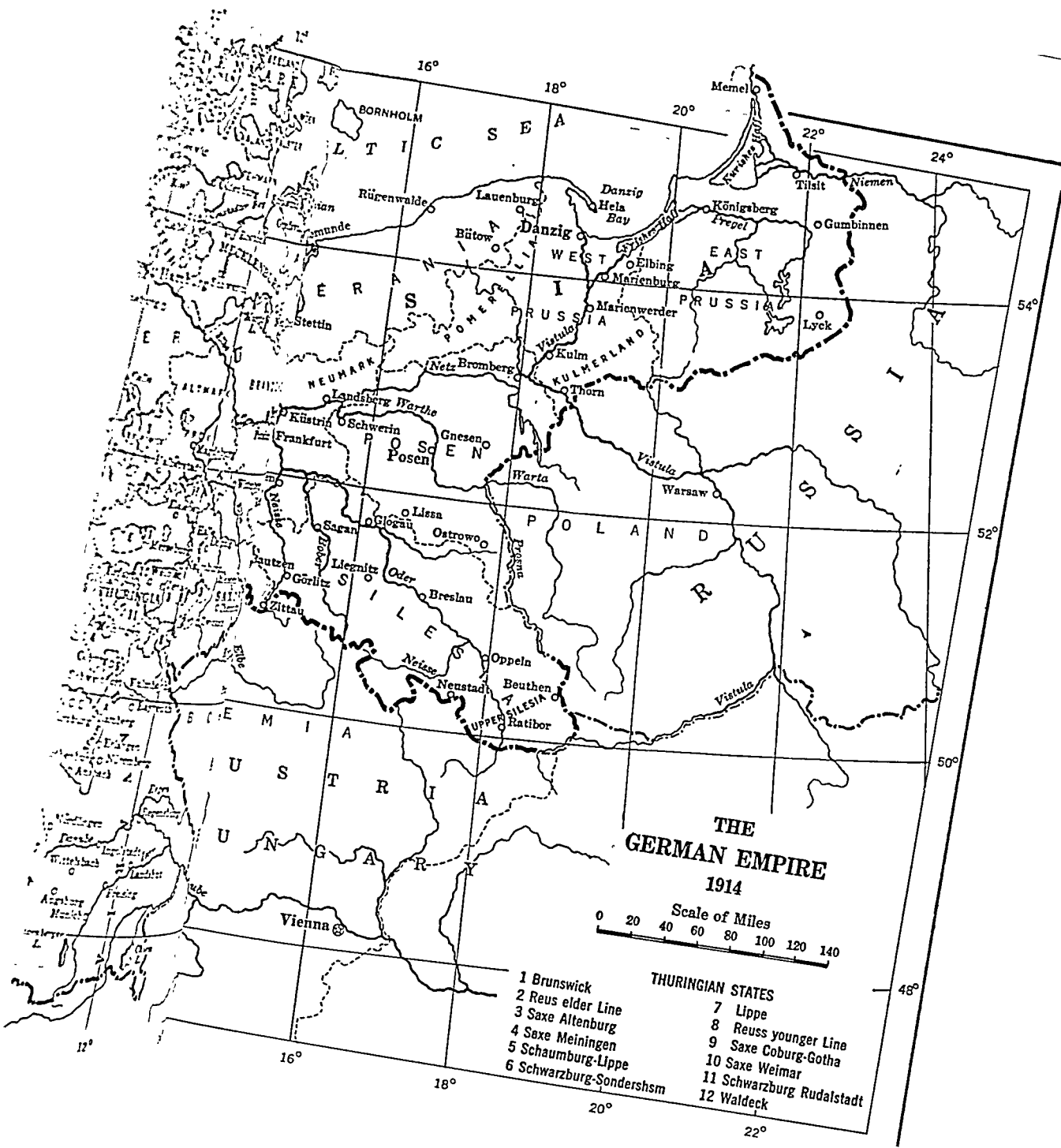
THE GERMAN EMPIRE

GOVERNMENT

Inequality of the states in the German union. The appearance of the German Empire marked an epoch in European history, and it is therefore important to understand its organization, its spirit, and its policies. Like the United States the German Empire was a federal union, but here the resemblance ended. Of the twenty-five states and one territory composing the union, twenty-two were monarchies, called according to size, kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, and principalities; the remaining three were city republics, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck; and the territory was Alsace-Lorraine. The central government was likewise a monarchy, and its head was known as the German Emperor. The essence of the American union is a fair degree of equality of the states; in the German union the opposite was true. Some of the states had special privileges in legislation, in administration, in taxes, and even in representation. For example, Bremen and Hamburg were at first not included in the imperial tariff; Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg were not included in imperial taxes on brandy and beer; Bavaria had her own postal and railway systems; and Prussia had so many special privileges that she dominated the union.

The Emperor. The central government consisted of an Emperor and a parliament of two houses, the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The position of Emperor was hereditary in the house of Hohenzollern, hence the King of Prussia was, at the same time, German Emperor. As Emperor, his powers were limited: he could not veto bills passed by parliament, and he had little executive power because the federal laws were enforced by state officials appointed by the local rulers. Nevertheless his influence pervaded the entire Empire. He was "war-lord," or commander-in-chief of the army and navy, a position of great influence in a military nation like Germany. He appointed and dismissed the Chancellor, who was the chief administrative officer of the Empire and its spokesman in domestic and foreign affairs. Most of all, however, the Emperor's power came from the fact that he was





King of Prussia, a position which, as will be described later, gave him a predominant influence in the Empire.

The Bundesrat. Like the American Senate the Bundesrat represented the states. Its members were not, however, equally distributed among the states; Prussia had seventeen, Bavaria, six, Saxony and Württemberg, four each; others had three or two; and seventeen of the states had only one each. Every delegation voted as a unit, and as instructed by the local monarch. For example, on a roll-call, Prussia cast seventeen votes for or against a measure, as directed by the King of Prussia. The Bundesrat was the most important organ of the Empire; its consent was necessary to all laws, to the adoption of most of the treaties, to the dissolution of the Reichstag, and to constitutional amendments. It drafted the bills submitted to the Reichstag; and supervised the administration of the Empire.

The Reichstag. The Reichstag represented the people, and was elected by universal manhood suffrage. The position of the Reichstag in the imperial system was peculiar. It was not a parliament like the British House of Commons or the French Chamber of Deputies, for it could not overthrow the Cabinet, there being no Cabinet to overthrow. Although the consent of the Reichstag was necessary to all laws that body was not a legislature like the American House of Representatives; unlike the latter, it did not vigorously assert its will in making the laws of the land. The Reichstag could not do very much, but it could stop many things from being done by defeating bills. In other words, the Reichstag was the harness, not the horse, in the German political team.

Privileges of Prussia. By far the most important part of the machinery of the Empire was Prussia. Neither in theory nor in practice was she merely one of the states in the union. She was the predominant partner whose position was made secure by the constitution which she herself had imposed upon the rest of Germany. Her King was Emperor; her Prime Minister was nearly always Chancellor; her consent was necessary to all changes in the constitution;¹ and her consent was necessary to all changes in

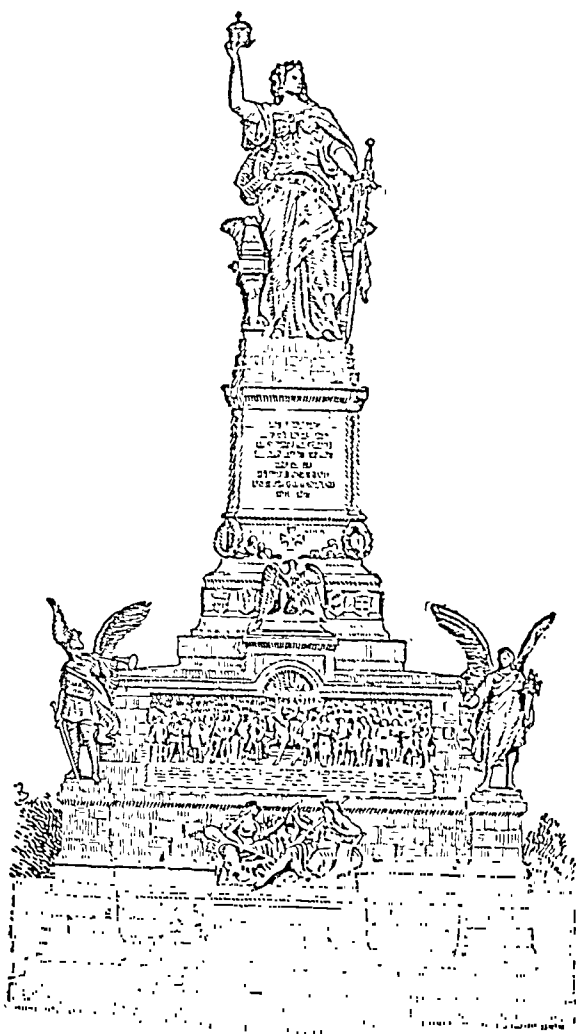
¹ An amendment to the Imperial Constitution had to pass both houses. In the Reichstag a proposal had to have a majority; but in the Bundesrat fourteen adverse votes were sufficient to defeat it. Prussia, having seventeen votes, could defeat any proposed amendment.

the military and naval systems. The spirit of Prussia was breathed into the Empire. What kind of spirit was it? This can

best be seen in the system of government established in Prussia. It was still that based upon the constitution granted in 1850 after the Revolution of 1848 had been suppressed.¹ There was a Parliament limited in power and chosen by a three-class system of voting so complicated and so unfair that nearly all of its members were elected by about fifteen per cent of the voters. All real power was in the hands of the King who claimed to rule by divine right. In 1910 Wilhelm II declared that "the crown had been bestowed upon my ancestors by the grace of God alone, and not by parliaments or by the will of the people.

... I too consider myself a chosen instrument of Heaven, and I shall go my way regardless of the

views and opinions of the day." Germany was essentially an



THE GERMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT

This stands at Niederwald opposite Bingen-on-the-Rhine and commemorates the founding of the new empire. The pedestal is covered with bas-reliefs illustrating "The Watch on the Rhine" and scenes in the Franco-Prussian War. The principal figure represents Germania holding the imperial crown and the laurel-wreathed sword.

¹ See page 412.

autocracy because Prussia was essentially an autocracy. Prussia controlled Germany; the King controlled Prussia; hence the Emperor-King controlled Germany.

Reasons for autocracy. This was the system established in 1870 that continued to exist unchanged until its complete collapse as a result of Germany's defeat in the World War. Did the German people want this system? Yes and no. They admired the Empire because it was efficient in its methods, honest in its personnel, economical, and strong; it promoted Germany's prestige abroad and gave her a sense of security at home. Nevertheless the German people frequently became restless under the iron régime of the Hohenzollerns, but how could they abolish it? They could not do it peaceably through a constitutional amendment because the Emperor, as King of Prussia with his control of seventeen votes, had the power of defeating amendments to the federal constitution. A revolutionary movement was regarded as foredoomed to failure because the army that had crushed the Austrians at Sadowa and the French at Sedan would make short work of any uprising behind barricades. Neither Louis XVI, nor Charles X, nor Louis Philippe had had such an army. And so the Germans resigned themselves to a system which they could neither change nor overthrow.

Militarism. Behind the autocracy was the army. In no other country, not even in Tsaristic Russia, did an army have so much influence in the life of the people. It was a kind of church to which every German belonged. At the age of twenty all physically capable Germans were called to the colors, most of them to serve for two years. After their active service they passed into a series of reserves until the age of forty-five, during which they were called out for occasional drills. The officers came exclusively from the aristocratic class, called Junkers, who were almost feudal in their ideas of society and government. The spirit of militarism was rampant in the land, and whenever the army officer appeared in Germany he had the right of way.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE CATHOLICS

Bismarck the first Chancellor. The history of the German Empire may be divided into two periods, that of Bismarck and that of Emperor William II, each of whom directed the policies of the country. Bismarck, as the architect and builder of the Ger-

man Empire, naturally became the idol of the people who saw in him Germany incarnate. He was the pattern for all true Germans, and his foresight, his fearlessness, even his brutal directness were regarded as true German virtues. He became the first Chancellor of the first German Emperor, William I, whose admiration and affection for his minister were very great.

His opposition to colonial expansion. In foreign affairs Bismarck now pursued a moderate policy. He believed that Germany had at last become a "satisfied nation": she was united, strong, prosperous, and respected. To schemes of colonial expansion he turned a deaf ear because, in his opinion, they involved large expense and brought no return. "For us Germans," he said, "colonies would be like the silks and sables of the Polish nobleman who had no shirt to wear under them." He also opposed the building of a large fleet, fearing to arouse England's hostility to a possible naval rival. To conserve what had been gained by the wars for unification Bismarck formed the Triple Alliance.¹

"True" Germanism. After unification Bismarck was engaged in struggles against those who saw in him the representative of Prussian tyranny. A conflict broke out between the government and the Catholic Church which spread discord in the newly united Fatherland. The leadership of Protestant Prussia in the new Germany disquieted many Catholics, who feared religious persecution. They had supported Catholic Austria in 1866, but had loyally rallied to the side of Prussia in 1870, even as against Catholic France. But the intense nationalism that took hold of the German people after 1870 made them view with suspicion any institution or movement in Germany that had connections outside of it. The German Catholics belonging to a church with a world-wide organization were accused of not being "true" Germans. Neither were the socialists considered "true" Germans because they belonged to a political party that was international in scope and aim.

The *Kulturkampf*. Fear of attack led the Catholics to organize a political party known as the Center, so called because it sat between the conservative Right and the radical Left. The party grew rapidly, which infuriated Bismarck who feared that it would

¹ See page 627.

become a powerful opposition. A crisis in the relations between Church and State arose in 1872, when the Catholics urged that Germany use her influence to restore the temporal power of the Pope in Italy. A struggle followed which greatly agitated Germany. It began with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Empire. The May Laws, enacted in Prussia, gave control to the government of the education and appointment of priests, and imposed severe regulations over Catholic affairs. The Catholics stubbornly resisted the hostile laws, and rallied solidly behind the Center Party which gained seats in almost every election. Bismarck received the enthusiastic support of the Reichstag where the Church was denounced as a medieval institution that was opposed to modern civilization, hence the name *Kulturkampf* (battle for civilization). As the struggle developed the majority behind the Chancellor dwindled owing to the constant gains of the Center and Social Democrats. He became alarmed, and decided to come to terms with the Center whose votes he now badly needed. In 1878 most of the May Laws were repealed, and the prosecution of priests ceased. Former enemies became friends, and there was formed a bloc of Conservatives and Center parties that supported the government almost continuously down to the World War.

ANTI-SOCIALIST LAWS AND SOCIAL REFORM

Repressive measures against the socialists. No sooner did Bismarck make peace with the Catholics than he declared war against the socialists. The latter were uncompromising opponents of the Chancellor's policies and methods, and insistently demanded drastic reforms in the government which, they declared, was controlled by a combination of Junkers and capitalists. In 1878, taking advantage of the feeling aroused by the attempts of two socialists to assassinate Emperor William, Bismarck induced the Reichstag to pass a series of "exceptional laws" that had for their object the suppression of the socialist agitation. A strict censorship was established, and on the slightest provocation socialist speakers were jailed and socialist journals suppressed. The liberty of assembly was so restricted that it became almost impossible for socialists to hold meetings. Under certain circumstances the police were given power to expel socialists from the country. Everything possible was done to hamper their political activity, but when socialist candidates

were elected they were permitted to take their seats in the Reichstag.

Ineffectiveness of these measures. The anti-socialist laws proved ineffective because socialists found ingenious ways to evade them. If a paper was suppressed it would immediately reappear under a different name. The editors who were jailed were not the real editors, but dummies hired and paid to serve jail sentences. Socialist speakers developed clever ways of saying what they wished without violating the laws. The result of the repressive legislation was the opposite of what Bismarck had expected; the vote of the Social Democratic Party rose from a hundred and twenty-five thousand in 1871 to a million and a half in 1890. It was generally realized that these laws were not only repressive but futile; and in 1890 they were virtually repealed.

Reasons for social reform. While Bismarck was smiting the socialists with one hand he was patting the workingmen with the other. He had become interested in the ideas of prominent German economists who were opposed to *laissez faire* and who advocated the intervention of the State in the affairs of capital and labor. Though opposed to political reform Bismarck became an ardent advocate of social reform. If the State looked after the welfare of the workingmen, he declared, they would be healthy soldiers, loyal citizens, and contented employees. Were not the socialists constantly telling the workingman that the State was their enemy and the friend of the aristocrats and capitalists? The State must fight the socialists in another way, by showing itself as the friend of the lower classes. "Give the workingman the right to employment as long as he has health," he said, "assure him care when he is sick and maintenance when he is old," then the socialists "will sound their bird call in vain."

Social legislation. Largely through Bismarck's influence Germany became a pioneer in social legislation. During 1884-89 three important laws were passed that required all workingmen to insure against sickness, accident, and old age and invalidity.¹ The Sickness Insurance Law provided that a fund be established from contributions by employers and employees; in case of sickness the latter were to receive free medical attention and regular allow-

¹ By invalidity is meant incapacity to labor because of serious injury such as blindness or paralysis.

ances for a definite period. The Accident Insurance Law provided for a system of compensation by employers to employees injured while at work. The Old Age and Invalidity Law provided for a fund made up of contributions from employer, employee, and the State. At the age of seventy (later reduced to sixty-five) the insured were to receive pensions; in case of invalidity the pension was to begin when the insured could no longer work. These laws attracted considerable attention, and became the models for similar legislation throughout the world.

EMPEROR WILLIAM II

The Kaiser. In 1888 Emperor William II ascended the throne. The new monarch was twenty-nine years old, and had already shown qualities that caused Bismarck to remark that "one day this man will be his own Chancellor." Headstrong, eager to learn, and still more eager to rule, domineering, egotistic, the Kaiser, as William II became universally known, was a very different man from his placid grandfather. It soon became apparent that Germany was too small to hold two such self-willed autocrats as Bismarck and Wilhelm. One of them must go. In 1890 Bismarck was dismissed, and in his place the Kaiser appointed an old soldier named General von Caprivi. This "dropping the pilot" caused a sensation in the world, and it soon became evident that the age of Bismarck was over. Humiliated and embittered, the veteran statesman retired to his private estate where, in 1898, he



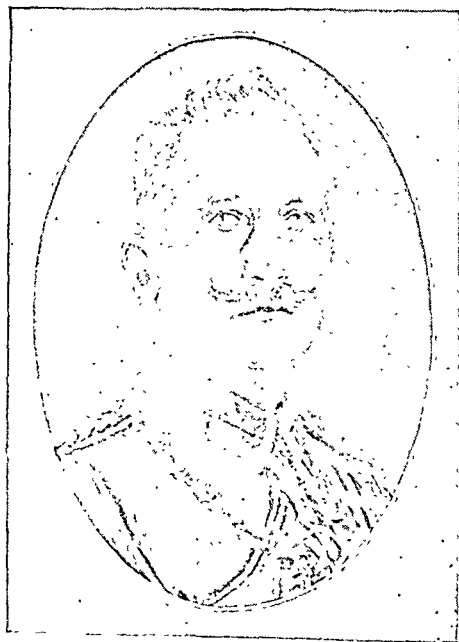
"DROPPING THE PILOT"

A cartoon of Bismarck's dismissal by William II. It was drawn by Sir John Tenniel, and appeared in *Punch* March 9, 1890.

died mourned by the entire nation. There is hardly a town in Germany without a Bismarck memorial.

New foreign policy. A new era in German history began, and its spokesman was the Kaiser. The new Germany was no longer a satisfied nation as in Bismarck's day; she was now ambitious to be a "world power" like England and to spread her *Kultur* (civilization) throughout the world. "Germany must have a place in the sun," declared the Kaiser. What turned the heads of many otherwise sober and thoughtful Germans were the astounding victories that their country had gained over the great military nation of Europe, France, which made them believe that Germany was unconquerable.

Efficiency and discipline. Everything in Germany throbbed with life and energy. Industrial progress, as will be described later, was astounding. The extraordinary efficiency of both government and private enterprise attracted universal attention. Never before had human action been reduced to such system and order. The Germans prided themselves on being a disciplined people; every one was trained to do what he was told, and he did it. He obeyed his superiors in business, in the professions, in office, in the family, and in the school.



WILLIAM II

Europe disturbed by "saber rattling." Unfortunately those who held the reins of power were not content to let Germany conquer through peaceful methods. They were am-

bitious and restless, and felt that Germany could achieve her objects more quickly by war. Had she not become a great power through war? Was not her army the best fighting machine in the world? Before long the nations were continually disturbed by Germany's arrogance and aggressiveness, by her "saber rat-

ting," and they prepared to clip her claws as they once had clipped the claws of France in the days of Napoleon.

COLONIAL AMBITIONS

The African colonies. Germany was ambitious to have a "place in the sun" by acquiring a colonial empire. When a patriotic German looked at the map he became furious with envy. There was Britain with large possessions in every part of the world. There was Russia stretching through two continents. There was France, defeated by Germany, yet mistress of a colonial empire in Africa. And Germany, victorious and mighty, a small patch in northern Europe! Unfortunately for Germany she came into existence long after the best parts of the world had been divided among the nations. When central Africa was partitioned she got large slices of territory, but she was not satisfied because the African colonies were hot, dreary, savage places, unfit for settlement by Europeans. Bismarck had taken these colonies at the urgent requests of German capitalists who hoped that they would in time become sources of raw material. But they proved to be a heavy burden to the German taxpayer for much money had to be expended to suppress native uprisings that were constantly taking place. Nevertheless, colonial expansion became a passion in Germany who was constantly seeking territory in Asia and Africa.¹

The new navy. If Germany was to play the game of world politics a navy was necessary, for only a fleet could seize and hold overseas territory. The Kaiser began an agitation to convince his people of the need of a navy to defend Germany's rapidly growing merchant marine and to bolster up her influence in the affairs of the world. "Our future lies on the water"; "world power and sea power are complementary," were his famous declarations. He induced the Reichstag to appropriate large sums of money for the navy, and the building of warships proceeded at such a rate that, in a very short time, the German navy was second only to that of England in size, and second to none in efficiency. The merchant marine was also greatly encouraged, and soon a splendid fleet of vessels, all of the latest model, rivaled the British merchantmen in carrying the trade of the world.

¹ The only colony acquired by Germany during the Kaiser's reign was Kiauchau in China. See p. 559.

Naval rivalry of Germany and England. The appearance of a German navy and a German merchant marine caused much anxiety in England. The new nation across the North Sea might be planning to seize the trident from the grasp of Britain. An estrangement began between the two peoples who had been friends for centuries and who had greatly admired each other's qualities. This estrangement grew into bitterness as the naval rivalry increased and as Germany became England's chief competitor in the markets of the world.

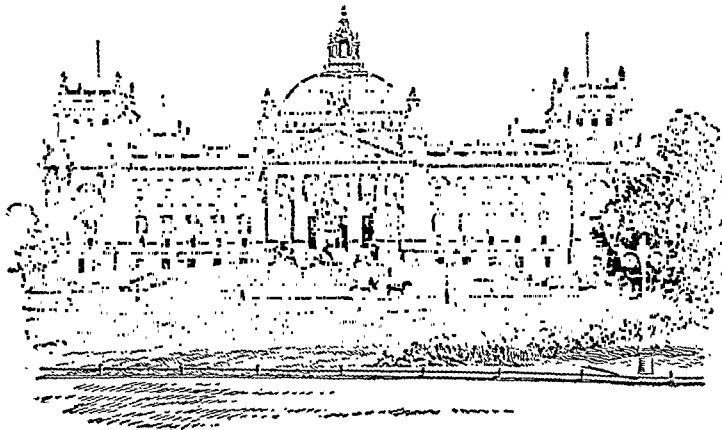
Germanization of the non-German. Aggressive foreign policies encouraged aggressive domestic policies. Not all the inhabitants of the German Empire were Germans; there were the Poles in Posen and West Prussia, Danes in Schleswig, and Alsatians and French in Alsace-Lorraine. It was determined to Germanize these nationalities at all costs in order to have a completely homogeneous empire. This was to be done in two ways: (1) by forbidding the use, in public, of the Polish, Danish, and French languages. All teaching, all public meetings, and even all journals must be carried on in German; (2) by settling Germans in the non-German districts. A law was enacted in 1908 which aimed to eliminate the Poles by ruining them economically. A commission was empowered to compel Polish peasants to sell their farms at prices fixed by the commission, which was then to resell the farms only to Germans.

Alsace-Lorraine. Especially important was the problem of Alsace-Lorraine which was not only a German but an international problem. Although well governed and prosperous, the provinces were not reconciled to German rule. Moreover, the cause of Alsace-Lorraine was championed by France who could not and would not forget the "lost provinces." Every effort was made by the German government to stamp out French sentiment, but in vain. A story is told of an Alsatian, who had his body tattooed with the legend, *vive la France*, and then appeared in a public bath to the amusement of the people and to the exasperation of the officials.

DISCONTENT WITH AUTOCRACY

Political parties. The aggressive policies of the government were supported by the parties on the Right in the Reichstag. Political parties in Germany were important chiefly because they gave an idea of popular opinions, not because they controlled the

government. As it was said, "German parties do not feel as if they were actors who perform in the play, but as if they were the critics who look on." As in France there were many loosely organized groups that combined, now for the government, now against it. The Conservatives were supported mainly by the country population in Prussia and by the many officials. It was the party of the Junkers that opposed all attempts to democratize the government, favored colonial expansion, and an aggressive foreign policy. The Center represented the interests of the Catholic Church. It was partly conservative, partly liberal; it supported the existing autocratic system and yet was opposed to militarism and imperialism. The National Liberals represented the interests of the great capitalists, who did desire moderate reforms but who were just as imperialistic as the Conservatives. The Radicals were thoroughgoing progressives who favored the establishment of complete democracy in Germany; they were also anti-militaristic and anti-clerical. Finally, there were the Social Democrats, representing the working classes, who demanded the immediate establishment of a democratic republic and who agitated for the ultimate triumph of socialism.



THE HALL OF THE REICHSTAG, IN BERLIN

Before the entrance stands the National Monument to Bismarck. (From a copyright photograph by Underwood and Underwood, New York.)

Agitation for reform. Many Germans were becoming discontented with the autocratic system that rested so lightly on the

upper classes and so heavily on the lower. Those who advocated reform believed that three important changes were necessary to make Germany a democracy: (1) ministerial responsibility, which would make of the Reichstag a real parliament with power to make and unmake ministries; (2) a reapportionment of the Empire which would give the socialist and radical parties fairer representation;¹ and (3) a democratic parliament for Prussia which, in making Prussia liberal, would make Germany liberal. At the beginning of the twentieth century a widespread agitation was begun for these reforms, and a series of events took place which indicated plainly enough the general discontent with the autocratic system.

Reichstag opposes the government. In 1907 Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow introduced a budget appropriating large sums for the African colonies. There was much criticism of corruption and of cruelty to the natives in the colonies, and the Center and Socialist parties in the Reichstag combined to defeat the budget. The Reichstag was dissolved, and the new elections resulted in a victory for the Conservatives and the National Liberals who combined to pass the colonial budget. It was not long, however, before the Chancellor had trouble with the new Reichstag. The expenses of the government, especially for the navy, were mounting, and in 1908 an inheritance tax bill was introduced, which was defeated by a combination of the Conservative and Center parties. Bülow did not have to resign, not being responsible to the Reichstag, but he did resign at a hint from the Kaiser who had become displeased with his minister. His successor was Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, a trusted official who could always be depended upon to please his master.

The elections of 1912. The majority, or bloc behind the new Chancellor was composed of Conservatives and Center. It laid taxes on tobacco, beer, tea, sugar, and matches, which caused general dissatisfaction, especially as the cost of living was rising. It was charged that the bloc was a combination to bolster up the autocratic system and the class interests of the landowners at the expense of the rest of the people. In 1912 elections for the Reichstag took place, and the result was a great defeat for the govern-

¹ There had been no reapportionment since 1870, and a rotten borough system existed in some parts of the Empire.

ment. The Social Democrats almost tripled their representation, polling thirty-five per cent of the entire vote. They were now the leading party, displacing the Center from that position. The greatest loss was suffered by the Conservatives, who came back half their previous number. The popular vote of the parties of the Left was twice that of the parties of the Right. It was plain that the German people were discontented with the autocratic régime.

The Zabern Affair. In 1913 the Reichstag, for the first time in its history, passed a vote of no confidence in the government. This was due to the resentment felt against a Prussian law which gave the government power to dispossess Polish landowners. In the same year the Reichstag passed another vote of no confidence, as a result of the famous Zabern Affair. The inhabitants of the garrison town of Zabern, in Alsace, resented the arrogance and insulting remarks of the German army officers stationed there, and jeered at them when they appeared in the streets. On one occasion the soldiers arrested several citizens; on another an officer struck with his sword a lame shoemaker who had laughed at him. The arbitrary conduct of the officers gave a display of militarism that caused indignation all over Germany. The government upheld the officers, hence the vote of no confidence by the Reichstag. There was so much popular discontent that the authorities were seriously considering a modification of the autocratic system.

Reichstag votes military budget of 1913. But war clouds were gathering on the European horizon, and the attention of the German people was distracted from domestic to foreign affairs. The Balkan wars of 1912-13 produced a series of international crises, and every nation felt that it behooved her to prepare to the uttermost for the coming struggle. In 1913 a budget was introduced in the Reichstag appropriating large sums for military purposes, and it passed almost unanimously, even the Social Democrats voting for it. Reforms were forgotten, and every one anxiously awaited the next international crisis. It came all too soon, in the summer of 1914.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Germany an agricultural nation in 1870. No story of the German Empire, however brief, is complete without an account of its economic development. Not even the United States with

the resources of a continent at its command made more wonderful progress than this nation occupying a cramped corner in northern Europe. In 1870 Germany was in about the same condition as England at the end of the eighteenth century: she was essentially an agricultural country dotted here and there with small towns inhabited by craftsmen and merchants. The Industrial Revolution had indeed begun, but it had made slow progress.

Rapid advance of industry. Germany had few natural advantages. Her soil was poor; her harbors, few; her rivers, shallow; her iron, of such poor quality that it was not mined; her coal, plentiful but undeveloped. She was rich only in having forty millions of people, laborious, steady, methodical, and studious. Given a favorable opportunity and capable leadership the Germans were likely to forge ahead very rapidly. This opportunity came with the unification in 1870. Now Germany could have common economic policies and negotiate favorable commercial treaties. New processes made possible extensive exploitation of the iron fields of Lorraine and the coal fields in the Ruhr region and in the Saar Valley. Capital from many countries flowed into Germany, and industry advanced by leaps and bounds. So quickly were factories built that it was said, "chimneys grew like mushrooms." Population grew rapidly and shifted to the cities.¹ Berlin, a small town, became a world metropolis. No longer did Germans emigrate in large numbers; on the contrary, many immigrants from Austria, Russia, and Italy came to seek work in German fields and factories.

Application of science to industry. The Germans became pioneers in the application of science to industry. Factories were equipped with chemical and physical laboratories where research was conducted by trained scientists. Old industries were transformed by new processes, and new industries were created. The most famous was the dye industry in which wonderful colors were extracted from coal-tar; tropical products such as indigo, musk, camphor, vanilla were manufactured by German chemists and exported in large quantities. Germany also exported small but costly articles, such as surgical instruments, photographic materials, and medicines.

Popularity of German goods. Manufacturing of all sorts of

¹ In 1914 the population numbered 67,000,000, sixty-five per cent living in towns and cities.

things went on apace, and the legend "made in Germany" was to be seen on articles in all the markets of the world. German goods were cheap, well made, and neatly packed, hence very popular. Foreign trade increased so rapidly that, in 1914, Germany was not far behind England who for so long had dominated the markets of the world. In 1870 Germany virtually had no merchant marine; but in 1914 she had a fleet of vessels, nearly all of the latest pattern, that was second only to that of England. The splendid passenger boats, made in German shipyards and manned by Germans, were unexcelled anywhere.

Protection. Tariff legislation had an important influence in Germany's industrial development. Before unification Germany had inclined toward free trade, but political union popularized the idea of an economic "closed state." A protection tariff, it was argued, would develop a rapidly growing home market, if it was closed to foreign competition. At the same time, owing to the cheapness of her goods, Germany would be able to compete with the "industrial athlete," England, in the markets of the world. Bismarck was converted to protection, and in 1879 he managed to put through the Reichstag a tariff law which put high duties on foodstuffs and manufactures. The German tariff was intelligently administered by a tariff commission composed of officials and economists whose expert advice was followed by the government.

Germany the economic model for other nations. The success of the Germans attracted so much attention that commissions from abroad were sent to investigate their technical methods and their amazingly efficient administration. Foreign students came to study in the German universities and technical schools with the purpose of introducing German methods into their native land. These peace conquests of Germany brought prosperity at home and admiration abroad. It was generally believed in 1914 that another decade of peaceful progress would see Germany the leading nation of the world in commerce and industry.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Contrast the German and American federal systems.
2. How was the Bundesrat like the United States Senate? How unlike it?
3. How was the Reichstag like the House of Representatives? How unlike it?

4. The Kaiser was powerful not as Emperor, but as King of Prussia. Explain.
5. Why did the autocratic system continue in Germany till the twentieth century?
6. Describe the origin of the *Kulturkampf*. Show how the result was a compromise.
7. Why did Bismarck favor social legislation? What laws were passed?
8. Bismarck commanded when he was dying, "Write on my tomb that I was the faithful servant of my master, the Emperor William, King of Prussia." Why didn't he add the name of Emperor William II?
9. How did the foreign policy of Bismarck differ from that of William II?
10. What methods did the German government use to Germanize her subject nationalities? Results?
11. What were the five main political parties in Germany before 1914? What were the main points in the program of each?
12. What is meant by ministerial responsibility? In what way would a democratic parliament in Prussia have made Germany liberal?
13. Before 1918 one of the divisions of Berlin had a population twelve times as large as the principality of Waldeck. Yet each elected one representative to the Reichstag. Why?
14. In 1908 an inheritance tax bill was introduced in the Reichstag by Chancellor von Bülow, and was defeated. The Chancellor resigned. Why?
15. Explain the causes for the great gain of the Social Democrats in 1912.
16. Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in Germany after 1870 and not before? Describe the causes of Germany's economic progress from 1870 to 1914. How did Germany's economic development affect her relations with England?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES. Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 445-82; Fyffe, *The German Empire between Two Wars*, ch. vi; Howard, *The German Empire*, chs. ii-vi.

THE KULTURKAMPF. Headlam, *Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire*, pp. 394-403; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, pp. 453-59; Robertson, *Bismarck*, pp. 320-38, 383-87; Fife, ch. x; Perris, *Germany and the German Emperor*, pp. 285-302; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 178-85.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION. Headlam, pp. 407-19; Henderson, II, pp. 459-67, 559-78; Robertson, pp. 372-76, 393-400; Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, ch. ix; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, ch. xvii; Fife, ch. ix; Perris, pp. 302-25; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 185-92.

KAISER WILHELM II. Rose, *The Origins of the War*, ch. ii; Von Schierbrand, *The Kaiser's Speeches*; Perris, pp. 361-416; Robinson and Beard, II, 198-204.

COLONIAL AMBITIONS. Henderson, II, pp. 469-74; Fife, ch. IV; Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XVI; *The New Map of Europe*, ch. II; *The New Map of Africa*, chs. XII, XV.

PROBLEM OF THE NON-GERMANS. Henderson, II, pp. 483-92; Fife, chs. XI-XII; Von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 245-75.

DISCONTENT WITH AUTOCRACY. Ogg and Beard, ch. XXV; Fife, ch. V; Perris, pp. 484-504; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 324-28.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Henderson, II, ch. XII; Day, *History of Commerce*, ch. XL; Howard, *Recent Industrial Progress of Germany*, chs. II-VIII; Lichtenberger, *Germany and Its Evolution in Modern Times*, chs. I-II; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, ch. IV.

CHAPTER XLIII

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE AUSGLEICH

Germans isolated in Austria. For centuries the Germans in Austria, called Austrians, had dominated the many races in the Hapsburg dominions. They were able to do so largely because they had the support of their fellow Germans in Germany. But when in 1866 Austria was separated from Germany, the dominant race found itself in a perilous position. Could it, being only one quarter of the population, continue to rule the polyglot Empire? The national spirit was rising among the subject peoples, and any year might witness an uprising of the Hungarians and Slavs that would split the Empire asunder.

The Compromise of 1867. The problem was a serious one, and the Austrians were fully aware of it. A solution was found — at least for a time — through the famous Ausgleich, or Compromise of 1867, which established the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.¹ The system provided that Hungary as well as Austria was to have its own constitution, parliament, courts, language, and administration. Both were, however, to acknowledge a common sovereign to be called the “emperor” in Austria and the “king” in Hungary. They were also to have a common foreign policy, army, tariff, coinage, and finance. A commission, called the “Delegations,” representing the parliaments of the Empire of Austria and of the Kingdom of Hungary, was to supervise all matters of interest common to both.

Germans and Hungarians, the dominant races. The Compromise was the work of Déak, a Hungarian patriot of 1848, and of Count von Beust, the Austrian minister. Hungary was taken into partnership by Austria, who now gave her freely what she strenuously denied her in 1848; the Compromise was merely a new edition of the March Laws.² It was not, however, the outcome of a new liberal spirit animating the Austrians. Quite the con-

¹ It superseded the Empire of Austria which was established in 1806. See page 302.

² See page 408.

trary. They believed that if they joined hands with the Hungarians they could better keep down the "barbarians" as they called the Slavs. When the matter was being discussed the Slavs asked that they too be given autonomy, and that the Empire be based on a triple alliance of Germans, Hungarians, and Slavs. No attention, however, was paid to this request, and as a consequence the Compromise aroused intense feeling among the Slavs, who regarded it as a scheme of the two dominant races to keep them in permanent subjection.

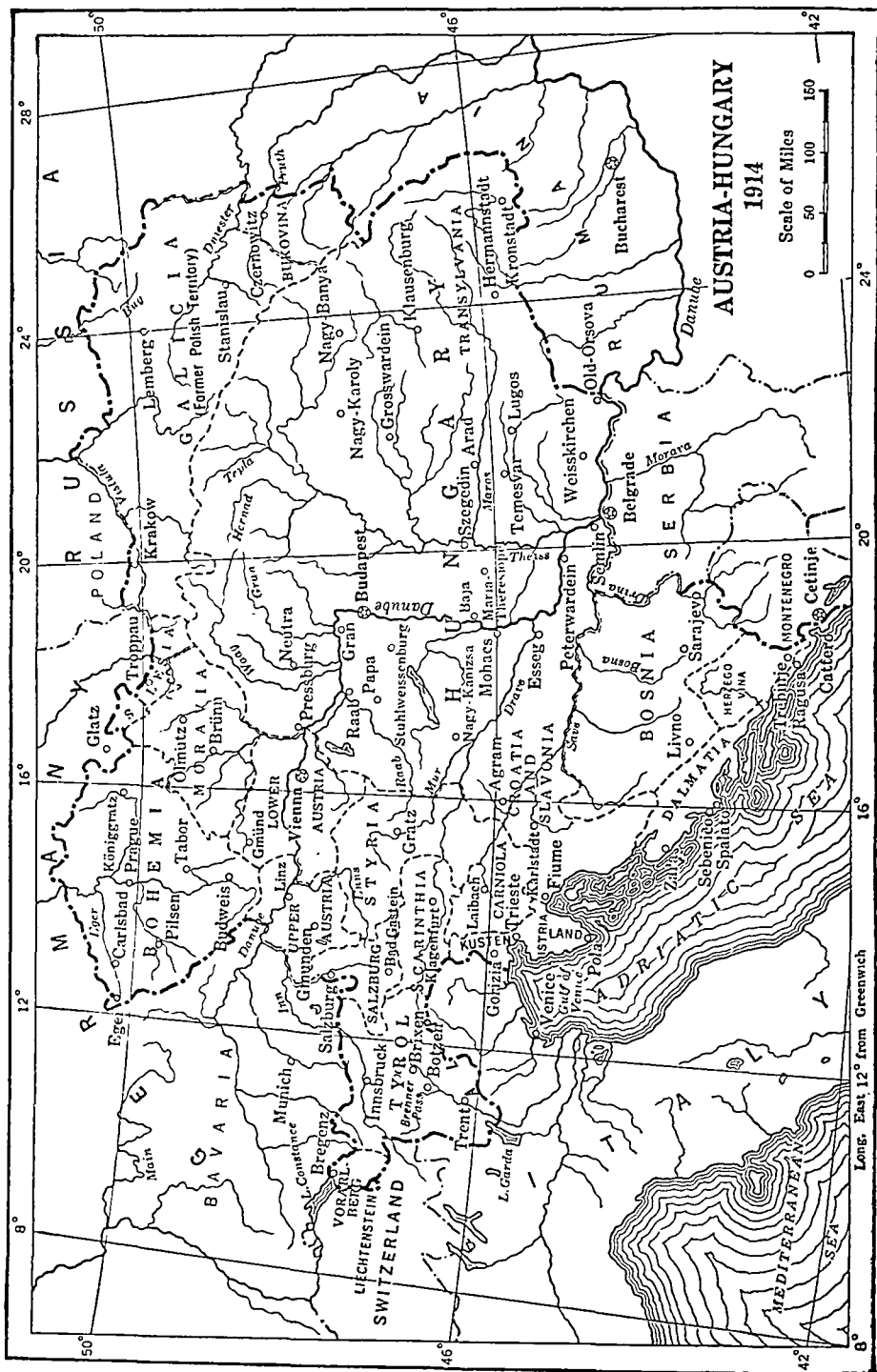
THE RACE PROBLEM

The race problem. It is doubtful whether the Hapsburg Empire could have existed so long had it not been for the mutual hatreds of the different races who wasted much of their energy in fighting one another instead of fighting their common oppressor. A Hapsburg emperor is reported to have explained the situation in the following way: "My people are strangers to one another, and yet it is for the better. They never have the same ills at the same time."

Economic unity. One great advantage was enjoyed by all the races in Austria-Hungary, and that was a common economic policy. The farms of Hungary, the factories and mines of Bohemia, the cattle of Croatia, the shipping of Fiume and Trieste, the banking and commerce of Vienna, all had full and free opportunity to cater to the needs of the fifty millions that inhabited the Empire.

The Dual Monarchy, an international problem. It should be borne in mind that the problem of Austria-Hungary was international as well as internal. Italy wanted to annex the Italian regions, the Trentino and the ports of Trieste and Fiume; Rumania wanted parts of Hungary inhabited by Rumanians; Serbia wanted Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina inhabited by Yugo-Slavs; and, as will be seen later, Russia became interested in the fate of all the Slavs under Hapsburg rule.

Government and parties in Austria. Since 1861 the government of Austria had been that of a constitutional monarchy. There was a parliament called the Reichsrat composed of an aristocratic upper house and a representative lower house. The latter was elected at first indirectly and by a restricted suffrage, but after 1907 by direct, universal, manhood suffrage. The emperor, however, was no figurehead; he directed foreign affairs and



appointed the cabinet. Political parties in Austria were based upon race, such as the Czech, the German, the Polish, the Italian parties, each of which represented the hopes and ambitions of its racial supporters. There were two inter-racial parties, the Socialist, representing the workingmen, and the Christian Socialist representing the Catholics. In a way, something like patriotism was aroused among the different races by the Emperor Francis Joseph who came to the throne in 1848 and died during the World War in 1916, after a reign of sixty-eight years. He was a kindly old man, and by his moderation succeeded in winning the affection of his subjects, who loved him though they detested his system.

Austria's policy of concession. The Hapsburgs were German, and naturally favored the German Austrians. Nevertheless as the national sentiment of the subject races grew they were inclined to make concessions. To recognize the language of a subject race by permitting it to be taught in the schools and to be spoken officially in the courts and in the administration was considered a great gain. Although the official language of Austria was German, Polish was recognized in Galicia, and later the Czech tongue was partly recognized in Bohemia. This infuriated the German Austrians who regarded the Slavic languages as barbarous dialects. Bitter language struggles followed, and Parliament was often disgraced by the violence of its members who hurled insults and inkstands at one another.

Hungary's policy of suppression. In Hungary the situation was even more tense. About half of the population was Hungarian, the others being chiefly Rumanians and Yugo-Slavs. Unlike the Austrians the Hungarians pursued a policy of ruthless suppression. Only the Hungarian language was recognized, and all schools, private and public, were forbidden to teach in any other tongue. The non-Hungarians were virtually disfranchised by all sorts of devices, such as property and educational restrictions of the suffrage, gerrymandering, coercion, cheating at the polls, and even violence.

Pan-Slavism causes union of Austrians and Hungarians. Although there was no love lost between the Austrians and Hungarians yet they clung to each other desperately whenever they heard an ominous growl coming from Russia. Russia had been chiefly responsible for the liberation of the Balkan Slavs

from Turkish rule; at the beginning of the twentieth century Russia turned her attention to the Slavs in the Dual Monarchy. Russian propaganda was begun among them with the object of weakening their allegiance to the Hapsburgs, which greatly frightened Austria, who feared that she might share the fate of Turkey. She therefore anxiously sought the help of Germany, for she needed her big German brother in case of a struggle with the "big Slav brother." The issue of Teuton versus Slav was to have serious consequences for the peace of the world.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. How did the war of 1866 affect Prussia, Austria, and Italy?
2. Why did Austria grant Hungary autonomy in 1867, which she denied her in 1848?
3. What is a dual monarchy?
4. Why was Austria-Hungary an international problem in Europe before 1914?
5. How were the subject races in Austria kept in subjection? How in Hungary?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE AUSGLEICH. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 426-30; Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 531-41; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 388-94.

THE RACE PROBLEM. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, ch. IX; Ogg and Beard, pp. 552-55; Hazen, pp. 395-405.

CHAPTER XLIV

ITALY AND SPAIN (1870-1914)

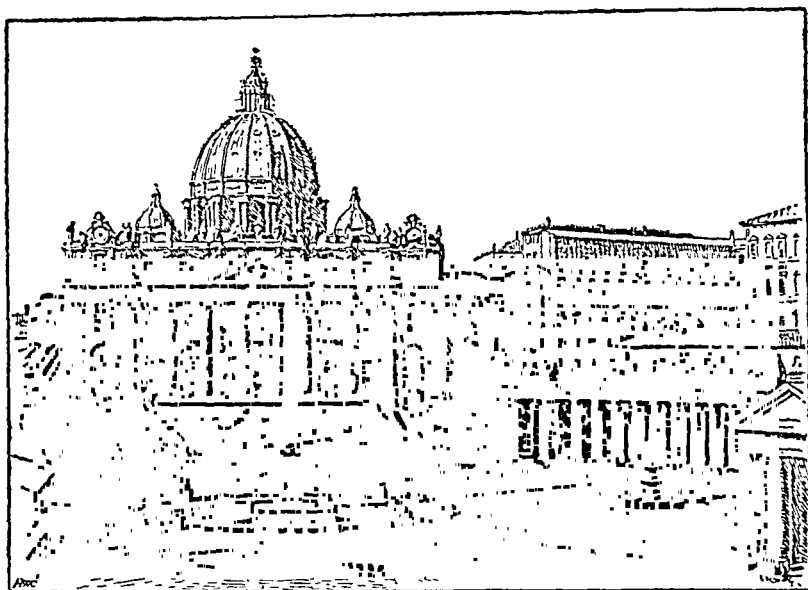
ITALY

Parliamentary government. In 1870 Italy emerged as one of the great powers of Europe. The romantic tale of her unification and the universal renown that she enjoyed as an ancient center of civilization has given Italy a unique place in the modern world. Her system of government realized not the dream of Mazzini but the practical caution of Cavour: it was made a parliamentary monarchy modeled closely upon that of England. Power was in the hands of Parliament which made and unmade ministries. Suffrage was at first restricted by educational and property qualification; but, in 1912, a new electoral law established universal, manhood suffrage.

Emigration. Italy is a poor country without any natural resources. She imports all her coal and nearly all her iron. In the north some industrial progress has been made, largely due to the swift streams which are harnessed to supply electric power. Poverty and overpopulation has made Italy a land of emigration. Thousands constantly leave their country to seek a livelihood elsewhere; in France, in Germany, in Austria, in North Africa, in South America, and especially in the United States. The Italian has become the common laborer of the industrial world.

Church *versus* State. For a time the chief problem of the Kingdom was the relation between Church and State. The Law of Papal Guarantees (1871) granted the pope the rights of a sovereign, and gave him as territory a small district in Rome called the Vatican over which the Italian government had no jurisdiction. Money was voted to the pope as an indemnity for his great losses. All popes from 1871 to 1929 refused to recognize this law or to accept the money, insisting that they were the "prisoners" of the King of Italy. When a pope was chosen he took up his residence in the Vatican which he never left. As the Prisoner of the Vatican he thus proclaimed to the world his denial of the right of the Italian government to rule in Rome.¹

¹ For Settlement of the Roman Question, see page 722.



SAINT PETER'S AND THE VATICAN

Saint Peter's is the largest cathedral in the world, and one of the most famous. The Vatican (at the right) is both the residence of the pope and the central government building of the Catholic Church.

Political corruption. Parliamentary government in Italy did not justify the hopes of the heroes of the Unification. Elections were manipulated by officials; voters were bribed or coerced; ministries were appointed through secret intrigues; and the administration was inefficient and corrupt. There were many political factions which scrambled for office and for little else; the only parties deserving the name were the socialist, representing chiefly the workingmen of the north, and the Catholic, representing the peasants of the south. The chief political leaders were Crispi and Giolitti, shrewd, unscrupulous men who played the game of politics with little regard for the interests of the country.

Revolutionary strikes. Discontent in Italy grew apace. High taxes and low politics drove many to the banner of socialism and even to anarchism. Violent strikes were of common occurrence. In 1898 a strike in Milan became almost a rebellion, and it was necessary to call out the military to suppress the workingmen who had erected street barricades. This outbreak was followed in 1904 by a general strike that paralyzed many industries, and in 1914 a general strike took place which resembled the one in

Russia.* The unions ordered their members to lay down tools, and railways, mines, factories, and stores throughout the peninsula stopped working. This was merely a demonstration; after two days the workingmen returned to their positions. It became evident that Italy was heading toward a social revolution.

Foreign policy. In spite of her troubles at home Italy pursued a vigorous policy abroad. As heirs of the Romans, Italians believed that the Mediterranean was their "lake," and therefore resented the influence of France and England as Mediterranean powers. Italy's ambition first centered in northern Africa whither many of her people had emigrated. She attempted to conquer Abyssinia but was badly defeated by the warlike Abyssinians. Italy's "sacred egoism," however, drove her on. In 1911 she declared war on Turkey, and seized Tripoli which she annexed as a colony, under its Roman name, Libya.

Italia irredenta. Nearer home Italy was as aggressive as in northern Africa. She desired to control the Adriatic by seizing lands belonging to Austria. In this instance there was a good reason in that the chief cities along the Austrian coast were largely Italian in population. A popular movement called *Italia irredenta* gained headway that aimed to bring under the Italian flag those regions still "unredeemed," Trieste, Fiume, the Trentino, from Austria, and even Nice and Corsica from France. Italy's limited resources could not well support such schemes of aggrandizement, and the burden of armament lay heavily on the backs of the Italian people.

SPAIN

Backwardness of Spain. Spain of the nineteenth century was but a shadow of the great empire of Charles V and Phillip II. When the South American colonies revolted and gained their independence Spain had to depend upon her own resources which are not large. Much of the central part of the country consists of mountain ranges, arid and desolate; the south is fertile, and along the coast are several excellent ports. Modern industry has made little progress in Spain, and the majority of the people still live much as their ancestors did in the Middle Ages.

Dynastic struggles. During the first half of the nineteenth century the political history of the country was filled with civil

* See page 534.

strife between various claimants to the throne, and between liberals and reactionaries. In 1843 a constitution was granted which established a parliament, limited in powers, elected by property owners. For a time there was peace; but in 1868 Queen Isabella, whose conduct shocked the country, was forced to flee. A period of disorder followed, during which the government was sometimes a military dictatorship, sometimes a republic. Finally the Bourbon dynasty was restored in the person of Alphonso XII, who was proclaimed king in 1875. The constitution was revised along liberal lines with a broader suffrage and a responsible ministry.

Corruption and misrule. Spain now began her parliamentary life hoping for peaceful progress according to constitutional methods. Political parties appeared, the chief ones being the Conservatives led by Canovas, and the Liberals led by Sagasta. Misgovernment, however, was not at an end. Not even in Italy did political life sink to so low a level as in Spain. Coercion, bribery, fraud, and violence at the polls were so common that elections were a farce. Often the parties would agree beforehand as to the number of seats each was to win, and "made" the elections accordingly. Conservatives and Liberals played each other's game and divided the spoils of office. The mass of people was indifferent, caring little who controlled Parliament.

The Spanish-American War. Misgovernment at home echoed misgovernment in the few colonies still left to Spain, notably Cuba and the Philippines where constant rebellions took place. An uprising of the Cubans in 1895 was suppressed by General Weyler with savage cruelty. Indignation was widespread in the United States, who protested against the evils that Spain was maintaining at her door. Feeling rose high in both countries which resulted in the Spanish-American War (1898). Spain was badly beaten and was forced to acknowledge the independence of Cuba and to cede Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the United States.

Growth of radicalism. Defeat in war and corruption in politics led to the rapid growth of a socialist movement among the working class, who organized trade unions and political parties to fight the government. A number of violent strikes took place in Barcelona where radical agitation was strongest. In 1909 a strike took place which was almost a rebellion; its immediate cause was

the sending of an army to Morocco to put down an uprising of the Riff tribesmen. Barcelona was put under martial law and the strike was suppressed, though with great difficulty. The government, incompetent and corrupt; the people, illiterate and indifferent; the army, demoralized; the working classes, revolutionary; such was the unhappy state of Spain on the eve of the World War.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. To what extent were the ideals of the *Risorgimento* realized? To what extent were they not realized?
2. What were the main problems that Italy faced after unification?
3. Why have Italians been emigrating? Is emigration a good or bad thing for Italy? Why? To what countries have Italian emigrants been going?
4. What were the main causes of discontent in Italy before 1914?
5. What is meant by *Italia irredenta*?
6. What were the causes of discontent in Spain?
7. What were the results of the Spanish American War?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES. Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, ch. xx.

ITALIAN PROBLEMS. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 367-78; King and Okey, *Italy To-Day*, chs. II-IX, XII-XIII, XV-XVII; Underwood, *United Italy*, chs. VII-VIII, XI-XII; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 134-41.

CHAPTER XLV

THE SMALL NATIONS

HOLLAND

Popularity of the Orange dynasty. After the secession of Belgium a liberal movement began in the Netherlands, as Holland is officially known. In 1848 a new constitution was granted providing for a parliament, elected by property owners, and for a responsible ministry. For a generation thereafter the Liberals controlled the government. Democracy continued to advance, and in 1919 universal suffrage was established. In no other monarchy is the dynasty more popular than is the House of Orange in Holland. Queen Wilhelmina, who was crowned in 1898, has so won the affections of the people that opposition to the monarchy hardly exists.

Economic policies of Holland. Though small, Holland is very rich. She is the best entrance and best exit that the Continent has, consequently her harbors and her shipping are of great importance in European commerce. In order to encourage transportation through her borders Holland has adopted a policy of free trade. She still has large colonial possessions in the East Indies, Java, Sumatra, and part of Borneo, where plantations grow large quantities of coffee, sugar, tobacco, and spices, that constantly enrich the mother country.

BELGIUM

Liberals versus Catholics. When Belgium broke away from Holland she adopted a constitution, the chief features of which were a parliament elected by property suffrage and a responsible ministry. During the middle of the nineteenth century the Liberals controlled the government, and in opposition was a Catholic party representing the interests of the Church. The chief issue between the parties was the public schools: the Liberals opposing, and the Catholics favoring religious instruction and control. In 1884 the Catholics triumphed in the elections, and stayed in power down to the World War.

Proportional representation. Catholic rule in Belgium was

opposed by a powerful socialist party which began an agitation for universal suffrage. A general strike in 1893 resulted in a new electoral system. Universal suffrage was adopted, but with a system of plural voting. All men had one vote; those with property, an additional one; and those with higher education, two additional ones. Later, in 1899, a system of proportional representation was established. Belgium was the first country to adopt this new electoral method which is now attracting much attention. The fundamental idea of proportional representation is that each party has seats in the legislature in proportion to the size of its vote in the country. It is frequently the case that a majority party in the legislature is a minority party in the country. This condition is made possible by the district system, according to which that candidate is elected who gets a majority or a plurality; *this system leaves unrepresented those who did not vote for him.* There are many systems of proportional representation, but all of them agree in substituting a multiple for a single member constituency, which would make possible a distribution of seats based upon the voting strength of the parties. Those elected would represent only *citizens who voted for them*, not a district in which they triumphed over their opponents.

Plural voting. Belgium's electoral reforms did not satisfy the Socialists and the Liberals, who demanded the abolition of plural voting. In 1913 a general strike took place throughout the country. It was not a demand for better wages and hours, but a political demonstration in favor of "one man, one vote." On the promise of the government to reform the electoral system, the workmen returned to their positions. In 1919 democracy triumphed in Belgium by the abolition of plural voting.

The intense international situation caused Belgium much concern. Would her neutrality be violated in case of a European conflict? Great fears were entertained that Germany might be guilty of such a deed, and Belgium prepared to protect herself. Great fortifications were erected on the German frontier, and a new army law (1913) established conscription.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Federal Republic. For about a generation after the Congress of Vienna, Switzerland was in the throes of civil strife, between Catholics and Protestants, and between the various races

inhabiting that tiny country. There is no Swiss nationality in the sense that there is an English or Spanish nationality. The inhabitants are of three distinct national groups: German, French, and Italian, each speaking its own language. In 1848 a new constitution was adopted which established a system under which the Swiss have lived amicably ever since. It provided for a federal republic composed of "cantons," each of which has as much local self-government as an American state. The central government consists of a senate representing the cantons and an assembly representing the people, which is elected by universal, male suffrage. Executive authority is given to a Federal Council which is chosen by both houses; the chairman of the Council is called the President of the Republic. All three languages are recognized as official, and no nationality is favored, though the Germans are about sixty-five per cent, the French, twenty-three per cent, and the Italian, twelve per cent.

Initiative and Referendum. Switzerland has been a pioneer in the most advanced methods of democratic government, the Initiative and Referendum. By Initiative is meant that a law may be proposed by a petition of a specified number of voters; and by the Referendum that any proposed change may be submitted to a popular vote for acceptance or rejection.

Switzerland, a house of refuge. As the Swiss have learned to tolerate one another they have also learned to be hospitable to foreigners. During the nineteenth century Switzerland was a house of refuge to those fleeing from tyranny: French revolutionists, Italian nationalists, German socialists, Russian nihilists. In a sense Swiss hospitality is extended to all mankind. A constant stream of tourists to the Alps has made the Republic the playground of the world. This has greatly benefited the country, which lives mainly by entertaining foreign visitors.

Like Belgium, Switzerland occupies a strategic position, wedged in between four great nations, and serving the useful purpose of keeping them from being neighbors. For this reason she too was neutralized. Nevertheless, like Belgium, she feared that her neutrality might be violated, hence she adopted a system of universal military service. Even a great power might hesitate to attack the little republic, who could give a good account of herself behind her natural fortifications, the Alps.

SCANDINAVIA

Union of Norway and Sweden (1814). Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were united in 1397 by the famous Union of Kalmar. In 1524 Sweden seceded; the other two remained united until 1814 when, as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, Norway was taken from Denmark who had favored France, and given to Sweden who had favored the Allies. The union of Norway and Sweden was a personal one through the king, for Norway was granted local autonomy.

Democracy in Denmark. Constitutional government was established in Denmark in 1849, but with a restricted suffrage and a cabinet responsible to the king. Soon after her defeat by Prussia in 1864, Denmark drastically revised her political system along liberal lines by extending the suffrage for the lower house, and by making most of the upper house elective. The democratic movement continued to progress, and by 1914 Parliament was elected by universal, male suffrage and the ministry was made responsible to Parliament.

Independence of Norway (1905). Although of the same race and culture the Swedes and Norwegians were not happy in their union. Norway was inhabited by fishermen and peasant proprietors, but Sweden was a land of large estates and of large industry. In Norway the king ruled under a democratic constitution; but in Sweden he was an absolute monarch until 1866, when a moderate constitution was granted. Constant quarrels between the two countries led many to think that they would be more happy apart. In 1905 a crisis arose. The Norwegian Parliament declared the union with Sweden dissolved, and submitted the issue in a referendum to the Norwegian people, who overwhelmingly favored separation. Norway then seceded and established herself as an independent kingdom; and she chose, as her king, a Danish prince who ascended the throne as Haakon VII, successor to the last independent king of Norway. Sweden made no attempt to keep Norway in the union. Since the separation the relations between the two have been very friendly. They agreed not to fortify their common frontier, and to arbitrate all differences.

Woman's suffrage in Scandinavia. Separation was followed by a democratic advance in both countries. In 1909 universal, male suffrage was adopted in Sweden. Norway went even further. In 1913 a new law proclaimed universal suffrage, which gave the

vote to women. Norway has the honor of being the first independent nation to establish woman suffrage. In 1915 Denmark adopted woman suffrage; and, in 1919, Sweden did likewise.

PORTUGAL

Brazil separates from Portugal. The political history of Portugal during the nineteenth century resembles that of Spain. The restoration of the House of Braganza was followed by dynastic feuds and civil wars which made the government very unstable. Inspired by the secession of the Spanish colonies, Brazil declared her independence of Portugal in 1822.

The Revolution of 1910. A liberal movement arose that demanded a constitution along modern lines. After a long and bitter struggle constitutional changes were made in 1852 which established a parliament elected by a restricted suffrage. As in Spain civil strife gave place to political strife that made a mockery of democratic government. The various parties divided the offices between them and then "made" the elections. Political corruption of all kinds flourished, and public life in Portugal became a scandal. Secret societies were formed: republican, socialist, and anarchist, that conspired to overthrow the government. The year 1910 saw a remarkable demonstration. Suddenly the warships in the harbor of Lisbon raised the republican flag and began shelling the royal palace. The soldiers mutinied, and followed by mobs took possession of the government. King Manuel II was told to flee, which he promptly did. A provisional government appeared which proclaimed a republic and exiled the Braganza dynasty. The Portuguese Revolution triumphed quickly, and it was accomplished with little bloodshed.

Republican reforms. A constitution was adopted on the model of that of France. The Republic was bitterly anti-clerical, regarding the Catholic Church as being friendly to the old system. A law was passed separating Church and State. A public school system was established in which religious instruction was forbidden. So deep was the hatred of the monarchy that the Republic found little difficulty in maintaining itself, in spite of the many radical changes that it introduced.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What is the economic importance of Holland?
2. Why did Belgium separate from Holland in 1830?
3. What have been the chief issues in Belgium in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries?
4. What is meant by plural voting? Proportional representation?
5. Why did Belgium introduce a new army law in 1913?
6. What was the effect of the 1848 revolution on Holland? Switzerland?
7. Which system of government does the Swiss government resemble, the English, or American? Why?
8. What is meant by initiative? Referendum?
9. Why and when was Switzerland neutralized?
10. Why was Norway given to Sweden in 1815? Why and when did they separate?
11. Describe the progress of democracy in Norway and Sweden.
12. How does the political history of Portugal in the nineteenth century resemble that of Spain during the same period?
13. What were the chief results of the Portuguese Revolution of 1910?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- HOLLAND. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, pp. 439-42, 593-94; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 523-33.
- BELGIUM. Hayes, II, pp. 389-92, 619-20; Ensor, *Belgium*, chs. VII-X; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 168-70, 285-87; Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, ch. XXI.
- SWITZERLAND. Hayes, II, pp. 129-30, 435-39; Vincent, *Government in Switzerland*; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 408-39; *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 203-12.
- SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES. Hayes, II, pp. 442-46; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, ch. XXVII; Bain, *Scandinavia*, chs. XVI-XVII; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 556-69, 573-601.
- PORTUGAL. Hayes, II, pp. 485-89; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, ch. XXXIV.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA

REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS

Russia the policeman of Europe. Was Russia to be the great exception in Europe? All the other nations had become democratic or semi-democratic; even Prussia had a constitution, such as it was. In 1870 Russia was the only nation in Europe, except Turkey, that was a naked autocracy based upon divine right. In 1848, when all of Europe was rising to overthrow autocracy, Russia sallied forth to be the policeman of Europe with hardly a protest on the part of her own people. She was deaf to the call of freedom, and seemed likely to remain so indefinitely.

Liberalism. And yet it was Russia who was destined to bring forth a revolutionary movement that was to outdo even the French Revolution in its sweeping changes. The first clear note of discontent was liberalism which began about the middle of the nineteenth century among educated men and women, not a few of whom came from the upper classes. To an educated, liberal-minded Russian the situation in his country was shocking. The mass of people were serfs, steeped in ignorance, poverty, superstition, and misery; the government an autocracy, brutal, incompetent, corrupt, and claiming to rule by the will of God; the upper classes rich, powerful, lazy, heartless, vicious, and callous of the sufferings of their fellows. Everything that was modern and enlightened was absent from the Russia that he loved so well. What was to be done? The answer of the liberals was that all the institutions in Russia should be abolished, and a new system established based on the principles of the French Revolution. Some were called nihilists (Latin, *Nihil*, nothing), because they repudiated all institutions and ideas based upon authority and tradition. In the main the liberals believed in peaceful methods: that changes were to be brought about by convincing the Tsar and the upper classes that an enlightened policy was best for Russia and for the world. Groups were organized to study public questions and to spread liberal ideas. The autocracy paid no attention to their advice and continued to oppress hapless Russia.

The "Go-to-the-People" movement. What was to be done? was again the question. A new answer came with the new generation in the seventies. It was that reforms would come only when a demand arose from below; that a revolutionary propaganda must be spread among the peasant masses who were to be told that land and freedom would be theirs once they bestirred themselves. A "go-to-the-people" movement began. Young men and women came to the villages where they lived as teachers, doctors, nurses, and even common laborers. They took every opportunity to spread the gospel of freedom, but to their surprise the peasants did not at all welcome them. On the contrary, these simple people were shocked to hear evil things said of the Tsar whom they revered as the Little Father. Moreover the government was alarmed, and many of the agitators were seized and sent to Siberia, then a penal colony. So thorough was the suppression that at the end of a decade hardly a revolutionist dared show himself in the villages.

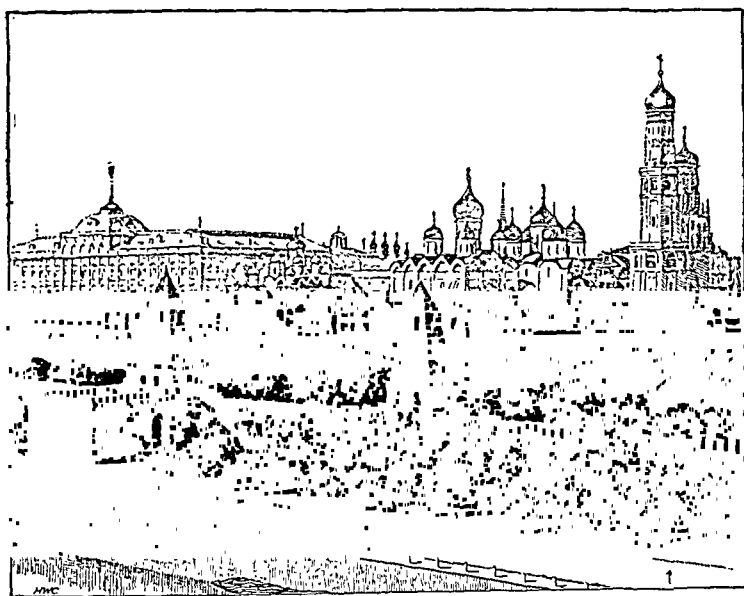
Terrorism. Chagrined and desperate the revolutionists now turned on the government with terrorism. In the eighties a "people's will" movement arose that declared war to the death against the government. Every official, from the Tsar to the humblest policeman, was in danger of being assassinated by daring revolutionists who believed that in this way the government would be frightened into making concessions. Secret societies were organized that were continually hatching plots and planning attacks. "Underground Russia" was a world in itself, with a secret membership, secret meeting places, secret journals, secret hiding places, secret emissaries, where every day was one of excitement and expectation.

War between the terrorists and secret police. To fight terrorism the government organized a remarkable spy system. Wherever revolutionists congregated, spies were to be found, in London, in Paris, in New York as well as in Moscow and in St. Petersburg. So clever were some of these spies that they were admitted into the innermost circles of the revolutionists. War to the death was waged between the two "undergrounds," the secret police and the terrorists. Many officials were killed and many more were attacked, so that Russia began to attract sensational attention throughout the world. The attacks of the terrorists culminated in the assassination of Alexander II.



ALEXANDER III

Suppression of terrorism. "The voice of God orders us to stand firm at the helm of government," declared the new Tsar, Alexander III, when he ascended the throne in 1881. He believed firmly that his father had encouraged the revolutionists by his liberal policies, and he therefore determined "to extirpate the heinous agitation which has disgraced the land." Wholesale executions and imprisonment put an end to the terrorist movement. So thorough was the suppression that, during the reign of Alexander III, all was quiet in Russia.



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

The Kremlin is a walled inclosure within which are three cathedrals, a convent, a monastery, a palace of the Tsars, and numerous other buildings.

Alexander III. Alexander was dull, narrow-minded, stubborn, and prejudiced. He had only one solution to the problems of his country, and that was suppression, suppression of revolutionists, of liberals, of religious dissenters, and of non-Russians. In regard to the last he decided on a policy of Russification in order that every one in Russia have "one tsar, one church, one language." As there was no public school system to assimilate the non-

Russians, conversion to the official Orthodox Church was considered the best means of Russification.

Persecution of the Jews. The Jews especially roused the Tsar's enmity because he regarded them as the enemies of his faith and of his government. In 1882 a special code of laws in reference to the Jews was adopted which aimed to carry out the openly expressed policy of the government. These laws contained many restrictions on Jews, residential, political, social, economic, and educational. A Pale of Settlement was definitely established, consisting of Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine, where Jews were permitted to live. Outside the Pale no Jews were permitted except by special permission; inside, they were forbidden to live in rural districts. Jews were not allowed in the public service in any capacity; nor were they allowed to enter the profession of law except by special permission. Jews could not buy or lease land in the country districts. The number of Jewish students in the high schools and universities was restricted, varying from three to ten per cent according to the region. As a result of this persecution there began a great Jewish emigration from Russia to the United States.

Industrial Revolution. The most important event in the reign of Alexander III was the introduction of modern industry. Russia had cheap labor and natural resources but no capital, hence she was forced to get capital from abroad in order to build factories and railways. One of the Tsar's advisers was Count Witte, a keen business man and railway organizer, who did everything in his power to persuade foreign capitalists to invest their money in Russia which, he assured them, would bring handsome returns. French, English, and German capital poured in, and before long factory chimneys appeared on the Russian horizon and the toot of the locomotive was heard on the Russian plain. The longest railway in the world, the Trans-Siberian, was constructed beginning at St. Petersburg and ending at Vladivostok. This famous railway was a government enterprise, and the capital came almost entirely from France, who was willing to loan money to the Tsar in return for an alliance.¹

Middle and working classes oppose autocracy. As in Western Europe, the factories became magnets which drew thousands of peasants from their fields. A working class now appeared in

¹ See page 629.

Russia, concentrated in large cities and organized into trade unions. As the city population grew, the middle classes became more numerous. Both the working and middle classes were excellent soil for revolutionary propaganda, for both hated tsarism as the bulwark of aristocracy and privilege.

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

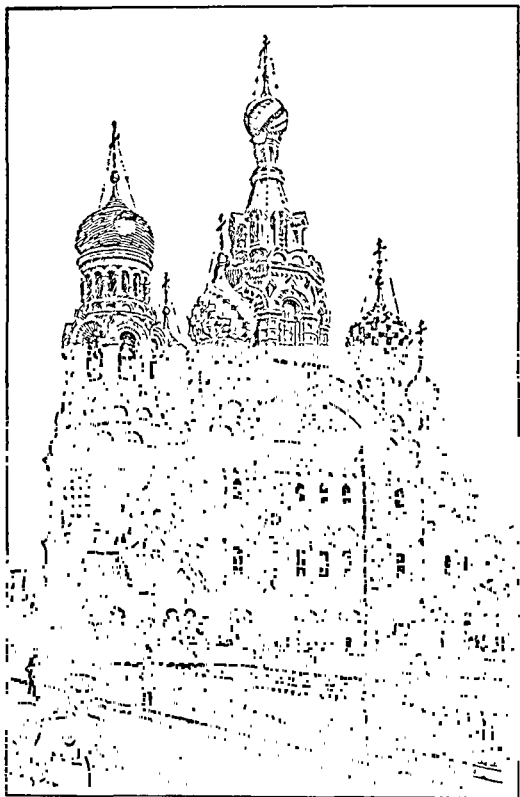
The Social Democrats. Throughout the reign of Alexander III the revolutionists were in hiding or in exile. Autocracy had triumphed completely, and there seemed to be no possibility that Russia would ever break the chains that bound her so tightly. Yet in this darkest hour the revolutionists did not give up hope that their country would yet be free. Many of the revolutionists studied the writings of Karl Marx and became converts to socialism. The Industrial Revolution, they declared, was bringing into existence a liberal bourgeoisie and a revolutionary proletariat; and, as in Western Europe, they would combine to overthrow tsarism and establish constitutional government. But democracy would be a "half-way house," for the revolutionary proletariat would continue the agitation till socialism was established. They organized the Social Democratic party which enrolled Russian workingmen in the ranks of socialism.

The Social Revolutionists. Another group calling itself the Social Revolutionists had an entirely different plan. Russia, they declared, was still overwhelmingly agricultural in spite of the introduction of industry, and was likely to remain so for many years, hence the peasant not the workingman was the important factor. The peasant must be made a revolutionist, they insisted. But how? Had he not stolidly refused to listen to the enthusiastic pleas of the "go-to-the-people" movement? The Social Revolutionists came to the conclusion that the peasant was not really interested in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, but that he was interested in the land, and that any party which promised to give him more land could make a revolutionist of him. They therefore adopted the slogan "the whole land to the whole people," planning to confiscate the land of the rich proprietors and give it to the peasants free of charge.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

Nicholas II. Alexander III died in 1894, and was succeeded by

his son, Nicholas II, a young man of twenty-six. The latter's reign was to be momentous; he was destined to be the last of the Romanov dynasty, and his Empire was fated to go down in the general ruin of the World War. Would he take his father or his grandfather as his model? was the general question in Russia



CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION OF
CHRIST, LENINGRAD

It stands on the spot where Alexander II was
assassinated.

when he ascended the throne. "I shall preserve the principle of autocracy as firmly and unswervingly as my late father of imperishable memory," Nicholas declared. The Tsar was a weak man, and he became a tool in the strong hands of reactionary ministers who were determined to maintain the autocracy at all costs.

Suppression of liberalism. Like his father, Nicholas determined to Russify the non-Russians through despotic measures. The laws against the Poles and Jews were rigorously enforced. A series of decrees virtually nullified the constitution of Finland. A relentless censorship was established. Any man or society or journal that criticized the government im-

mediately felt the strong hand of the Tsar. A ringing protest was voiced by the famous novelist, Count Leo Tolstoy, against the actions of "that misguided young man," as he called Nicholas II.

Revival of Agitation. At the beginning of the twentieth century a revolutionary movement began which was far more widespread than any that had preceded it. Mass meetings, street demonstrations, and strikes took place, which astonished and even

puzzled the officials, who were then not familiar with methods of popular agitation. The middle classes too were restless. Prosperous and intelligent, and now fairly numerous, they were opposed to a régime whose idea of government was the whip and the bayonet. Foremost among the opponents of the autocracy were the students, and almost every educational institution became a center of agitation against tsarism. Even the peasants were astir, demanding "land and freedom." Terrorism was revived, and once more grand dukes, governors, and police officials were the targets for bomb and revolver.

Plehve. The government realized that this agitation was far different from any in the past. It was no longer the work of small groups of daring conspirators, but that of large masses, organized and led in the manner of popular movements in Western Europe. To deal with this situation Nicholas appointed Plehve as his chief aid. Plehve decided to resist all demands for reform, even the most moderate. Wholesale executions and imprisonments began, and thousands, suspected rightly or wrongly of being opponents of the government, were exiled to Siberia. Cossacks sent to suppress peasant disorders spread death and ruin wherever they went. The cry "the Cossacks are coming!" was enough to freeze the blood of a Russian, so great was the fear inspired by these dreaded horsemen.

Pogroms. Plehve realized that a counter agitation was necessary to counteract the influence of the revolutionists upon the masses. With this in view an anti-Jewish propaganda was started. Societies were organized, called Leagues of True Russians, supported by government officials, who declared that the revolutionary agitation was the work of the Jews who were plotting to overthrow the Tsar because he was the Christian defender of Holy Russia. Attacks were made on the Jewish quarters by gangs that were hired and incited by officials. These attacks, known as *pogroms*, culminated in the massacre of Kishinev, where the Jewish quarter was given over to massacre and plunder.

War with Japan. In spite of suppressions, revolutionary activity increased; not a week passed without mass meetings, strikes, assassinations, street demonstrations, riots, petitions. Plehve was blown to pieces by a bomb thrown by a terrorist. The government, determined not to yield, was desperately trying to find a way out of the situation when war clouds appeared in the:

Far East. In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out, and the Tsar issued a stirring appeal to his people to rally around "the Faith, the Tsar, and the Fatherland." But there was little if any enthusiasm for the war which was generally regarded as a move of the Tsar to distract attention from the revolutionary agitation. The great defeats of the Russian armies and fleets enraged many patriots who charged them to the incompetence and corruption of the government. The Tsar was now in the position of an autocrat who cannot fight, always a dangerous position for an autocrat. The government was now between two fires, the Japanese in front and the revolutionists behind. It therefore hastened to make peace with the former ¹ in order to face the latter with all its forces.

Red Sunday. Leadership in the revolutionary agitation was passing rapidly to the workingmen, most of whom were socialists. In the large cities strikes were constantly taking place with the demands for "higher wages, shorter hours and a constitution." One of the agitators was an Orthodox priest named Father Gapon, who planned a great demonstration in the streets of St. Petersburg. On Sunday, January 22, 1905, Father Gapon, clad in his priestly robes and carrying a crucifix, led an enormous procession of workingmen to the palace of the Tsar. It was his intention to present a petition to the Little Father asking for reforms. When the crowd arrived at the palace, they found it surrounded by a body of Cossacks who ordered them to halt. Then the command was given to fire, and volley after volley was poured into the mass of unarmed men and women. Many fell. This grim horror, known as Red Sunday, showed plainly enough the determination of the Tsar to maintain his power.

The general strike. In Russia Red Sunday was a signal for a series of uprisings, and the Revolution of 1905 was in full swing. The autocracy was frightened, and at last thought of concessions. The Finnish constitution was restored; the arrears in taxes of the peasants were remitted; censorship of the press was relaxed; and promises were made to call a parliament. But nothing could slacken the furious pace of revolution. During October, 1905, there took place one of the most extraordinary demonstrations in history. All of Russia went on strike, workingmen, business men, professional men, public officials, servants, peasants, and even

¹ See page 564.

ballet dancers. This was too much for the government, for it could not govern a people who simply sat still and refused to work. On October 30 Tsar Nicholas issued a famous manifesto, promising to convoke a parliament elected by popular suffrage and to grant a liberal constitution.

The Duma. Revolutionary activity died down, and the country began to prepare itself for the elections to the Duma, as the parliament was called. There was great anticipation when the first Duma met, on May 10, 1906. At last the nation could speak its mind and exert its will through the smooth legislative machinery of representative government, and not through riots and demonstrations.

Political parties. There were many parties in the Duma, and nearly all of them were opposed to the autocracy. The most conservative were the Octobrists, mainly liberal nobles who based their demands on the Tsar's manifesto of October; they desired a government like that of Prussia, in which parliament was subordinate to the monarch. Next to them were the Constitutional Democrats, popularly called the "Cadets," who were supported by the middle classes. A truly liberal party, they believed that the Duma should be in supreme control of the government, the tsar a figurehead, the cabinet, responsible to parliament, and the constitution a guarantee of the liberties of the people. The leader of the Cadets was Professor Paul Miliukóv, a distinguished historian and sociologist who became the spokesman of liberal Russia. On the left were the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionists.

The Land Question. It is now necessary to explain the attitude of the various groups toward the land question, by far the most important in Russia. The Octobrists desired to change the status of land holding by abolishing the *mir*; each peasant would then become an independent owner of his little farm. The Cadets demanded the breaking up of large estates, but they believed the peasant should buy this land from the owners aided by government loans. Both the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionists advocated the immediate confiscation of all landed estates in Russia, but differed widely as to the methods of dividing them. The Social Democrats believed in government ownership of the land with the peasant as a tenant of the government; that was to be the final solution, but in the meanwhile they favored a

system of peasant proprietorship. The Social Revolutionists were opposed to government ownership as well as to peasant proprietorship; they favored a system of working the land by co-operative groups of peasants.

Dismissal of the Duma. When the Duma met, it immediately began to criticize the government and to investigate its activities. This did not at all suit the Tsar, who dismissed it and ordered new elections. The second Duma was even more anti-government than the first, and it, too, was dismissed. The Tsar, desiring a legislature that would "coöperate" with him; issued a decree establishing a class system of voting not unlike that in Prussia, which gave political control to the landlords and wealthy merchants. The third Duma, elected on the basis of this decree, consisted of reactionaries and Octobrists with a small sprinkling of Cadets. It loyally supported the Tsar in his efforts to nullify the work of the Revolution.

Reaction. Reaction was now in the saddle. The government set energetically to work clearing the country of the revolutionists, and thousands who could not escape paid with their lives for their labors on behalf of a free Russia. Siberia once more saw processions of political prisoners on their way to exile. The results of the Revolution were meager. The monarchy was still all-powerful but, as in Prussia, there was now a constitution and a parliament. In one sense the Duma was a thin veil of tsarism; in another, a thin edge of the wedge of popular government.

Why the Revolution of 1905 failed. Why did the Revolution of 1905 fail? Did it not have the entire country behind it? Was not the government discredited by the defeats in the war with Japan? Had not Tsar Nicholas shown himself an incompetent and a weakling? There are two important reasons for the failure of the Revolution. In the first place, the army was loyal to the Tsar, and the support of the military machine foiled all attempts of the revolutionists to overthrow the government. In the second place, differences in aims seriously divided the revolutionists. In the beginning both liberals and socialists united to attack the government; but when the latter yielded, some of the socialists got the idea that now was the time to establish socialism in Russia. This was not at all to the liking of the liberals who were fighting for democracy, not for socialism. When the two camps began attacking each other, the government was quick to

take advantage of the situation. First it suppressed the one, then the other. Not a little assistance was given to the Tsar by France and by Germany. France, fearing that she might lose an ally if the Tsar was overthrown, advanced large sums of money to the tottering autocracy. The Kaiser saw in the plight of the Tsar an opportunity to win him to the side of Germany, and so he aided Nicholas by handing over revolutionists who had fled to Germany.

All was now quiet in Russia. The Tsar sat triumphant on his throne. The revolutionists were fleeing for their lives. The workingmen were cowed. The peasants once more humbly submitted to their fate. It would be years, thought many, before Russia would resume her march to freedom.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. How did the views of the Russian nihilists resemble those of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century?
2. Why did the "go-to-the-people" movement fail? How do you account for the origin of terrorism? What was the effect of terrorism on the domestic policy of the Russian government?
3. Describe the methods used to Russify the non-Russian elements.
4. What is meant by the expression, a "frozen" Russia?
5. Count Witte has been called the Colbert of Russia. Explain.
6. Why was France willing to loan money to Russia? Why was Russia willing to borrow?
7. What were the important effects of the Industrial Revolution on Russia? The government often sent factory employees to the country. Why?
8. How did the views of the Social Democrats differ from those of the Social Revolutionists?
9. What was the effect of the Russo-Japanese War on the revolutionary movement in Russia?
10. What was "Red Sunday"?
11. What were the important parties in the first Duma? Explain the chief demands of each.
12. How was the Revolution of 1905 a failure? a success?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

NIHILISM. Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, pp. 1-31; Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, part IV, chs. XII, XV; Turgeneff, *Fathers and Sons* (novel); *Virgin Soil* (novel); Stepniak, *Career of a Nihilist* (novel); Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 219-22; Wallace, *Russia*, ch. XXXIV; Ziliacus, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement*, ch. IV; Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 243-48.

TERRORISM. Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, pp. 32-45, 52-145, 149-294;

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Skrine, pp. 265-70; Wallace, ch. xxxv; Kropotkin, part vi, ch. viii; Zilliacus, chs. v-vi, xii; Olgin, *The Soul of the Russian Revolution*, ch. xxx; Kirkup, pp. 248-55.

THE POLICY OF RUSSIFICATION. Skrine, pp. 212-18, 276-77, 321-28; Ular, *Russia from Within*, pp. 194-237; Seton Watson, etc., *The War and Democracy*, pp. 191-205.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Skrine, pp. 288-89, 309-21; Wallace, ch. xxxvi; Olgin, chs. i-ii.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONISTS. Wallace, pp. 592-606; Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, II, pp. 287-92; Olgin, ch. xxxiii.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905. Wallace, pp. 607-14, 636-55; Olgin, chs. viii-xvii; Kornilov, II, pp. 297-328.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION (1878-1914)

AUSTRIA AND GERMANY IN THE NEAR EAST

Discontent with the Treaty of Berlin. Although the Russians failed to get Constantinople in 1878 they did succeed in loosening the foundations of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. All the small nations that emerged from the partial dismemberment of Turkey claimed lands bordering upon their territory which, they asserted, were inhabited by people of their nationality. In this way arose movements that were known as Greater Serbia, Greater Bulgaria, Greater Greece, and Greater Rumania. The Balkan nations blamed one another as well as the powers; especially did a hatred arise between Serbia and Bulgaria because both desired Macedonia.

Abdul Hamid. Sultan Abdul Hamid, who was as shrewd as he was wicked, clearly realized that Turkey's good fortune in saving much of her territory lay in the rivalry of the powers. Had not the Russian armies been stopped at the very gates of Constantinople by the guns of the British warships? He was firmly convinced that the Christian powers really cared little for the fate of his Christian subjects, whom they used as pawns to play diplomatic games for sordid ends.

Russia and England leave the Near East. Another important result of the Treaty of Berlin was the exit of the two old antagonists, Russia and England, from the Balkan scene. Russia, foiled for the third time in her efforts to get Constantinople, turned her face toward the Far East in the hope of finding a "window on the Pacific."¹ When the Suez Canal fell under England's control she could easily send fleets and armies to protect India, consequently her interest in the Near Eastern Question became less intense.

Entrance of Germany and Austria. Equally momentous was the entrance of two new powers, Austria and Germany. Chagrined at being driven out of Germany, Austria sought to recoup her losses by annexing territory in the Near East. Perhaps she could get a "window on the Mediterranean" by seizing Saloniki.

¹ See page 559.

Austria's *Drang nach Osten* (Movement to the East) roused her Balkan neighbors, who feared that they too might become Slavic subjects of the Hapsburgs.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that more important than anything else in the history of the Balkans since 1878 was the entrance of Germany on the scene of so many rivalries. The Germany of Bismarck would not give the "bones of a Pomeranian grenadier" for the Near Eastern Question but the Germany of the Kaiser gave the bones of millions of Germans for this very Question. No sooner did Bismarck retire than Germany became intensely interested in Turkey, and actually succeeded in displacing England as the chief foreign influence in Constantinople. Germany's diplomatic success was followed by concessions granted by the Sultan to build the famous Bagdad Railway.¹

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION

The Armenian massacres. Though the Sultan had been deprived of much territory by the Congress of Berlin he still had many Christian subjects. Misgovernment, oppression, and massacres continued to be their lot in spite of his solemn promises to reform. The worst sufferers were the Armenians. In 1894 the world was horrified by wholesale slaughter of these hapless Christians by fanatical Mohammedan tribes, aided and abetted by the Sultan's officials. The Armenian massacres were like the *pogroms* in Russia, and on a far larger scale. The Sultan was severely denounced throughout the world, but nothing was done to punish him.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908. The other Christians in Turkey, Greeks, Slavs, and Rumanians, were in a much better position. Their cause was championed by their brothers in the little nations established by the Congress of Berlin, a fact which partly stayed the hands of the Turk. Uprisings were continually taking place in the Sultan's dominions, encouraged by the Balkan nations and by the powers. It became evident to many Turks that the downfall of the Empire was certain unless it was really and truly reformed. This sense of impending doom led to a remarkable movement, known as Young Turkey, organized and inspired by Turks who were familiar with the ideals and institutions of Western Europe. The Young Turks got control of the army,

¹ See page 555.

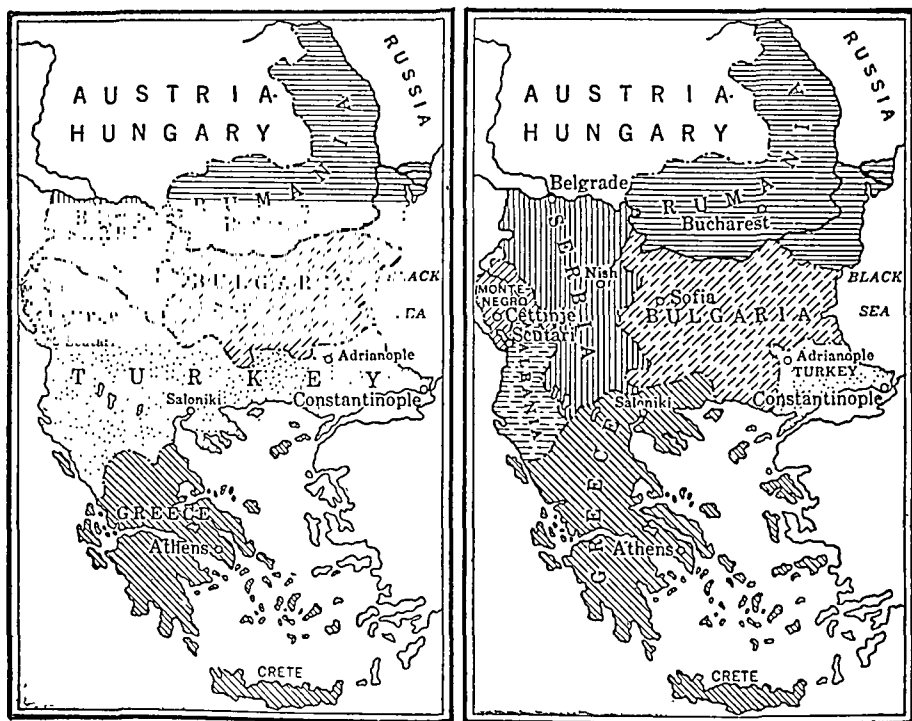
and in 1908 an astonished world heard that a revolution had broken out in Constantinople. Abdul Hamid was compelled to proclaim the constitution of 1876 which he had suppressed. But he had no desire to be a democratic ruler and plotted a counter-revolution. He was consequently deposed, and his brother was proclaimed Sultan Mohammed V. A parliament was elected in which the various races and faiths in the Empire were represented. Great was the joy of the Christians upon whom had been visited centuries of terrorism. People danced in the streets of Constantinople celebrating the dawn of a new era of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Young Turks become reactionary. The Young Turks were strong believers in the principle of nationalism. Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews were now to be loyal citizens of their common country, the Ottoman Empire. But this promising movement was doomed to failure. In the first place, the Christians did not want to be Ottomanized; they wanted to join their brothers in the Balkan states. Secondly, the powers took advantage of the confusion caused by the Revolution to attack Turkey. Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Italy declared war on Turkey and seized Tripoli. The Young Turks began to repent of their liberalism which, contrary to their expectations, was not bringing "union and progress." They became reactionary and proceeded to organize massacres of Christians who now hated them as much as they did the followers of Abdul Hamid.

THE BALKAN WARS

The Balkan Wars and their results. The disorganization of Turkey brought about by the Revolution was the opportunity for the Balkan states to square accounts with their old enemy. Largely through the efforts of an able Greek statesman, Venizelos, an alliance was formed of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro. In 1912, the Balkan Allies declared war upon Turkey. Attacked on all sides the Turks were badly defeated, and sued for peace. The "Sick Man of Europe" was about to die. When it came to dividing his heritage, however, the heirs fell to quarreling. Bulgaria, never forgetting the Treaty of San Stefano, demanded Macedonia as her share, but she was opposed by Greece and Serbia who also wanted that region. To the astonishment of the world a second Balkan War broke out, this time between Bulgaria

and her former allies. Invaded by Serbs, Greeks, and Rumanians, Bulgaria was defeated and sued for peace. Taking advantage of the situation the Turks reëntered the fray, and captured Adrianople. In 1913 the Second Balkan War was ended by the Treaty of Bucharest. The chief territorial changes that resulted from the Balkan Wars were: (1) Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece; (2) Novi-Bazar, between Serbia and Montenegro; (3) Bulgaria got a small strip of the coast on the Ægean; and (4) Albania was organized as an independent state. Turkey retained eastern Thrace, Constantinople, and Adrianople.



THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE
1912-1913

Turkey turns to Germany. Turkey had in a way been unexpectedly lucky in the outcome of the Balkan Wars; she was still in Europe. But a little more of this kind of "luck," and she would be out of Europe. The Young Turks also realized that England, being now in agreement with Russia,¹ could no longer be relied

¹ See page 631.

upon to protect Turkey against aggression. To Germany and Austria did they therefore turn for aid. Were not these two powers in league against the Balkan nations? Did they not, like herself, fear Russia? Had not Germany a stake in Turkey in her Bagdad Railway?

Bulgaria versus Serbia. Bitter feeling between Bulgaria and her neighbors was another outcome of the Balkan Wars. Bulgaria, again thwarted in her desire for Macedonia, was so enraged that she was willing to go to any length to satisfy her revenge against Serbia who was chiefly responsible for her disappointment. But Serbia was hand-in-glove with Russia. Then she must look with friendly eyes toward Germany.

Reëtrance of Russia and England into the Near East. The Balkan Wars prepared the ground for the World War. One of the startling events of the time was the reappearance of Russia in the Near East. Driven away from Port Arthur by Japan, she returned to her old dream of getting Constantinople. But it was no longer England but Austria and Germany that barred the way. England, too, reappeared on the scene. The proposed extension of the Bagdad Railway to the Persian Gulf was a German threat to India. Might not a German fleet be stationed in the Gulf? Might not a German army be entrained in Berlin and sent swiftly to Asia Minor? Not only India but the Suez Canal was in danger. England now joined hands with Russia, so long her antagonist in the Balkans, to face Turkey backed by the Teutonic powers.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why was Russia interested in the Near East? Why England? How did the Congress of Berlin plant the seeds for future war in the Near East?
2. Why did Austria become interested in the Near East after 1866? Why not before? What did she gain at the Congress of Berlin? Why did Germany favor Austria at the Congress of Berlin? Why did the Germany of William II become interested in the Near East? Why not the Germany of Bismarck?
3. What were the chief causes of the Turkish Revolution of 1908? Why did the Young Turks become reactionary and despotic?
4. What were the causes of the first Balkan War? Second Balkan War? Results?
5. Why was Austria opposed to the expansion of Serbia?
6. In 1915 Bulgaria joined the Central Powers. How may it be explained by the results of the Balkan Wars?

7. During the nineteenth century England opposed Russia in the Near East. Why? Why did she oppose Germany in the twentieth century?

Map questions: Indicate the boundaries of Turkey after the Congress of Berlin; after the Balkan Wars of 1913; and after the World War of 1914-1918.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, ch. xi; Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War*, pp. 210-20; Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. xviii; Davis, *Short History of the Near East*, pp. 365-69.

THE BALKAN WARS. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, chs. xiv-xvii; *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. xxii; Davis, pp. 369-76; Seymour, ch. x.

SECTION V

EXPANSION OF EUROPE

Europe dominates the world. Modern civilization is European civilization. The smallest of the continents, Europe, has succeeded in imposing her ideals, her systems, and her ways upon the rest of the world. She has conquered all of Africa, most of Asia, all of the Antipodes, and has peopled North and South America. Those lands that are independent of the domination of Europe have managed to be so only because they copied and adopted her civilization.

The old imperialism. The expansion of Europe began with the discovery and settlement of America. A new world lay open to all comers, and for several centuries the European nations were staking out their claims. At the same time European trading settlements were being established in India. As a result of the scramble for territory in America and for trade in India conflicts arose among the nations, which culminated in the imperialist wars of the eighteenth century. All the nations engaged in these struggles came out more or less defeated. Spain lost to France. Holland and France lost to England. England lost her best colonies as a result of the American Revolution. Spain and Portugal lost South America through revolutions.

Reaction against imperialism. For a time Europe's imperialistic passions were stilled. During most of the nineteenth century there was little if any interest in colonies. The French Revolution, Napoleon, the nationalist wars, and the democratic struggles occupied the attention of the nations. Moreover, the Industrial Revolution convinced many that colonies were no longer necessary to national prosperity, and the Mercantilist System was repudiated.¹

Revival of imperialism. Toward the end of the nineteenth century there took place a great revival of imperialism. Once more the nations of Europe entered into a mad race for colonies which led to rivalries far greater than those of the eighteenth century. The new imperialism revived old hostilities, sharpened

¹ See page 178.

national hatreds, aroused new ambitions, and intensified national jealousies, all of which had their part in bringing about the World War.

Causes. The chief causes for this revival were: (1) the discovery of Central Africa; (2) the opening up of China and Japan; (3) the growth of nationalism, and (4) the expansion of industry. The discovery of Central Africa offered a new world to conquer and to divide. As in the case of India, the opening up of China excited the commercial ambitions of Europe. The spirit of nationalism rose so high that it flowed over into imperialism. The new nations, Germany and Italy, wanted colonies to maintain their position as great powers. France wanted colonies to maintain her prestige after Sedan. Russia, foiled in the Balkans, sought compensation in the Far East. Britain's pride of empire experienced a new birth.¹

Revival of Mercantilism. The rapid growth of industry, in the opinion of imperialists, made colonies necessary. So vast were the quantities of goods produced and so great was the need of raw material that there began a revival of some phases of the Mercantilist theory. It was argued that the people of Asia and Africa would buy the manufactures of Europe, and in return send their food and raw material of which Europe had little. Colonies also offered an excellent field of investment because labor was plentiful and cheap, and profits were large. European capitalists sought to exploit backward regions by building railways, factories, docks, steamboats, and by opening mines.

Methods of seizing territory. European nations used all sorts of pretexts when they planned to seize foreign territory. Sometimes they would compel a weak government to give them a "lease" of a place, as when Russia compelled China to give her a lease of Port Arthur. Sometimes, when civil war was raging in a backward country, they would intervene on the pretext of restoring order, as in the case of France in Morocco; sometimes they would intervene to collect money due their nationals, as when England and France established the Dual Control in Egypt; sometimes to avenge the murder of Christian missionaries, as in the case of Germany seizing Kiau-chau; sometimes to avenge insults to the flag or attacks upon officials as in the case of France in Tunis. Many imperialists justified the seizure of backward lands

¹ See page 582.

on the plea of the "white man's burden"; namely, that the burden of spreading modern civilization among the darker races lay on the white Europeans, who should assume it as a duty to humanity.

Forms of European control. There were certain stages in the annexation of territory. If the native government was too powerful to be set aside, it could be induced by threats, arguments, or bribery to give *concessions*, which meant that the country would be exploited by a group of capitalists. If the native government was weak, the country would be divided into *spheres of influence*, each of which would be exploited by capitalists of a certain power. A still stronger grip was exercised over the *protectorate*, where the native government was merely a veil behind which the Europeans ruled. Finally came the *colony*, the last stage in the imperialistic process, when the region was openly annexed.

One of the great problems of our time is the relation of Europe to subject Asia and Africa. In spite of the fact that Europeans did spread modern civilization their dominance was resented, and nationalist movements appeared that aimed to overthrow European control. Thus far they have not succeeded in doing so, but their influence has been great. The East no longer bows in cowed submission to the West.

CHAPTER XLVIII

EUROPE IN AFRICA

DISCOVERY OF CENTRAL AFRICA

Coastlands only known to Europe. Africa is an immense continent, three times the size of Europe. Parts of it had been known since the dawn of civilization, but all of it was not known till the end of the nineteenth century. North Africa had in ancient times been the seat of mighty civilizations, Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman. During the latter part of the seventh century it was invaded by Arabs who conquered the region and converted the inhabitants to Mohammedanism. Later, Arab traders founded settlements along the eastern coast. The western and southern coasts became known to the world through the voyages of the Portuguese navigators in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Along these coasts, trading stations were established that engaged in the profitable but evil traffic of providing slaves for the plantations of the New World.

Unfavorable geographic conditions. Until late in the nineteenth century Africa meant to the world merely a series of coast lines; the interior was unknown. Why had the discovery of Central Africa been so long delayed? The answer is given by African geography: separating the north from the rest of Africa is the vast Sahara desert which, until recently, was virtually impassable; the western coast is smooth and unindented, hence there are few harbors to invite visitors; and facing the eastern coast are high mountains that blocked the passage to the interior. South Africa is a large plateau, fringed on the east by high mountains and on the west by a desert, hence inaccessible. Rivers are always the best means of entering the interior of a region as in the case of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers in North America. Central Africa too possesses immense rivers, the Congo, the Niger, the Zambesi; but they are not navigable because of the many rapids and swamps. In the interior were savage inhabitants who had led a primitive existence for countless ages.

Livingstone (1813-73) and Stanley (1841-1904). In the middle of the nineteenth century Africa aroused the curiosity of the world. Adventurous travelers came back with marvelous tales



DAVID LIVINGSTONE

of strange animals, giraffes, zebras, gorillas; and of strange men, pygmies and giants; of strange trees that produced rubber; and of strange flora of all kinds. The large number of heathen tribes who dwelt in the interior aroused the Christian imagination; millions of souls might now be won for Christ by enthusiastic missionaries. Among those who were attracted to Africa was a Scotsman, David Livingstone, who, in 1840, was sent out by a missionary society to spread the Gospel among the natives. He realized from the beginning that the opening up of Africa must precede successful missionary

work, and he therefore ceased being a missionary and became an explorer.

Livingstone's name is forever associated with the discovery of Central Africa, as is that of Columbus with the discovery of America. He was a brave, noble-hearted man, a devout Christian who dedicated his life to the opening up of the Dark Continent to civilization. During 1854-56 he made a remarkable journey from coast to coast, from the mouth of the Congo to the mouth of the Zambesi. He discovered and explored the lower Zambesi, the Upper Congo, Lake Nyassa, northern Rhodesia, and the region of Lake Tanganyika. At one time nothing was heard from him, and the *New York Herald* sent Henry M. Stanley at the head of an expedition to find the famous explorer. Stanley in turn became an African discoverer. He too crossed the Continent, from Lake Victoria Nyanza along the Congo to the western coast.

PARTITION OF AFRICA

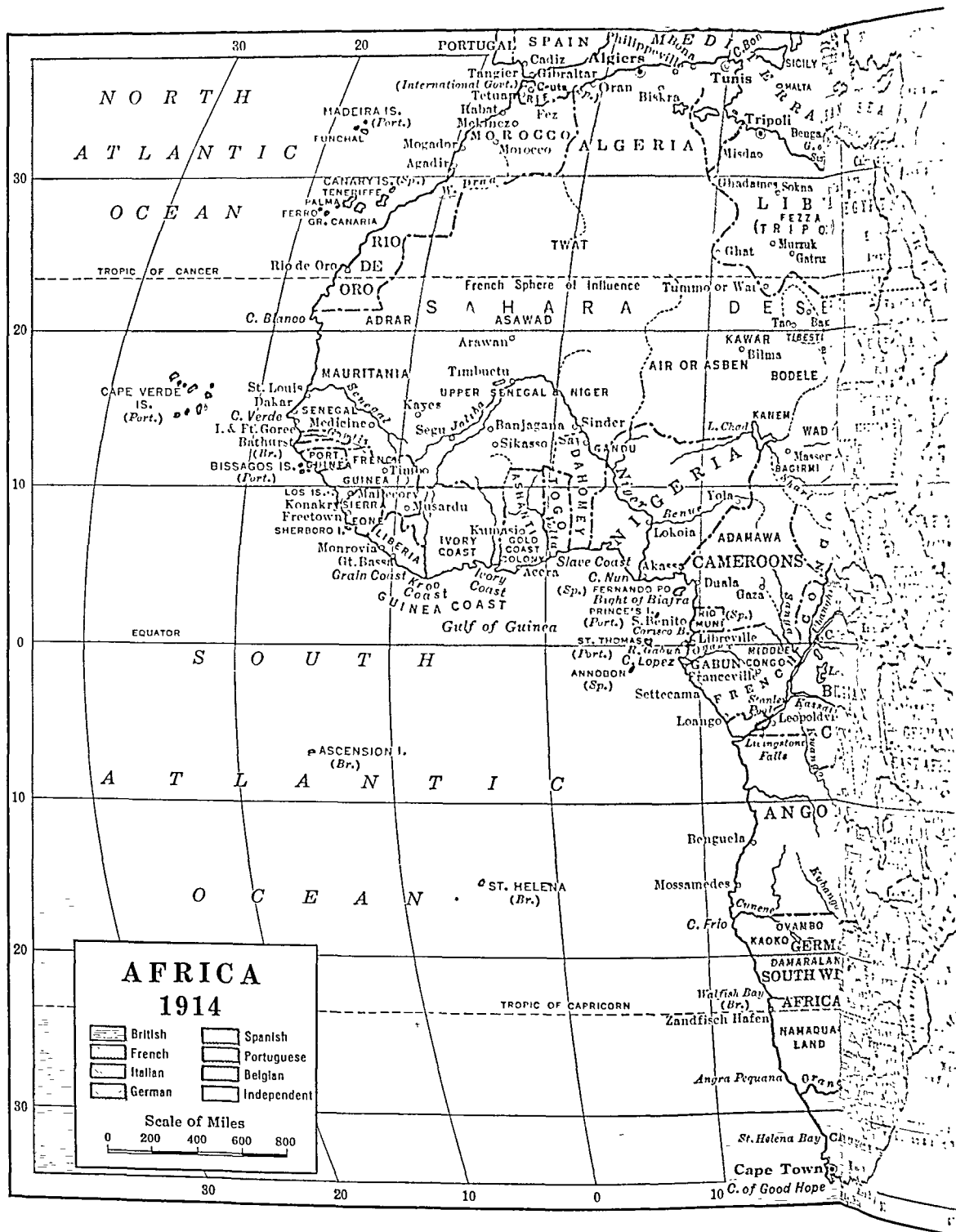
Scramble for territory. Great interest was manifested in the discoveries and explorations of Livingstone and Stanley. A new continent came into view, and tales were told as in former days of America, of fabulous wealth that it contained. However, there was no rush of white settlers because Central Africa lies mainly in the Torrid Zone, and is therefore very hot. Instead there was a rush by the various powers to seize territory, and Central Africa was partitioned among the European nations. It was agreed that no power should take African territory without notifying the others and as a result of agreement with the others. The Partition of Africa was therefore peacefully accomplished by means of conferences and treaties, the most important being that of Berlin in 1884-85. Little attention was paid to the right of the natives who became tribute payers and laborers for the white officials and plantation owners. An interesting feature of the Partition was the creation of the Congo Free State. The shrewd King of the Belgians, Leopold II, saw great business possibilities in the Congo region, and organized the State with himself as ruler. A group of Belgian capitalists then exploited the region which was rich in rubber. The natives in the State were turned into rubber collectors for their Belgian masters, who treated them so cruelly that it became a world scandal. In 1908 Belgium ended the rule of her King in the Congo, and annexed the region as a colony.

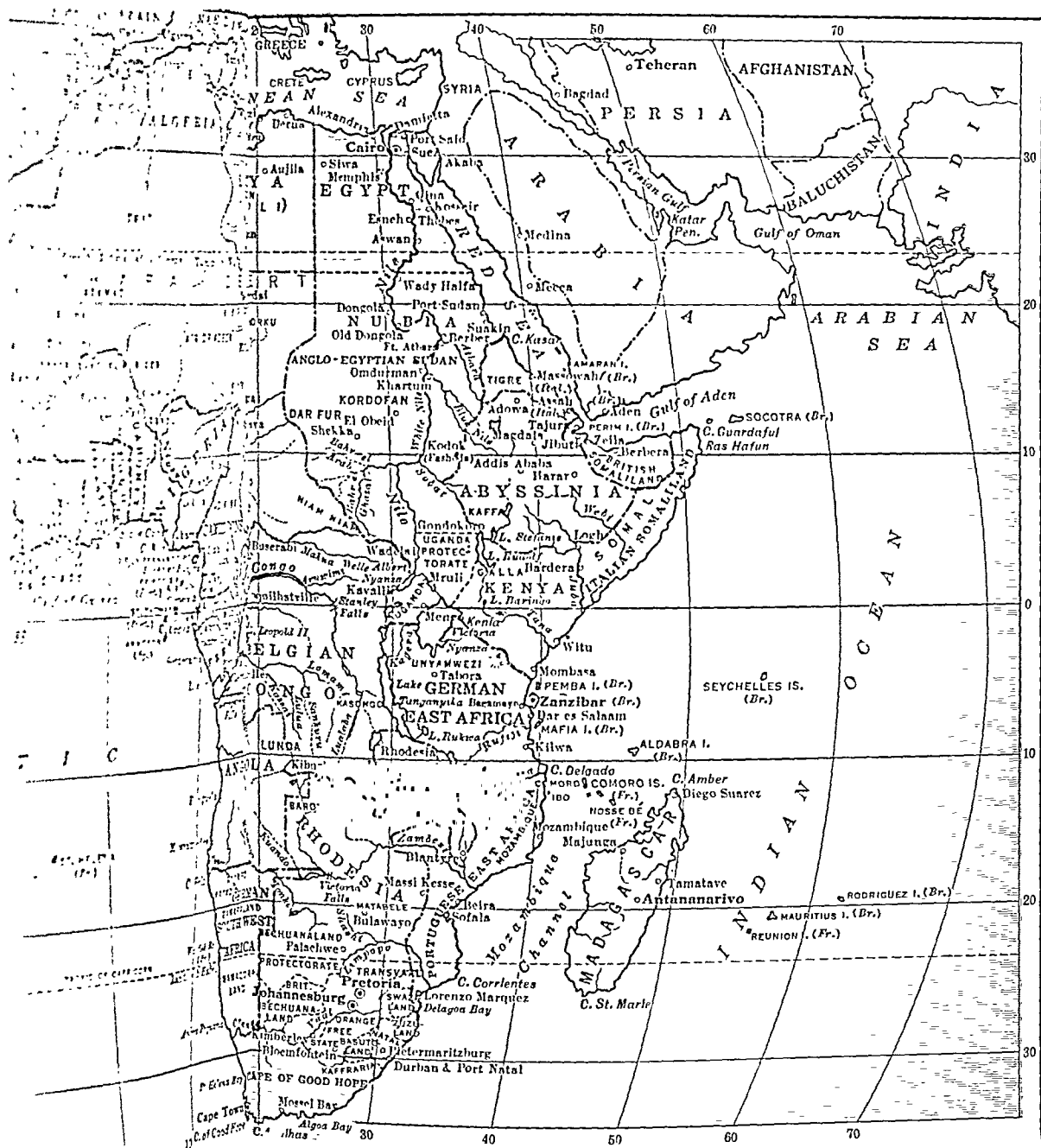
Partition of Africa. During the Partition both Germany and Italy made their débuts as colonial powers. Germany obtained German East Africa, German Southwest Africa, Togoland and Cameroon. France acquired extensive lands in the valleys of the Senegal and Niger Rivers, on the Ivory Coast, in Upper Guinea, and in the Congo, on the Red Sea, and the large island of Madagascar. England got the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Rhodesia, Uganda, British East Africa, and Sierra Leone. Portugal got Angola and Mozambique. Italy took strips of coast along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. So completely was Africa partitioned that there exist on that Continent only two independent nations, Abyssinia and Liberia, both small and unimportant.

NORTH AFRICA

North Africa, haunt of pirates. How South Africa became British will be described later.¹ The history of North Africa is

¹ See page 575.





different from that of Central Africa, though its fate is the same; it too was partitioned among the European powers. For a long time North Africa, especially Algiers and Tunis, was notorious as the Barbary Coast, the haunt of pirates. The corsairs infested the Mediterranean, capturing ships, attacking coast towns, and kidnaping Europeans whom they enslaved or held for ransom. This evil had gone on for centuries but the European powers had done nothing to end it, contenting themselves with occasionally bribing the corsairs to stop their depredations.

France conquers Algiers. After Waterloo France looked across the Mediterranean for other opportunities to found an empire. In 1827, during a conference, the ruler of Algiers struck the French consul in the face with a fly flapper. France demanded an apology for this insult to her representative, but it was refused. In 1830 a French army landed in Algiers, and a struggle began that lasted for a generation. The Arab tribes in Algiers were splendid fighters, and army after army was sent by France to subdue them. During the struggle the picturesque Zouaves were organized by the French, for their tactics were better adapted to fighting Arabs. When Algiers was finally conquered she was given a unique status: she became, not a colony, but a part of France with representation in the French Parliament. To-day Algiers is well developed with large towns, fine roads, and excellent agriculture. Much of the land was confiscated and given to Frenchmen in order to induce them to settle there.

Tunis and Morocco. Once in Algiers France looked to the right and to the left for more lands to conquer. On the right was Tunis where, in 1881, a French army was sent to punish a tribe that had raided a French settlement. Once in Tunis they refused to get out, and converted the country into a protectorate. Morocco was the next to be conquered. It is a large region with good harbors, fine climate and soil, and reputed to contain large deposits of copper and iron. It was inhabited by wandering Arab tribes who acknowledged as their ruler the Sultan of Morocco. The latter had but little real authority, and tribal wars were constantly taking place. Frequent raids were made into Algiers, which gave France the opportunity of sending "punitive expeditions." France also began the process of "peaceful penetration" by getting concessions from the Sultan for her capitalists. This aroused the ire of Germany who protested against what she called

the "Tunification" of Morocco. She herself had designs on Morocco. By a series of agreements¹ in 1904 between France, England, and Spain the fate of Morocco was decided: France was to have a free hand in the region with the object of ultimately annexing it; Spain was to keep the parts that were under her control; and England was to have a free hand in Egypt. Tangier, opposite Gibraltar, was put under international control to prevent its being fortified by one of the powers.

Italy acquires Tripoli. There now remained Egypt and Tripoli, both subject to the Sultan of Turkey. How Egypt fell under British control will be described later. In 1911 Italy declared war upon Turkey and invaded Tripoli. Turkey was defeated and surrendered Tripoli, which became an Italian colony.

Development of Africa. Once Europe got a firm grip upon Africa there began a rapid development of that continent, so long sealed to civilization. Flourishing towns are arising where once roamed savage beasts, and cultivated fields are displacing the jungle. A remarkable railway system was planned under British auspices, the Cape-to-Cairo, now nearing completion, which runs the entire length of Eastern Africa, from Cape Town to Cairo. It will not be long before savage Africa with its immense jungles, wild tribes, and strange beasts will be a memory of the past.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the revival of imperialism in the latter part of the nineteenth century?
2. What is a concession? protectorate? sphere of influence?
3. Why had the interior of Africa remained unknown to Europeans until the middle of the nineteenth century? Of what importance was the work of Livingstone and Stanley?
4. The interior of Africa has not attracted many white settlers. Why?
5. It has been said that after the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley, "Africa became an annex of Europe." Explain.
6. How did France acquire Algeria? Tunis? Why did Italy desire Tunis? (Observe Italy's geographical position.)
7. Describe the rivalry of Germany and France in Morocco. Why did England side with France?

Map questions: Locate the Congo River, the Zambesi River, and the Niger. Trace Livingstone's journey across Africa. Indicate the European possession in Africa in 1914; in 1925.

¹ See page 631.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

LIVINGSTONE. Johnston, *Colonization of Africa*, pp. 208-16; Lucas, *Partition and Colonization of Africa*, pp. 66-76; Hughes, *David Livingstone*.

STANLEY. Stanley, *Autobiography; How I Found Livingstone; In Darkest Africa*; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 448-52.

PARTITION OF AFRICA. Johnston, chs. XII-XV; Rose, *Development of the European Nations*, II, ch. VII; Lucas, chs. V-VI.

CHAPTER XLIX

EUROPE IN ASIA

Asiatic civilization. The largest of the continents, Asia, has likewise fallen under the domination of Europe. Unlike Africa, which is largely a savage land inhabited by primitive peoples, Asia is the home of highly civilized races, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Persians, who have made great contributions to religion, to philosophy, to art, to science, to literature, and to industry. At one time it was Europe that was in terror of Asia; and more than once, from the days of Xerxes to the days of the Ottoman Turks, Asiatic hordes had swept into Europe. But conditions have now changed. It is the giant Asia that is now in the grip of little Europe. The civilization of Asia may be described as backward; it was essentially the same in the middle of the nineteenth century as it had been in ancient times. Modern civilization is based upon machinery in industry, on nationalism and democracy in government, on universal literacy in education, and on progress as its guiding principle, all of which is European in origin.

Before the nineteenth century the vast northern stretch of ice-bound Siberia had been annexed by Russia, and the great peninsula of India had fallen under the control of England. The story of the rest of Asia, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and the Far East, is largely the story of "peaceful penetration" of these regions by Europe; to-day there is really only one independent sovereign Asiatic power, and that is Japan.

ASIA MINOR

Favorable geographic condition. Located between the eastern Mediterranean and Persia, Asia Minor is the bridge connecting Europe with central and southern Asia. This region has been called the "cradle of civilization"; it is believed that civilization arose among the ancient races that flourished there. In former times Asia Minor was a prosperous place that had fine trade routes, splendid irrigation systems, and magnificent cities. But in the course of time there came ruin and decay, and this

fertile and prosperous region became semi-civilized, inhabited by poor peasants and wandering tribes.

Railways and development. Could it be rehabilitated? Could its favorable location be utilized to bridge a progressive Europe with a backward Asia? In modern times the one thing necessary to develop a backward country is a railway. Rapid and safe methods of communication mean that a backward region is closely connected with an advanced one, hence settlers are encouraged to come, supplies can easily be obtained, highly trained technical men can be procured, and an easily accessible market exists for the food products and raw material of the backward country. In the track of the railway soon appear bustling towns and well-cultivated fields. The American and Canadian West are good examples of rapid development through railway building.

The Bagdad Railway. A remarkable enterprise was started by a group of German capitalists with the purpose of restoring the ancient prosperity of Asia Minor. This is the famous Bagdad Railway. Asia Minor was not a wild region that could be appropriated, but a backward region under the control of a strong government, Turkey. In order to build this railway it was necessary that the Sultan give his consent, or grant a concession to the German company. The German government, in the interest of this company, made friendly advances to Turkey. The Kaiser paid a visit to Sultan Abdul Hamid, and proclaimed himself the friend of the Mohammedans. In 1899 the Sultan granted a concession to the German company to build a railway through Asia Minor to Bagdad; later, in 1903, another concession permitted the company to continue the railway to a point on the Persian Gulf. Work was immediately begun, and armies of laborers and engineers were laying down steel tracks in the ancient valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Once the Bagdad Railway was completed it would be connected with the railways of Central Europe, and a gigantic system would be the result, beginning at Hamburg, through Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Bagdad, to the Persian Gulf! Europe and Western Asia would be bound with bands of steel.

Value to Germany of Bagdad Railway. Visions of wealth and power now floated before German eyes as they contemplated the possibilities of the Bagdad Railway. What was not possible when one controlled the path from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf?

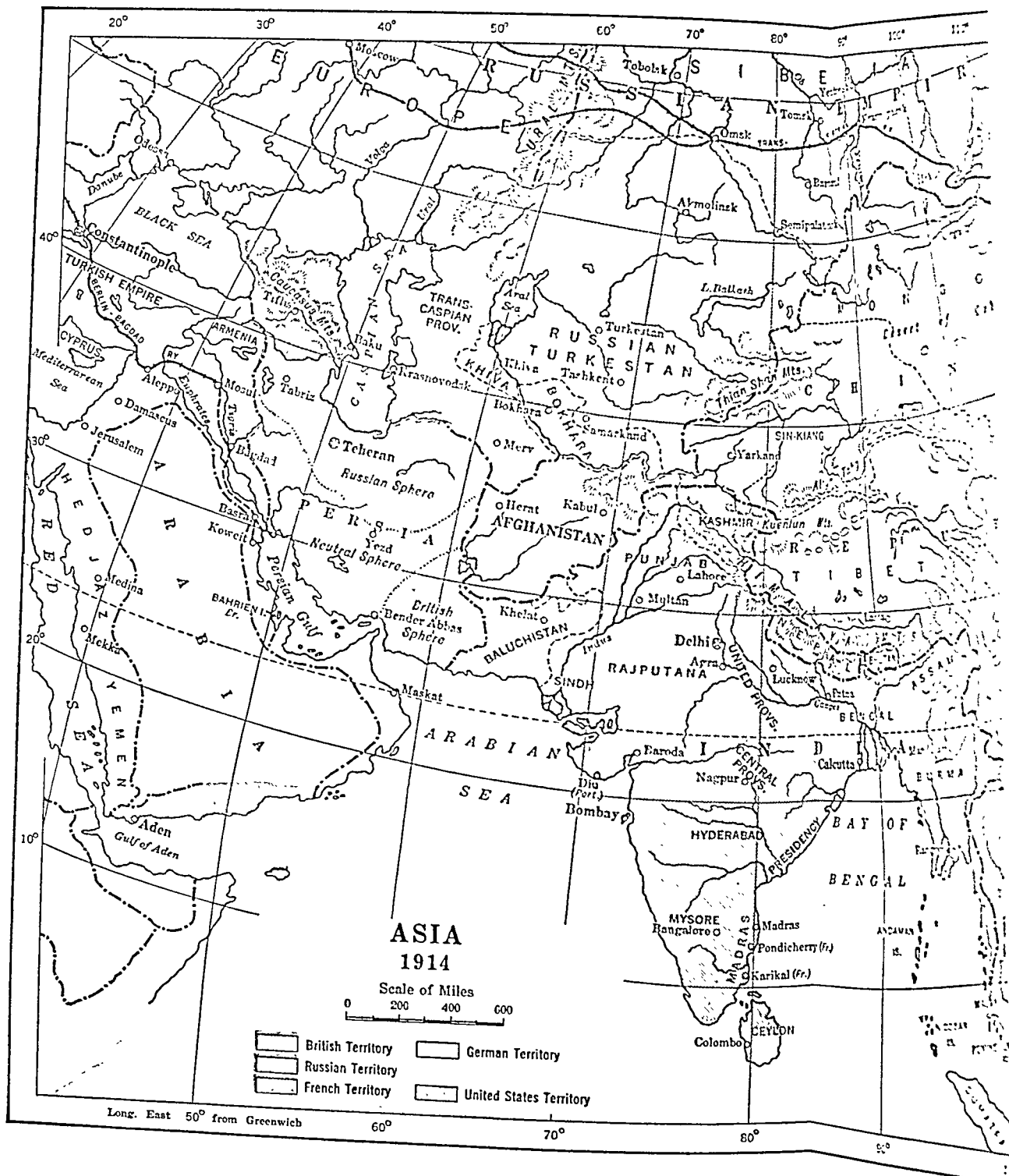
The nations of Central Europe would use this new trade route to the East to the profit of Germany. Asia Minor would become her economic colony, paying tribute in the form of dividends. Her goods could be sent through this "corridor" to western Asia. There were oil wells in Mesopotamia that German industry needed for its rapid development. The Bagdad Railway promised to make Germany the economic lord of the Near East.

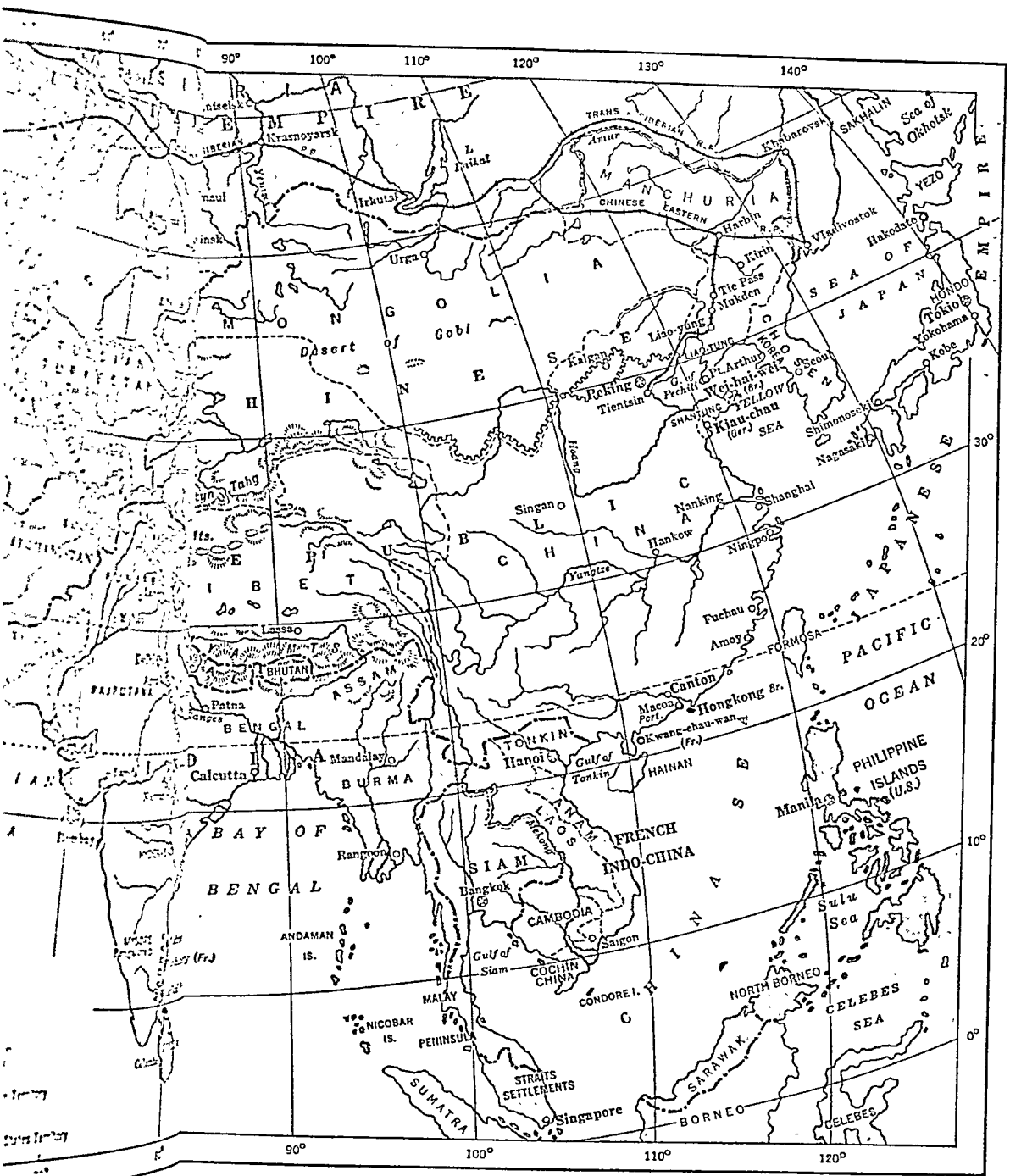
CENTRAL ASIA

Alarm of England at Russian expansion. Central Asia embraces Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. For many years this region was the scene of struggle between Russia and England until an agreement was effected by the treaty of 1907. The great factor in this struggle was India. Russian expansion was in three directions: in the south toward Constantinople, in the southeast toward the Indian Ocean, and in the east toward the Pacific Ocean. "Warm water," or ice-free ports, was the object of her search; if foiled in one direction she turned to another. Russia's movement toward the Indian Ocean disturbed England because it was regarded as preliminary to an invasion of India.

Anglo-Russian rivalry in Afghanistan. The region called Turkestan was inhabited by marauding tribes, who would make raids in Russian territory and then disappear in their desert fastness. Between 1840-85 Russian armies slowly penetrated Turkestan, and finally reached the northern border of Afghanistan. This disturbed England who was steadily moving her Indian frontier. Punjab was conquered and annexed to India; later Baluchistan was occupied. This occupation brought England to the southern border of Afghanistan. Once the latter fell into the hands of Russia, and the road to India lay open to invasion.

Division of Persia. The rivalry between these two powers for the control of Central Asia was finally settled — at the expense of Persia. That seat of ancient civilization had fallen into sad decay. The government was weak and corrupt; the people poor and backward. There was much disorder in the country, and life and property were not safe. Civil war was also going on between the Shah, or ruler, and a parliament that had come into existence. In 1907, on the plea of restoring order in Persia, England and Russia signed an agreement in which (1) Afghanistan was recog-





nized as a buffer state, thus barring Russia's way to India; and (2) Persia was divided into "spheres of influence," the northern to be Russian, the southern to be English, and the central to be neutral. The Persian Parliament sought to free the country by engaging an American, W. Morgan Shuster, as financial adviser. Mr. Shuster was a strong anti-imperialist, and bitterly opposed to the partition of Persia. He enthusiastically set to work to extricate Persia from the toils of Russia and England by reforming the administration and by reorganizing finance and industry. The two powers demanded of Persia that she dismiss Mr. Shuster. Persia was compelled to yield, and she became virtually a protectorate of England and Russia.

THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION

Importance of the Far East. The Far Eastern Question bids fair to become the leading international question of our day. Wars have already been fought because of it, and unless solved peacefully it may result in bringing about another world war. Generally the Far Eastern Question is concerned with the region of the western Pacific, China, Japan, Korea, and eastern Siberia. Specifically the Question has reference to the fate of China, a country larger in area than the United States, with a population as large as that of all Europe, and with great natural resources still undeveloped. There are several aspects of the Far Eastern Question: (1) China as the object of the imperialistic ambition of the powers; (2) Japan as the guardian of Asia against European aggression; (3) the rivalries of the European powers; and (4) America and the "open door" policy.

CHINA

Civilization and Government of China. Like India, China is continental in size, and contains many races and many religions. The vast population, reckoned at four hundred million, is concentrated in China proper; the outlying provinces, Manchuria, Mongolia, Sin Kiang, and Tibet are desolate regions and sparsely inhabited. For centuries China has been the center of a great civilization with a remarkable art, literature, and philosophy; with great cities; and with a well-developed commerce, industry, and agriculture. What Rome was to Western Europe, China was to Eastern Asia, a mother of civilization, for the civilization of

Japan, Korea, and Indo-China is largely based upon that of China. But she had remained stationary for centuries, and so became old and decayed. The government of China was that of absolute monarchy. The emperor and his body of aristocratic officials called mandarins were Manchus, descendants of a warlike Mongolian tribe who had conquered China in the middle of the seventeenth century. The provinces were really self-governing; the viceroys appointed by the emperor contented themselves with being mere collectors of tribute and interfered very little in matters of government.

Opening up of China. In a vague sort of way China was known to Europe for a long time. Marco Polo had visited it in 1275. Christian missionaries and traders came, and settled in some of the coast towns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The interior was entirely unknown to Europeans until recently. The opening up of China came about in a very disgraceful manner. Many Chinese had contracted the habit of smoking opium, a drug made from the poppy plant largely cultivated in India and under the control of the British East India Company. Huge profits were made in the sale of opium to the Chinese, who were suffering greatly from the ill effects of this terrible drug. The Chinese government passed a law forbidding the importation of opium, and confiscated large quantities of the drug that had been smuggled in by British merchants in Canton. Great Britain intervened, and, in 1839, sent a squadron which sank several war junks and seized some of the ports. The Opium War ended in a triumph for the British, and China was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking (1842) which provided that (1) China cede the city of Hongkong to Great Britain; (2) that China pay a heavy indemnity, and (3) that four ports in addition to Canton be open to European trade. By special agreement China was compelled to allow the importation of opium. In 1856 another Opium War was waged against China by England and France who, by the Treaty of Tientsin, forced her to open more ports to European trade.

Weakness of China. These treaties opened a breach in China's wall of isolation. She was revealed as a huge, unwieldy, helpless giant utterly unable to withstand an attack by a European power. Her government was feeble and incompetent, her officials corrupt, her people pacific, her ignorance of modern ways, colossal.

In their isolation the Chinese had developed a great spirit of pride, and they looked with contempt upon the "foreign devils," the Europeans, whom they regarded as barbarous and inferior.

Powers seize Chinese territory. Ever since the Opium War, China has been undergoing a process of partition. On all sorts of pretexts and in the most shameless manner the powers seized cities, districts, even whole provinces, and carved out the remainder into "spheres of influence," all the while asserting their intention to maintain the "integrity of China." England, in addition to Hongkong, which became one of the greatest ports in the world, annexed the province of Burmah (1885). France seized Cambodia (1863), Anam, and Tonkin (1885). The most aggressive of all was Russia who seized Manchuria. China was controlled by the powers by means of unequal treaties. Her tariff was dictated by the powers; her river and coastwise trade was free to foreign vessels; her postal system was under foreign control; and her courts had no jurisdiction over foreigners who, through special treaties, gained the privilege of extraterritoriality according to which the foreign consuls tried cases affecting their nationals.

The Sino-Japanese War. Japan followed in the footsteps of imperialist Europe. In 1894 she declared war against China, and easily defeated that unwieldy giant. The Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) provided that China cede to Japan the island of Formosa and Port Arthur, and that she recognize the independence of Korea. On the plea of maintaining the integrity of China, Russia, Germany, and France intervened and compelled Japan to relinquish all her conquests except Formosa. Soon after the powers gathered the fruits of Japan's victory. In 1898 Russia forced China to give her a "lease" of Port Arthur with its excellent harbor, ice-free all the year round; in addition Manchuria was to be Russia's sphere of influence. In the same year, because two German missionaries had been murdered by Chinese, Germany seized the splendid harbor of Kiau-chau; the province of Shantung was to be her sphere of influence. England seized Wei-hai-wei; and France Kwang-chau-wan.

The "Boxer" uprising. The imperialistic actions of the powers at last aroused even the phlegmatic Chinese. Popular fury rose high against the "foreign devils" who were "lacerating China like tigers." In 1900 anti-foreign uprisings took place under the leadership of the "Boxers," a patriotic society that vowed to drive

the Europeans into the sea. The foreigners in Peking fled to their legations, which were then besieged by the Boxers. An international army, composed of Europeans, Americans, and Japanese marched into Peking and relieved the legations. The European troops, especially the Russians, took fearful revenge, massacring thousands of Chinese and looting temples and palaces. China was compelled to pay a heavy indemnity.¹

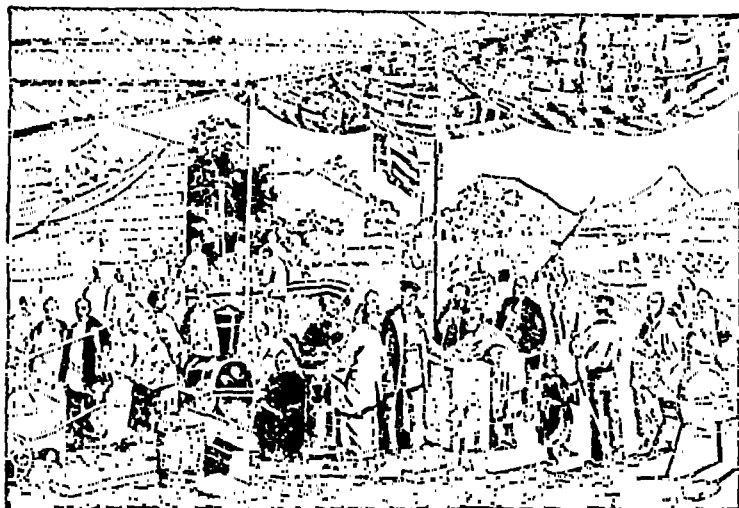
Awakening of China. The rising generation in China, led by young men and women educated in Christian missionary schools and in American and European universities, realized clearly that unless their country adopted modern ways she was doomed. Her ancient civilization and pacific habits would not save her from becoming a prey to the powers who were eyeing her greedily and remorselessly. The victory of Japan over Russia convinced them that Asiatics could be a match for Europeans, provided they were armed and organized like the latter. There began what has been called the "Awakening of China." Reforms were introduced in the administration; a modern system of education was organized; railways and factories were built; the army was completely re-organized along modern lines. A new spirit, that of nationalism, was breathed into the people by young China who saw that their country's weakness lay in the fact that the people were indifferent to its fate. The reform movement culminated in the Chinese Revolution of 1912. Under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, a highly educated and progressive man, an uprising took place which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. A republic was proclaimed, and a parliament was chosen to govern the new China. Unfortunately, however, the various parties could not agree on a unified system of government, and civil wars followed which so weakened the Republic that it became as helpless as the Empire.

JAPAN

Japan is a chain-like archipelago, consisting of four large islands and many small ones strung along the coast of China for two thousand miles. The islands are mountainous and rocky with

¹ America later renounced part of her share of the indemnity, which was used by China as a scholarship fund for the benefit of Chinese students. In 1925 America remitted to China the balance of the fund on condition that it be employed to further scientific education in China.

only fifteen per cent of the area fit for cultivation. The population in 1914 was about fifty-two millions, occupying a territory about as large as California.

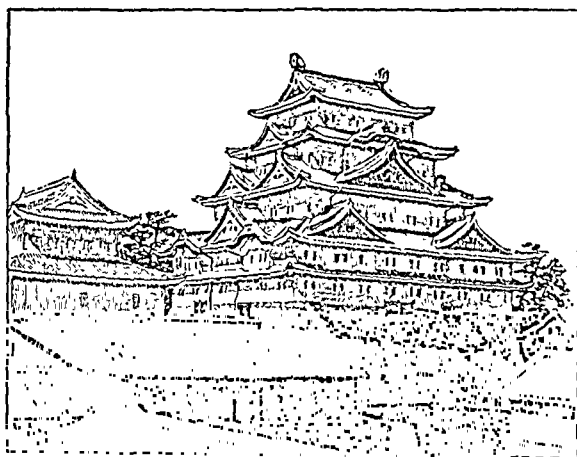


PERRY IN JAPAN

The Americans presented the Japanese with working models of steam engines, fire engines, agricultural implements, and various other products of Western civilization. The treaty of 1854 was designed to promote "a perfect, permanent, and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part and the Empire of Japan on the other, and between their peoples respectively without exception of persons or places."

Opening up of Japan. The rise and growth of Japan is one of the marvels of modern history. Missionaries and traders had visited the country as early as the sixteenth century, but it was not opened up until the middle of the nineteenth, as the result of the famous visit of an American fleet under Commodore Perry. In 1853 he came to demand that Japan permit American vessels to provision in her ports and that American vessels, driven by storms on the Japanese coast, be given shelter. He brought with him gifts and models of railways and of telegraphs and was favorably received. Friendly relations were begun between Japan and the United States; and in 1858 Townsend Harris, the first American representative to Japan, negotiated a liberal treaty establishing commercial relations between the two countries. By this treaty Japan abandoned her policy of exclusion; soon she entered into treaty relations with the other nations.

Old Japan. What was revealed in old Japan caused much interest. There existed a feudal system strangely like that of medieval Europe, with lords and vassals, knights, men-at-arms, serfs; with ideals of chivalry; and with a privileged military aristocracy. The ruler of the land was the Mikado, who was as little of an absolute monarch as a king in feudal Europe for the government was in the hands of the feudal lords. The people, too, aroused much interest. Although closely related to the Chinese



JAPANESE FEUDAL CASTLE

Compare this stronghold with the French mediæval castle shown on page 233.

they are more lively, more keen-witted, and more alert than the rather stolid Chinese. They realized that they must Westernize themselves if they would escape the fate of China.

New Japan. In 1867 there began a series of changes so radical in character that Japan was, in a short time, transformed into a modern nation on the most approved of Western

models. The Mikado, Mutsuhito, was declared Emperor; and his reign (1867-1912) is known as the Era of Enlightenment. "We shall extract," declared the Emperor, "all that is best from the ideas of the whole world in order to increase the prosperity of the Empire." As in Prussia in the days of Stein-Hardenberg, great reforms were made by a series of imperial decrees. Feudalism was abolished; the lords lost their privileges and became nobles with European titles such as baron and count; and the serfs became tenants or small proprietors. A national army was organized on the German model, and a national navy on the English model. A highly centralized system of administration was established, likewise an enlightened civil and criminal code, and a national system of popular education. A constitution was granted by the Emperor based largely upon that of Prussia, with a cabinet responsible to

the monarch and a class system of representation in parliament. The Industrial Revolution was also rapidly introduced. Railways, steamboats, factories, mines, telegraphs multiplied rapidly. In 1872 Japan had eighteen miles of railway; in 1912, six thousand miles. In 1912 the steam tonnage of Japan was as large as that of France. All these changes were accomplished largely by the rising generation who had eagerly learned new ideas and new ways from Europeans and Americans.

The new Japan that emerged was efficient, alert, ambitious, and ready to defend herself against encroachment. Soon she became as aggressive and as imperialistic as the European powers; and it was against her ancient teacher in the arts of civilization, China, that she took the offensive. Japan realized that China would be divided by the powers. If so, why should she not get her share? If the Europeans succeeded

in partitioning China they would drive Japan out of the Chinese markets, an almost fatal step to Japan who more and more depended upon industry to feed her large and growing population. Japan was furious at being deprived of the fruits of her victory over China, but she said little and calmly prepared to have a reckoning with Russia who was chiefly responsible for the intervention.

The Russo-Japanese War. Russia's occupation of Port Arthur, her penetration of Manchuria, and her designs upon Korea were serious threats to Japan's influence in the Far East, if not to her very independence. In 1904 Japan asked Russia when she intended to get out of Manchuria. Russia refused to answer. The war which followed was short but desperate. Great battles took place on land and on sea, in all of which the Japanese were overwhelmingly victorious. When Port Arthur fell, after a desperate



MEDIÆVAL JAPANESE WARRIORS

Even so recently as during the boyhood of the men who led the Japanese armies in the war with Russia, Japanese armies fought in armor with sword and spear, like these warriors.

siege, both sides were willing to make peace: Russia because she was defeated and was facing revolution; Japan because she was victorious and facing bankruptcy, as the war had been a great drain upon her financial resources. On the suggestion of President Roosevelt a peace conference took place at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where a treaty was signed in 1905. The chief terms were: (1) Manchuria was to be evacuated by both Russia and Japan; (2) Russia was to surrender her lease of Port Arthur to Japan; (3) Russia was to give to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin; (4) Japan was to have paramount influence in Korea;¹ and (5) no indemnity was to be paid by Russia.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Great was the surprise of the world at the overthrow of the Russian giant by the Japanese dwarf. Japan emerged from the war as the leading power in the Far East. Already in 1902 England had entered into a compact with her; in 1905 the island-empire of Europe and the island-empire of Asia entered into a formal alliance in reference to questions in the Far East. This greatly added to the prestige of Japan, who was now recognized as one of the great powers among the nations of the world.

AMERICA IN THE FAR EAST

The "Open Door." America has important interests in the Far East, and her policies in the future are likely to have a profound influence in shaping the history of that region. America is the greatest power in the Pacific: her western coast borders on that ocean; on the route to Asia she has Hawaii; and near Asia she has the important Philippine Islands. America has been the consistent upholder of the integrity of China, and was the original sponsor of the "Open Door" policy. On September 6, 1899, Secretary of State John Hay addressed a famous note to the powers in which he suggested that "spheres of influence" in China should be abandoned in favor of the "open door," and that all nations be given equal treatment in their commercial dealings with China. The European powers agreed to the Open Door policy in principle, but they refused to suit their actions to their words, and China continued to be the prey of Europe's ambitions.

Strained relations between America and Japan. Although America was chiefly responsible for opening up Japan to the world,

¹ In 1910 Korea was openly annexed by Japan, and renamed Chosen.

the relations between the two great Pacific powers have not been cordial recently. This is due partly to the attitude of America toward Japanese immigration. Japanese laborers were coming to California where they were not welcomed because they competed with American laborers. Feeling ran high in both countries, and a "gentleman's agreement," or understanding was entered into by the American and Japanese governments (1907), according to which America promised not to bar the Japanese, and Japan agreed not to allow her laborers to emigrate to the United States. But this did not settle the issue. California passed a law, virtually making it impossible for a Japanese to own land in that state. In 1924 America passed an immigration law which contained a provision excluding from the United States all aliens ineligible to citizenship. This provision was particularly aimed at the Japanese who cannot be naturalized as citizens of the United States. The law hurt Japan's pride greatly, and many protests were voiced against America's action.

Japan, guardian of Asia. A struggle is now in process for the mastery of the Pacific. Japan has asserted the idea of a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East with herself as a kind of guardian of Asia against Western aggression. This would result in China becoming a gigantic "sphere of influence" for the benefit of Japan who could then exclude European and American business enterprise from one of the greatest markets of the world. It was the fear of a possible clash between the two great Pacific powers that led to the calling of the Washington Conference.¹

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why did Germany undertake to build the Bagdad Railway? Why did England oppose her?
2. What were the main provisions of the Anglo-Russian Alliance?
3. During the whole of the nineteenth century the hostility between England and Russia was intense, but in the twentieth century England was driven into friendship with Russia. Why? With what other nation did she ally herself? Why?
4. Describe the partition of Persia.
5. With what territories is the Near Eastern Question concerned? The Far Eastern Question?
6. In what way is the Opium War an illustration of the evils of imperialism? What were the results of the war?

¹ See page 695.

7. What powers participated in the partition of China? What territories did each annex? Why did Russia shift her interest from the Near East to the Far East?
8. What were the causes of the Boxer uprising?
9. Describe the Westernization of China.
10. What power has chief influence in China to-day? Why?
11. Explain the "open door" policy. Why does America favor it?
12. Describe the Westernization of Japan. Compare it with the Westernization of Russia in the time of Peter the Great.
13. Explain Japan's policy in China. What was the outcome of her war with China?
14. What were the chief causes of the Russo-Japanese War? What was its outcome?
15. Why did England ally herself with Japan?
16. Explain the causes of America's interest in the Far East.

Map questions: Locate Afghanistan, Manchuria, Shantung, Kiau-chau, Port Arthur, Hongkong, and Formosa. Indicate the Bagdad Railway.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- THE BAGDAD RAILROAD.** Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, ch. III; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, pp. 202-07; Rose, *Origins of the War*, pp. 82-90; Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*; Jastrow, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*; Schmitt, *England and Germany*, pp. 264-79.
- PARTITION OF PERSIA.** Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*, ch. v; *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XIV; *The New Map of Asia*, chs. XIII-XIV; Toynbee, *Nationality and the War*, ch. XI.
- PARTITION OF CHINA.** Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, chs. X-XI; *The New Map of Asia*, ch. XIX; Douglas, *Europe and the Far East*, chs. XIV-XIX; Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, ch. XII; Latourette, *Development of China*, ch. v, pp. 174-200.
- AWAKENING OF CHINA.** Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XXVII; *The New Map of Asia*, ch. XX; Douglas, pp. 436-45; Hornbeck, chs. I, III-V; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern History*, II, pp. 441-44; Latourette, pp. 201-34.
- WESTERNIZATION OF JAPAN.** Douglas, ch. X; Hornbeck, chs. VII-IX; Gibbons, *The New Map of Asia*, ch. XXI; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 427-33.
- THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.** Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XII; *The New Map of Asia*, ch. XVIII; Douglas, ch. XX; Hornbeck, ch. XIV; Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, II, pp. 293-97; Korff, *Autocracy and Revolution in Russia*, ch. III.
- THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.** Douglas, pp. 445-49; Kawakami, *Japan in World Politics*, ch. XIV.
- AMERICA IN THE FAR EAST.** Kawakami, chs. VIII-IX, XI; Hornbeck, chs. XIII, XIX-XX.

CHAPTER L

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Vast extent of the Empire. "If we cast our eyes on the map of the world we shall find that the sun in its daily course never sets upon Englishmen," a British writer once proudly said. It is true. One quarter of the land surface of the globe containing one quarter of its population flies Britain's flag. Almost every race, every grade of civilization, every religion is represented in the population of the British Empire which, in 1914, was reckoned at about 450,000,000. This vast region, unlike the Roman Empire, is not contiguous but "far-flung" all over the world; and its various parts vary in size from a continent like Australia to a rock like St. Helena, from lonely islands to densely populated India.

How it is held together. The chief means of holding the Empire together is the navy. It sails through well-marked ocean paths to distant places as easily and as quickly as the Roman army once marched over Roman roads. The pathway of the British fleet is marked by a chain of possessions where supplies can be obtained and where shelter is possible in time of war. Of special interest is the Atlantic-Mediterranean path to India, Portsmouth, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Alexandria, Suez, Aden, and Bombay.

Variety in its government. The British Empire, unlike all other empires ancient and modern, is neither unified nor centralized. In theory the Emperor-King and the Imperial Parliament in London are its rulers, but in practice there is great variety in government, all the way from the self-governing dominions to autocratically governed India. This "loosely hung" empire with its parts separated by immense distance is unique in history.

England triumphed over her colonial rival. The expansion of Britain, an island a little larger than Minnesota, into a world empire was the work of explorers, colonists, merchants, soldiers, and adventurers who, since the days of Elizabeth, went to all corners of the world where they planted the flag of their country. England had powerful rivals in the race for empire, but she succeeded in outdistancing them all.

Reaction against colonies. At the moment of her great triumph over France she lost the American colonies. What remained then seemed to her of little value. Canada was mainly a backward French settlement; Australia, a penal colony; and India, a monopoly of a trading company. A strong anti-imperialist movement began that continued during most of the nineteenth century. The loss of the American colonies, argued the anti-imperialists, meant that if a colony was worth anything it would in time separate from the Empire, like "fruit, when ripe, it would drop from the mother tree."

Industrial Revolution discourages colonization. The Industrial Revolution, even more than the American Revolution, was responsible for the slump in imperialism. The new policy was to buy in the cheapest markets and sell in the dearest, irrespective of the flag that floated over them. England reasoned that the colonies would have to send their raw materials to her factories because she was then the only manufacturing nation; and for the same reason they would have to buy her manufactured articles. What then was the use of having colonies? No use at all, said the anti-imperialists who were strong believers in free trade. They pointed out that trade with America was actually larger than in colonial times. Colonies were a millstone around the neck of the mother country, and a burden on the British taxpayers who were forced to maintain a large navy to defend the Empire. The anti-imperialists made sarcastic remarks about the colonies being held for the purpose of giving sinecures to the children of the aristocrats who were sent out as colonial officials at large salaries.

Lord Durham's Report. It was during the period of anti-imperialism that colonial self-government arose. In 1837 a rebellion broke out in Canada, which was suppressed. But the British government, mindful of the American Revolution, sent a commissioner, Lord Durham, to investigate the situation. The report that he submitted is the most famous document in all colonial history. It declared that: (1) the crown must "submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions" by giving the Canadians a government responsible to their legislatures, in other words, complete autonomy; (2) that Upper and Lower Canada should be united into a legislative union with a common parliament; and (3) that in the future, when conditions were favorable,

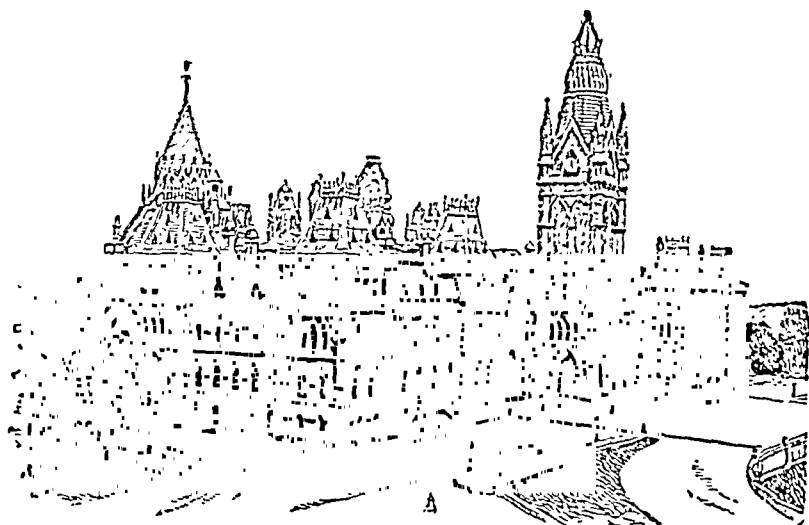
all the colonies in Canada should form a closer union. If this were done the connection with England "would only become more durable and advantageous, by having more of equality, of freedom, and of local independence." These words were prophetic. As will be described later Canada was given a "dominion" government, as the new system of colonial government was called. It was gradually extended to those colonies where the white race predominated. There are now five dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State.

Dominion government. The essence of dominion government is simple: the colony has complete autonomy in all things except foreign affairs. After the World War, as a result of the loyalty shown by the colonies, they were given equality with the mother country in the control of foreign affairs, which are now directed by Imperial Conferences. In domestic affairs a dominion is "absolute, unfettered, complete"; it can and does lay duties on goods imported from the mother country; it regulates her coinage, immigration, finance, army, navy, and improvements without any interference from the British government. The chief bond of union is the governor-general, who is appointed by the crown, and whose powers in the dominion are the same as those of the king in England; in theory great, in practice nothing. Nevertheless, there are invisible ties that bind the dominions to Great Britain as with bonds of steel. The loyalty of the colonists to the mother country is intense, and they are ever ready to spring to her side in times of peril. The more freedom England gave to her colonies the more devotion they gave to her.

CANADA

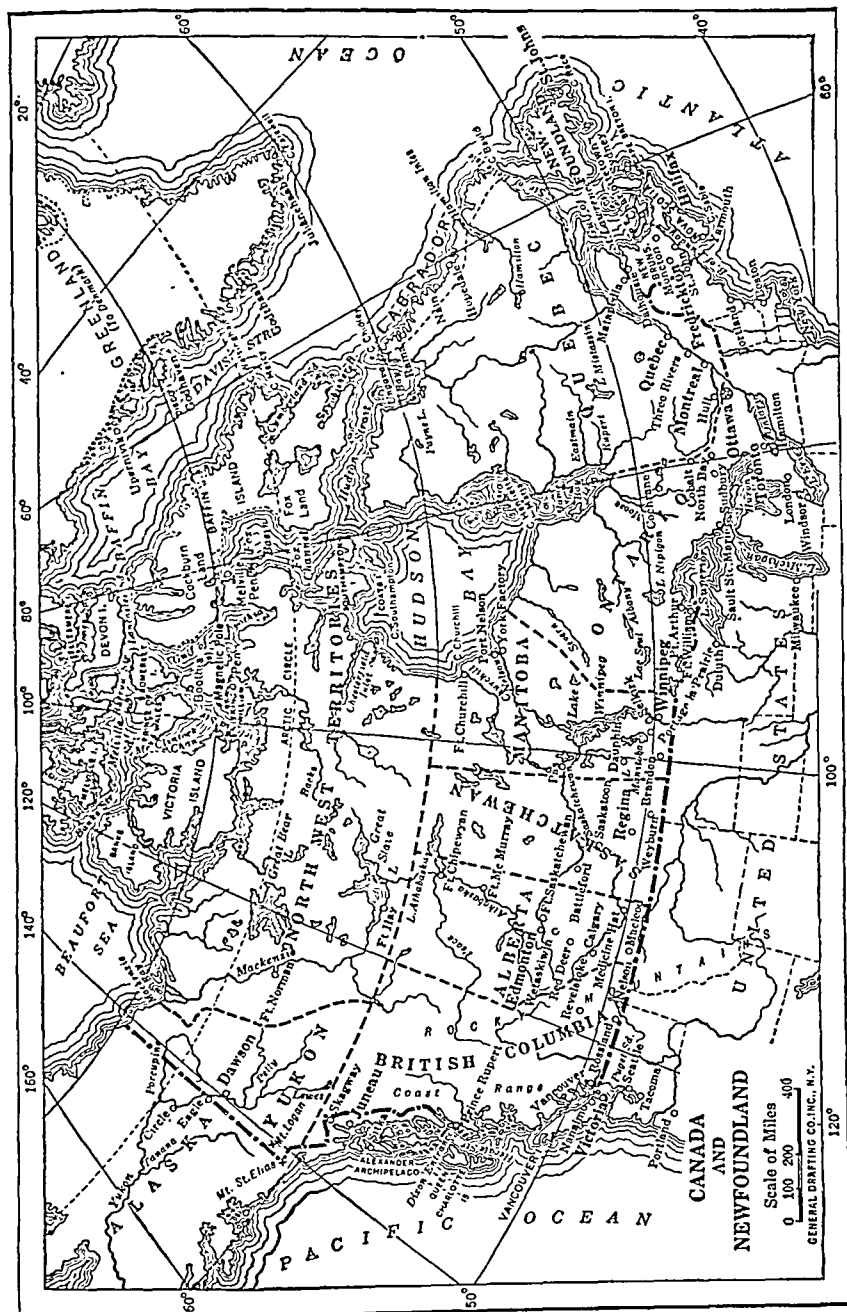
Upper and Lower Canada. As has already been told, Canada was conquered from the French in 1763. At that time it was mainly a river settlement of farmers and trappers along the St. Lawrence. The first important immigration of English-speaking people was that of the loyalists from the American colonies, who were virtually driven out by those who favored the American Revolution. These "United Empire" men, as they were called, became influential in Canada because they were exceedingly loyal to Great Britain. After 1815 a large immigration began from England which settled in Upper Canada. There were now two

Canadas, Upper Canada which was English, and Lower Canada which was French, sharply divided from each other by racial, cultural, and religious differences. Lower Canada had been given special privileges by the Quebec Act (1774), which recognized French as the official language of the region, established the Catholic as the State Church, and allowed French law in the courts.



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA, CANADA

Union and self-government in Canada. A series of steps were taken by the British government which led to the establishment of Canadian self-government. Acting on Lord Durham's recommendation the British Parliament, in 1840, united Upper and Lower Canada by giving them a common legislature; and in 1847 the Governor-General recognized the principle of responsible government by choosing a ministry that had the confidence of the Canadian Parliament. The passage by the British Parliament, in 1867, of the British North America Act, established a federal union called the "Dominion of Canada" consisting of Ontario (formerly Upper Canada), Quebec (formerly Lower Canada), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Later Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Alberta, and Saskatchewan were added. Newfoundland refused to join the union, and has therefore remained a separate colony. The new government



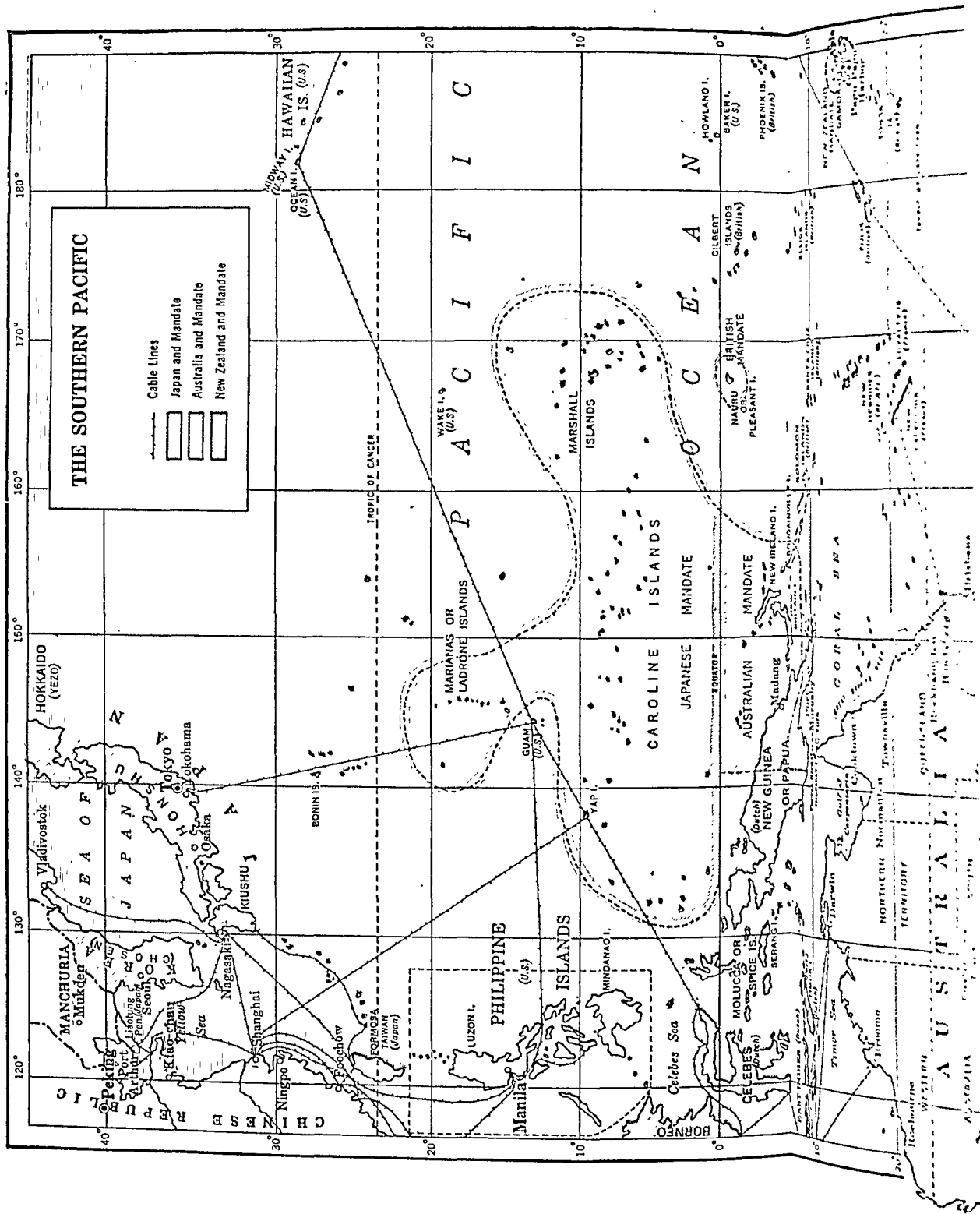
established was a combination of the British and American systems. Each of the nine "provinces" has local autonomy like an American state; and the federal government consists of a Senate representing the provinces and a House of Commons representing the people. The government is carried on by a Cabinet responsible to Parliament as in England.

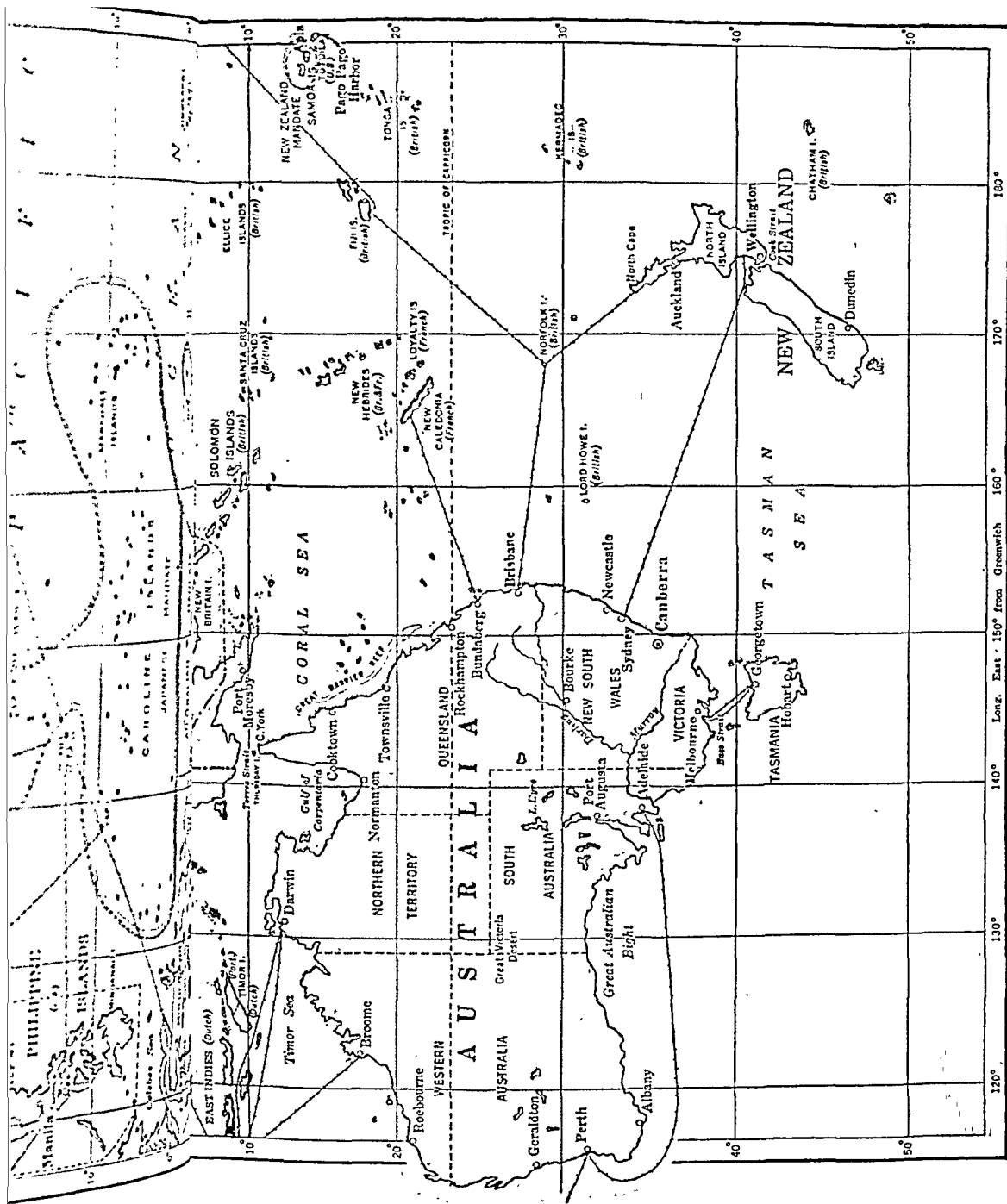
Macdonald (1815-91). The father of the Canadian union was Sir John Macdonald, an able and far-seeing statesman who was whole-heartedly devoted both to Canada and to the British Empire. He was the leader of the Conservative Party, and became the first prime minister of the Dominion. The Conservatives were in power for almost twenty-five years, and they carried out their "national policy" through protective tariffs, railway building, and centralization of the government.

The Canadian West. Canada, like the United States, expanded westward. The "great Lone Land," that immense region of middle western Canada, was taken over by the government in 1869 from the Hudson's Bay Company. To develop Western Canada an era of railway building was inaugurated by Macdonald and a great capitalist named Lord Strathcona. In 1885 the first Canadian transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, was completed. Emigrants from eastern Canada, from America, and from Europe were attracted to the rich lands that were now opened up for settlement.

Laurier (1841-1919). In 1896 the Liberals triumphed, and it was now their turn to rule for a long period. The policy of the Liberals did not differ much from that of the Conservatives; they were inclined to emphasize the importance of the provinces, to favor lower tariffs, and to be less ardent than the Conservatives in building railways. The Liberal Prime Minister was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a French-Canadian, who was popular both in Canada and in England because of his enthusiastic support of the British connection. In the elections of 1911 the Liberals were driven from power because they favored reciprocity with the United States. Many Canadians feared that a free-trade union with the latter would make Canada an "appanage of the United States" and might even lead to a political union of the two countries.

Relations between French and British Canadians. Canada is still sparsely settled. Its population, two thirds of which live in Ontario and Quebec, consists of two races, British and French,





and the relations between them have been a serious problem in the Dominion. The French insist on their nationality and language, but they have no desire to go back to France. Quebec is to them their fatherland. Although opposed to British imperial policies, they do not favor secession, for they have been well treated by the British. The English Canadians are imperialist in their sympathies and look with disfavor on the French, whom they regard as foreigners. Both elements are treated with scrupulous impartiality by the British government.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Settlement of Australia. Early in the seventeenth century Australia and New Zealand were visited and explored by Spaniards and Dutchmen. In 1769-70, an Englishman, Captain Cook, came to the islands and claimed them for England. The first English settlement was a convict colony in Botany Bay, now the city of Sydney (1788). For some years Australia was used as a penal colony, but opportunities for farming and sheep raising and later for gold mining attracted free settlers, and the penal colony was abolished.

Union of Australia. Australia, a territory as large as the United States, was divided into six colonies which, in 1900, united to form the Commonwealth of Australia with a dominion government. The Commonwealth is a federal union consisting of six states: New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and the island of Tasmania. Its constitution closely follows that of the United States: the states are given local autonomy; the central government consists of a Senate representing the states and a House of Representatives elected by universal suffrage. The government is carried on, as in Britain, by a cabinet that is responsible to the House.

New Zealand. New Zealand has a dominion government of her own. This "Newest England" has attracted wide attention because of her experiments in radical social reforms. The government owns and operates railways, telegraphs, telephones, and some of the coal mines. Arbitration in labor disputes is compulsory; strict land laws virtually make impossible the existence of large estates; old-age pensions, sickness insurance and workman's compensation laws have been enacted. The government was influenced by the working class, who were determined to

prevent the evils of modern industrialism from getting a foothold in their country.

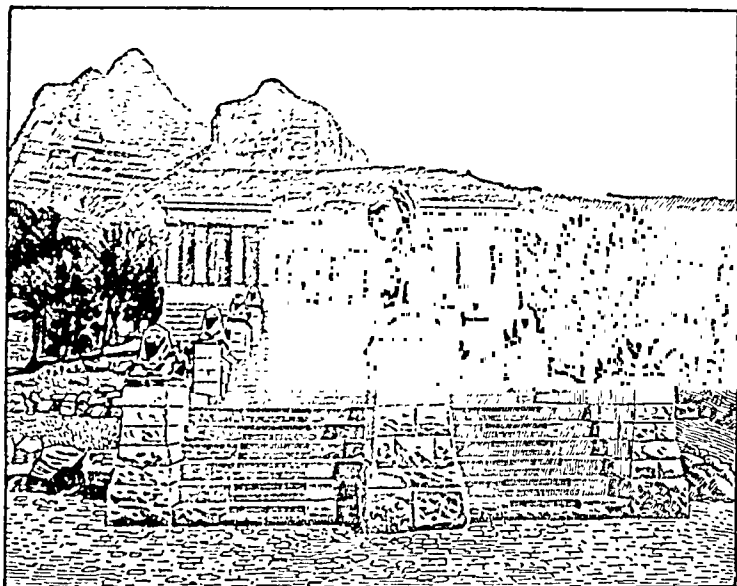
SOUTH AFRICA

The Boers. In 1652 the Dutch came to Cape Colony. For over a century and a half it belonged to Holland, and was inhabited by Negro natives and by Dutch farmers called "Boers" (Dutch, peasants). When the Colony was given to England in 1815, an immigration began from the latter, much to the dissatisfaction of the Boers. Like the French in Canada, the Boers regarded themselves as the original inhabitants of the country and the English as intruders. As the English were in authority the Boers decided to leave the Cape. In 1836 a remarkable migration took place called the "Great Trek." Like the Children of Israel of old the devout Boers, with their families, household goods, and cattle, "trekked" north into the wilderness in ox-drawn carts. After journeying for hundreds of miles they founded two republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, or the Transvaal. There they lived in patriarchal simplicity, undisturbed for about a generation by the English. The Boers were deeply religious Calvinists, simple in their habits, who desired above all things to be by themselves.

The Transvaal. But such was not to be the case. Unfortunately for them gold was discovered in the Transvaal in 1884. Immediately a rush began, mainly of English who soon outnumbered the Boers. Bitter disputes arose between them over matters of taxation and representation. The English residents charged the Boer government with discriminating against them, and appealed to Great Britain to espouse their cause.

Kruger and Rhodes. Two remarkable figures now appeared on the scene, an Englishman, Cecil Rhodes, and a Boer, Paul Kruger. Rhodes was a great capitalist in South Africa who controlled the gold and diamond mines of the region. He was deeply devoted to the British Empire, and dreamed of an all-British South Africa connected with Egypt by an immense railway, from the Cape to Cairo. He was a masterly, unscrupulous man, and he determined to crush the Boer Republics because they stood in the way of his grand scheme. His leading opponent was President Kruger of the South African Republic, a simple and devout, yet shrewd old man. As a child Kruger had been taken on the Great

Trek, and he grew up to hate the English as the enemy of his people. As President he was watchful and suspicious of every move the English made in South Africa, and he determined to resist them with all his might.



THE MEMORIAL TO CECIL RHODES

This stands on Table Mountain, near Cape Town. Much of the African territory now included in the British Empire was acquired through the efforts of Cecil Rhodes. He also founded the Rhodes scholarships at Oxford which enable young men from various countries, including the United States, to pursue advanced studies at this great English University.

The Boer War. When Joseph Chamberlain became the British Colonial Secretary he entered fully and heartily in the plans of Rhodes. Largely through his influence the British government, in 1899, demanded of the Boers that they give equal rights to the English residents. The Boers refused the demand because, being outnumbered by the foreigners, they feared that they might lose control of the government. This situation led to a crisis, and war broke out between the British Empire and the two tiny Republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. It was generally expected that the war would be soon over, but so valiant and resourceful were the Boers that it lasted three years. At

times the British were so hard pressed that conscription was considered. The dominions came to the help of the mother country. For the first time Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders were fighting the battles of the Empire. Great Britain sent an army of about half a million men, which finally succeeded in overwhelming the Boers. Peace was signed in 1902, and the Republics were annexed to the Empire.

South Africa granted self-government. The British were generous to their conquered but valiant foes. When the Liberals, who had opposed the war, came into power they passed a law (1906) giving to the Boers all that they desired short of independence — complete local autonomy and the recognition of Dutch on an equality with the English language. The Boers were favored in every possible way, as the British wanted to treat them, not as a conquered people, but as associates and friends.

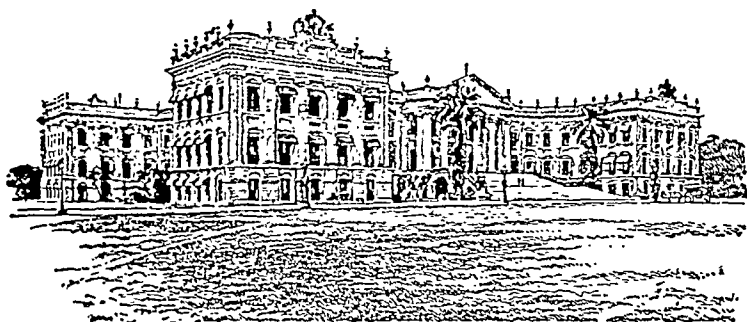
Union of South Africa. In 1909 the Cape of Good Hope, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal organized a federal union called the Union of South Africa, which was given the status of a dominion by the British government. The first Premier of the Union was General Botha, a Boer who had fought against the British, but who now was the loyal supporter of the Empire. England's policy of reconciliation bore fruit, for in the World War South Africa remained loyal to Britain.

INDIA

The East India Company. It has already been explained how the British East India Company, supported by British armies, gained control of India. This vast region inhabited by millions was ruled by a corporation chiefly interested in trade. Members of the Company became immensely wealthy, and lived in ostentatious luxury in England, where they were nicknamed "nabobs." Three movements are of importance in the history of India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: (1) the assumption of the government of India directly by Great Britain; (2) the expansion of British power in India; and (3) the growth of Indian nationalism.

Divisions in India. India had been conquered mainly because of the many divisions within the country. India is a geographical expression for a large region inhabited by as many as two hundred national groups, speaking as many languages, and varying in de-

degrees of civilization from primitive savages to highly cultivated inheritors of a civilization that once vied with the Persian and Chinese. In religion about sixty-five per cent are Hindus, and twenty-five per cent are Mohammedans. The Hindus are divided into innumerable castes based upon occupations, the highest being the Brahmins who are priests, and the lowest being the laborers. The different castes live a life apart, avoiding all social intercourse whatsoever. The English conquered India because she was divided; and continued to rule her for the same reason.



THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT CALCUTTA, INDIA

Photograph by Ewing Galloway.

The Indian Mutiny. Nevertheless the presence of a handful of Europeans in control of the country was deeply resented, especially so because the British were continually extending their conquests over India. In 1857 a rebellion, called the Indian Mutiny, broke out which seriously threatened to put an end to British rule. Its immediate cause was a trivial incident, the introduction of a new cartridge into the army. This cartridge was covered with greased paper, which had to be bitten off before it was inserted into the rifle. Reports were spread among the Indian soldiers that the paper was greased with the fat of the cow, an animal sacred to the Hindus; other reports said that it was greased with the fat of the pig, an animal abhorrent to the Mohammedans. An Indian regiment mutinied, and rebellion spread like wildfire throughout northern India. British residents were massacred, and the rebels seized some of the chief cities. Had all the Indian soldiers risen the British would surely have been driven out of the country; but most of them remained loyal, and the Mutiny was suppressed.

Abolition of the Company. One result of the uprising was the abolition in 1858 of the East India Company, and the assumption of the government of India by the crown. The new system provided for a new cabinet member, the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a council of experts sitting in London; and for an executive in India, called the viceroy, assisted by advisory councils. Self-government, even in the smallest degree, was not granted to India, whose legislature was the British Parliament and whose executives were the officials appointed by the British government.

Movement for nationalism and democracy. As elsewhere the ideals of nationalism and democracy have made progress in India, especially among the young men who had been educated in Europe and America. A widespread agitation began for self-government, some favoring home rule, others complete independence. The methods used were those familiar in the West, mass meetings, petitions, radical journals, violent attacks on British officials, and the boycotting of British goods. The first concession to the demands of the nationalists was made by John Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India, when he appointed some natives to his councils and to those of the viceroy. The Morley Reforms (1907-09), were a modest beginning of a new policy toward India, of a slow and cautious extension of self-government.

EGYPT

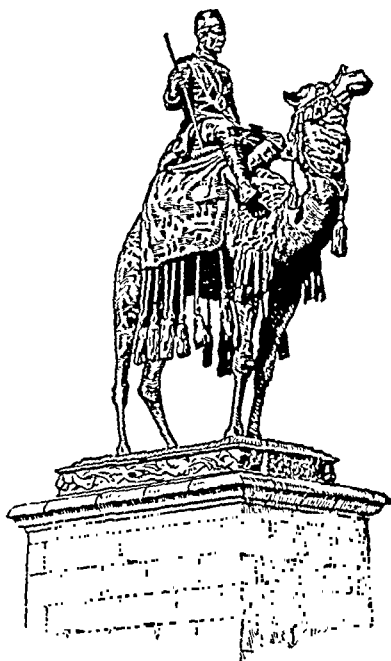
England gets control of Suez Canal. The ancient land of the Pharaohs was ruled by foreigners for many centuries, by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, French, and English. When the Suez Canal was completed in 1869 Egypt, long a neglected country, became very important in world affairs. In her territory was now the gateway of three continents. England especially was interested in the Canal because of its commercial importance and because it made possible an all-water route to India. When, in 1875, Disraeli heard that the Khedive, as the ruler of Egypt was called, wanted to sell his shares of Canal stock, he promptly bought them for the British government. In this way the latter acquired control of the Suez Canal.

Egypt mortgaged to England and France. At that time Egypt was theoretically a part of the Ottoman Empire, and the Khedive a viceroy of the Sultan of Turkey; actually the Khedive was

master of the country, and his only duty to the Sultan was to pay him an annual tribute. The government of Egypt was then a by-word for corruption and incompetence. The Khedive was very extravagant, spending freely the money wrung from the labors of a slave-like peasantry who toiled along the Nile that their ruler might enjoy himself on the boulevards of Paris. He continually borrowed money from French and English bankers, and was soon on the point of bankruptcy. The bankers appealed to their governments to collect their debts; and in 1879 France and England established the Dual Control, according to which the finances of Egypt were to be managed by officials of these two powers. This meant that Egypt's independence was mortgaged. Feeling ran high in the country, and in 1882 an uprising took place against the Khedive, which was really against his backers. Being unable to suppress it, he appealed to France and England for help. France refused, but England sent a fleet and an army which put down the rebellion. The Dual Control was now at an end, and England was in Egypt to stay until, as she declared, "order was restored."

The Mahdi uprising. The British took complete charge of the Egyptian government, and the Khedive became a mere puppet in their hands. The inhabitants are Mohammedans, and they were strongly opposed to the control of their country by the Christian English. An anti-foreign movement began in the Sudan, a region tributary to Egypt, where lived fanatical

Mohammedans who, in 1884, rose against the Khedive and his Christian supporters. The rebellion was led by a prophet-warrior called the Mahdi who, like Mohammed, succeeded in



THE MEMORIAL TO GENERAL
GORDON, AT KHARTOUM

Photograph by Ewing Galloway.

arousing his followers to a high pitch of religious enthusiasm. It spread rapidly and threatened to put an end to the rule of both Egypt and England. Premier Gladstone, always an anti-imperialist, decided to abandon the Sudan. To arrange for the withdrawal of several garrisons that were besieged by the Mahdists, the British government sent General Charles Gordon, a capable and daring soldier of fortune, who had seen service in China. Gordon came to the Sudan, but before long he found himself shut up in Khartum which was besieged by an army of fanatical Mahdists. A popular agitation was started in England to send an army to his relief. But Premier Gladstone at first refused to intervene; later he did send an army to relieve Gordon. When the British came to Khartum they found that they were too late; the city was in the possession of the dervishes; and all its defenders including Gordon had been massacred. There was great indignation in England, and Gladstone was driven from office for his tardiness in sending the relief expedition.

Conquest of the Sudan. England later determined to recover the Sudan. An Anglo-Egyptian army was sent there under the command of General Herbert Kitchener, who defeated the dervishes at the battle of Omdurman in 1898. The Sudan was occupied, and its government made a "condominion," under the joint administration of England and Egypt.

Progress in Egypt. The political situation in Egypt was curious. There were three authorities: the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive, and England. Real power, however, was in the hands of British officials who "advised" the Khedive. The most famous official was Lord Cromer, who completely reorganized the government, and established a system which, for the first time in centuries, gave the Egyptians a stable and honest administration. Taxes were fairly and justly levied; the courts were reformed; the administration was put into the hands of experts; irrigation works, railways, and factories were built. Egypt made progress in every direction, but the Egyptians were discontented; they wanted their country for themselves, and not for the British. A nationalist movement appeared, which had for its object the complete independence of the country from both Turkey and England. When the World War broke out England and Turkey were opposed to each other. To strengthen her position, England

openly declared Egypt a protectorate, thereby cutting the latter's connection with Turkey.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Revival of imperialism. During the later part of the nineteenth century there began a revival of imperialism in England which had so great an influence that all the political parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Labor, became fervent defenders of the Empire. England again woke up and found herself an empire. The prophet of imperialism was Disraeli, who urged England to obey the "sublime instinct of an ancient people" by responding to the distant sympathies of her colonies which he prophesied would be to her a "source of incalculable strength."

Chamberlain advocates imperial preference. It was Joseph Chamberlain, however, who was the organizer and promoter of the new imperialism. When he became Colonial Secretary, the office was considered a sinecure; but he made it important by his tireless efforts to promote greater unity between Great Britain and her colonies. The year 1897 was Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the sixtieth anniversary of her accession, and a great celebration took place in London. There was a pageant of races: Chinese from Hongkong, Malays from the Straits, French from Canada, Dutch from South Africa, Maoris from New Zealand, American Indians from Canada, Indians from India, Negroes from Africa, and those of British stock from the dominions. A conference was held of representatives of the dominions under the presidency of Chamberlain to consider ways and means of binding the Empire more firmly. Other conferences have been held since, and the subjects discussed were: (1) imperial preference, or closer and freer trade relations between the mother country and the dominions, (2) imperial defense, or the share that the dominions should take in protecting the Empire; and (3) the coöperation of the dominions in the government of the Empire.

Loyalties of the colonies to the Empire. A transformation began in the relations of Great Britain and her dominions. The latter reduced their tariffs on British goods, built warships for the British navy, and sent troops to fight in the Boer War. When the World War began there was a hearty response of the colonies to the call of the mother country. Canada adopted conscription; and Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa sent many volun-

teers. It is estimated that the dominions sent overseas about 700,000 troops out of a total population of fifteen millions.

New birth of the Empire. During the War the British Empire experienced a new birth. The old Empire was dead, and in its

place was born what is now called the British Commonwealth of Nations. In 1917 an Imperial War Cabinet was organized in which representatives of the colonies sat with British ministers for the better conduct of the war. In three important international bodies the dominions were given separate representation, in the Conference of Paris, in the League of Nations, and in the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments. Prominent in the War Cabinet and in the making of the Treaty of Versailles was the Boer, General Jan Smuts, who proved himself to be an able and enlightened statesman. In 1921, largely through the efforts of



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

This is the British national mausoleum containing many monuments and tombs of sovereigns, statesmen, scientists, and literary men. Here, also, the Unknown Warrior is buried. The Abbey was established by Edward the Confessor about the middle of the eleventh century, and has been rebuilt in part and enlarged many times since. It is here that the British monarchs are crowned.

the Canadian, Sir Robert Borden, an important step was taken in establishing regular imperial conferences composed of representatives of Great Britain, of the dominions, and of India to determine on foreign policies and on other matters affecting the welfare of the Empire. It may well be that, in the near future, the British Commonwealth of Nations will become a federal union of self-governing nations.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. The British Empire "is not contiguous, but far-flung"; it is neither unified nor centralized. Explain. How is it held together?
2. What was England's attitude toward the Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century? Toward the close of the 19th century?
3. What was the significance of Lord Durham's report? Trace its influence on the government of the British Empire.
4. How does a dominion differ from an independent state? What are the bonds of union between the British government and a dominion?
5. Explain historically the presence of French and English in Canada.
6. Trace the steps taken by the British government which led to the establishment of Canadian self-government. How does the government of Canada resemble the American system? The English system?
7. What are the chief political parties in Canada? State their principles.
8. Explain historically the presence of Dutch and English in South Africa.
9. What were the chief causes of dispute between the English and Boers?
10. What was Chamberlain's attitude toward the Boers?
11. India is many times as large as England both in territory and population; yet it was conquered and is now governed by the English. Why?
12. What were the immediate causes and results of the Indian Mutiny?
13. What concessions have been made to Indian nationalism?
14. In what way is Egypt's geographical position of importance in the British Empire?
15. Trace the steps by which England obtained control of Egypt. How does the present relation of Egypt to England resemble the relation of Cuba to the United States?
16. What part did Disraeli play in the revival of British imperialism? What part did Joseph Chamberlain play?
17. What is meant by the new imperialism? How does it differ from the imperialism of the eighteenth century?

Map questions: Indicate the route to India through Portsmouth, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Alexandria, Suez, Aden, and Bombay.
Indicate the Cape-to-Cairo Railway. Locate the Suez Canal, the Sudan, Transvaal, and Khartum.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- LORD DURHAM AND DOMINION GOVERNMENT. Barnard, *The Expansion of the Anglo-Saxon Nations*, pp. 85-89; McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, ch. III; Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, pp. 225-29.
- CANADA. Barnard, pp. 89-120; McCarthy, II, ch. LV; Bradley, *Canada*, chs. v-x; Robinson, pp. 229-33, ch. XXII.

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. Barnard, pp. 307-49; Robinson, chs. xv, xxii.

SOUTH AFRICA. Barnard, pp. 262-99; Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, chs. iii, xxii-xxiii; Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, chs. xiii-xvii; Lucas, *Partition and Colonization of Africa*, ch. viii; Robinson, chs. xvi, xxi; McCarthy, iii, ch. xxiv.

ENGLAND'S CONTROL OF INDIA. Barnard, pp. 231-41; McCarthy, i, ch. xxxii; Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, ch. vii; Chirol, *India Old and New*, chs. iv-v; Gibbons, *The New Map of Asia*, pp. 38-45; Robinson, pp. 301-10.

INDIAN NATIONALISM. Barnard, pp. 241-46; Van Tyne, *India in Ferment*, chs. i-vi; Chirol, chs. vi-ix; Rolland, *Gandhi*; Gibbons, *The New Map of Asia*, pp. 46-55; Robinson, pp. 310-19, 461-63.

EGYPT. Barnard, pp. 302-06; Rose, *Development of the European Nations*, ii, chs. iv-vi; Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, chs. i, xx-xxi; Lucas, pp. 127-33; Robinson, ch. xx, pp. 464-65.

SECTION VI

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL PROGRESS

EUROPE at the beginning of the twentieth century had achieved, to a considerable degree, a measure of unity. Although broken up into a number of states, each with its special characteristics, the prevailing political system in Europe was based on constitutional government and representative institutions. It might be of little importance in Russia and of supreme importance in England, nevertheless constitutional government was regarded as the normal political system for Europe.

In the realm of ideas, of the arts, and of the sciences, Europe was without boundary lines. In all the countries the ideas of democracy, nationalism, and socialism were widespread. The writings of philosophers, historians, and novelists were translated and read everywhere. Tolstoy's novels were read even more widely in Germany and in England than in his native Russia. The operas of Wagner were performed in their native language in all the capitals of Europe. Even more widespread were the theories and experiments of scientists and inventors which were welcomed in the most reactionary countries. A common European civilization had emerged, and the German philosopher, Nietzsche, could well boast of being a "good European."

However, Europe contained within herself disruptive forces that threatened the existence of her common civilization. The intense nationalism in each country sought to emphasize what was peculiar to each nation, and not what was common to all of them. The English prided themselves on their political genius; the French, on their artistic temperament; and the Germans, on their scientific abilities. Each nation in Europe felt that it was, in some way, superior to all the others, and it eagerly sought to assert this superiority. European civilization was fraught with danger because of the egoism of the nations.

CHAPTER LI

EUROPE IN 1914

NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Advance of nationalism. Never at any time in history did the spirit of nationalism rise to so great a height as in the period 1870-1914. It roused in men a devotion so passionate and so self-sacrificing that, when they heard their country's call, they responded without thought of consequences to themselves or to their families. Nationalism became truly a religion. It infected the subject peoples in Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey; and these "submerged nationalities" asserted themselves vigorously, insisting on their right to live separate national lives, an insistence which boded ill for those empires. Nor did the spirit of nationalism confine itself to Europe; it spread to Asia, where, despite racial, religious, and caste divisions, it made rapid headway, especially among the rising generation. Young India, Young China, and Young Persia vigorously asserted their national spirit and challenged the domination of Europe.

Nationalism and self-sufficiency. The essence of nationalism was self-sufficiency. An independent nation was politically self-sufficient because it was sovereign; namely, it had the right to do anything that it pleased. A nation also aimed to be economically self-sufficient by establishing protective tariffs to develop those industries that it lacked. It also considered itself culturally self-sufficient. The language, literature, science, and art of a nation were considered by the people as being superior to those of other nations, hence they had little need of borrowing from them.

Dangers of self-sufficiency. In this attitude of self-sufficiency lay serious dangers. Sovereignty would sometimes cause a nation to disregard recklessly the rights of other nations, and the outcome might be war. High tariffs would cause retaliation that would be followed by "tariff wars" in which nations would try to ruin each other's trade. Pride in their culture sometimes became so great that nations felt that they had a "mission" to spread

their civilization to "lesser breeds." The English felt that they were, by nature, rulers of empires, and their mission was to uplift the peoples that they governed. French culture, in the view of the French people, was so noble and refined that other lands were fortunate in being annexed to France. To Germans, German Kultur was the very essence of orderly, progressive civilization; therefore, other peoples should be brought under its sway. These national egoisms resulted in jealousies, rivalries, and imperialistic conquests.

Advance of democracy. After 1870, democracy was no longer a debatable question. Its progress was so rapid that, by 1914, nearly every country was more or less democratic. They had constitutions on American or French models, and parliaments on the English model. Universal manhood suffrage had come at last, and a movement for woman suffrage began which was to succeed in a surprisingly short time. Class privileges, so far as law guaranteed them, had disappeared. There were still nobles with high-sounding titles, but they were simple citizens before the law. Was then the "world safe for democracy"? No. Two powerful nations, Russia and Germany, adhered in the main to the autocratic system, and were the enemies of popular government. Tsarism had triumphed in the Revolution of 1905, and was now feared by liberals throughout the world. Would Russia again become the "policeman of Europe" as she had been in the days of 1848? Kaiserism in Germany was far more efficient than tsarism; it had made Germany so powerful that all Europe stood in awe and admiration of it. Would German power be used to thwart the democratic strivings of the peoples in central Europe?

POPULAR EDUCATION

Ignorant masses and educated classes. Before the advent of democracy, education was a privilege of the wealthy. There were no national systems of public schools and no compulsory education laws. As a consequence, the masses were sunk in ignorance, but the upper classes were highly educated in private schools and by private teachers. Whatever little schooling was given to the masses was given in Church and charity schools. Such was the situation in the France of Louis XIV, and, more recently, in the Russia of Nicholas II.

Opposition to popular education. The demand for popular

education kept pace with the growth of the democratic movement. Naturally, it was opposed by the upper classes, who feared that it would breed popular discontent; the common man, once he was enlightened, would be unwilling to bear his burdens and might rise in revolution. The movement for popular secular education encountered other opposition. The Church feared that it would lead to the establishment of national systems of secular education, and, as a consequence, the common man would become non-religious and even anti-religious. The Church favored education under religious auspices.

Spread of popular education. In 1833, a year after the Reform Bill of 1832, the British Parliament voted an annual grant to the Church schools. It was a small sum, but it was a precedent for national appropriations for popular education. It was not until after the workingmen had been enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1867 that Parliament, in 1870, established a national system of public (board) schools. In France popular education ran a parallel course. After the Revolution of 1830, a law was passed, in 1833, which required the localities to establish public schools. After the establishment of the Third Republic, the Ferry Laws of 1881-86 created a complete system of national education. In Germany, even during the eighteenth century, there had been a fairly high degree of literacy. In Prussia something like a national system of popular education had appeared. But with the establishment of the Empire, systems of education were established by the various states. In America, not only elementary but secondary, collegiate, and university education were provided free and at public expense. Universal literacy made possible a popular press, cheap books, popular lectures, and plays. Every one enjoys now what at one time was enjoyed only by the wealthy few. Knowledge and ideas spread rapidly, and progress becomes easier and quicker. Unfortunately, literacy spread more rapidly than taste, hence trashy books and journals gained many readers. But public taste was improving, and more and more did the masses demand to know "the best which has been thought and said in the world."

RELIGION

Spread of toleration. As a result of the Protestant Revolution, each nation had won the right for itself to establish either

Catholicism or Protestantism as its national faith. In Protestant countries the king was the head of the national church. However, there were powerful minorities in each country that refused to belong to the national church. As a consequence of bloody civil wars these powerful minorities were given "toleration." In Catholic France the Edict of Nantes (1598) gave toleration to the Huguenots. In Protestant England the Toleration Act (1689) gave toleration to the Dissenters, Protestants who dissented from the official Anglican Church. By toleration was meant that they were permitted to worship unmolested. But they had to pay for this privilege by paying taxes for the support of the established church, and by being deprived of certain civil and political rights.

Religious freedom. During the eighteenth century the spread of deism and free thought greatly weakened religious feeling. Consequently, toleration spread very widely, and far beyond its original scope. Although the harsh laws were not abolished, the practice was widespread of tolerating all faiths, Christian and non-Christian, and even deists and atheists. The Catholic Joseph II of Austria and the Protestant Frederick the Great of Prussia were conspicuous practitioners of the new toleration. From this attitude sprang another idea, "religious freedom," which held that religion was a private matter, and therefore no concern whatever of the government. All churches were to be divorced from government control and were to be supported only by their adherents. America was the pioneer of religious freedom. A provision of the American Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The French Revolution, in 1795, separated Church and State, though the Church was later reestablished by Napoleon. The European nations continued to maintain established churches, supported in part from public funds, but every one was perfectly free to belong to any church that he wished. A struggle took place in every country in favor of a "free Church in a free State"; in other words, to disestablish the national churches, thereby making the State completely secular. This movement resulted in the separation of Church and State in Ireland, in France, and in Portugal.

SOCIAL REFORM

Improvement in social conditions. The Industrial Revolution had multiplied wealth many times, but the masses, at first, had benefited very little. There were millionaires who lived in ostentatious luxury, a fairly prosperous middle class, and a large mass of industrial workers who were the birds of passage of modern industry, going from job to job, from town to town, from country to country, living in wretched squalor, uncertain of their employment, without homes, without votes, without schooling, without leisure, without ambition. The period of 1870-1914 saw a remarkable change in the condition of the working class. They were beginning to get some of the benefits of the Industrial Revolution through better wages and shorter hours. The standard of living was rising rapidly, and pressure was brought to bear upon the government by trade unions and by working-class political parties to improve labor conditions. Perhaps the most important change was the abandonment of *laissez faire* and the adoption of the policy of state intervention in the relations between capital and labor. No longer did the government stand aside and watch labor and capital struggle in the economic arena; it now intervened on the side of labor which was the weaker in the economic contest. Social reform laws were passed, such as workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, and eight-hour acts. The pioneer of social reform was Germany, whose social-insurance laws of the eighties became the model for the other nations.

Rise of trade unions. As has already been described, trade unions arose first in England as a result of the Industrial Revolution.¹ The chief difference between the medieval craft guilds and the modern trade unions was that the former consisted of "masters" who were at the same time employers and workers, and the latter, of hired laborers only. Separation between capital and labor compelled the workers to organize by themselves into trade unions to defend their interests against their employers.

Legalization of trade unions. The trade unions were at first under the ban of the law, but under one form or another they managed to survive hostile legislation and unfriendly public opinion. In England, the laws of 1871 and 1876, for the first time, gave them full legal recognition. Strikes and peaceful

¹ See p. 334.

picketing were permitted. In France, trade unions were not completely legalized until 1884; and in Germany, not until 1890.

Consolidation of unions. As the unions grew in number and in influence, they consolidated into larger units in order to fight more effectively against capital, consolidated in corporations and trusts. These larger units were either "federations," alliances of unions in the same industry or "industrial unions," composed of all the laborers in an industry. An example of a federation was the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which consisted of separate unions in the various mine districts, each having local autonomy but federated for common purposes. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was an industrial union which consisted of individual workers in the clothing industry throughout the United States. In order to adopt general policies, the trade unions in each country established national bodies, such as the American Federation of Labor, the British Trade Union Congress, and the French General Confederation of Labor.

General strikes. The underlying principle of trade-unionism was collective bargaining, and its powerful weapon was the strike. As the unions increased in power, due to their growing numbers and wider organization, collective bargaining was widely recognized by European employers. Formerly, a strike of a trade union might cause the employer inconvenience, but it seldom threatened to ruin him. He could easily find non-union men to take the place of the strikers. But the situation changed in the twentieth century. When a general strike took place in an industry, as in the cases of the British miners in 1912 and the French railwaymen in 1910, the entire industry came to a standstill. It was impossible to get sufficient numbers of non-union men to take the places of so many strikers. The employers alone could not cope with these strikes which, being in highly important, or "key" industries, threatened the prosperity of the nation. Therefore the governments intervened to establish industrial peace.

Industrial councils. Quite another tendency appeared after the World War; namely, coöperation between capital and labor. There was a desire on both sides to avoid the wastefulness of strikes in a period of economic depression. Industrial councils were organized, composed of representatives of the trade unions and of the employers, that regulated wages, factory conditions, and even, to some extent, the management of the industry.

SOCIALISM

Growing discontent. The great progress of the nineteenth century did not, however, bring contentment. On the contrary, there was widespread discontent, voiced by the working classes, who felt that they were not being given their share of wealth created by the new industrial system. This discontent led to a movement called socialism, the progress of which was so rapid that it excited universal interest. By its supporters socialism was regarded as the only system of society that would bring salvation to mankind; and, by its opponents, as an evil system which, if triumphant, would plunge mankind into chaos and ruin.

The Utopian Socialists. During the early part of the nineteenth century, a number of writers appeared, chiefly in France, who came to be known as "Utopian Socialists," so named after Thomas More's ideal commonwealth, "Utopia." The most famous of these writers were the Frenchmen, Saint-Simon and Fourier; and the Englishman, Robert Owen. Saint-Simon advocated a system of production in which goods were to be produced by coöperative groups. The division of the product was to be according to the principle of from each according to his capacity and to each according to the amount that he produced. Capital for these enterprises was to be provided by the State, which was to be every one's heir; inheritance of property was to be abolished. Fourier advocated the establishment of colonies in which the members were to live and work coöperatively. Instead of individual factories there were to be coöperative workshops. Owen was a wealthy manufacturer who became famous because he had transformed a dirty, ugly, poverty-stricken factory town into a model place by changing the conditions of its inhabitants. He paid good wages to his workers. He introduced factory reforms. He established schools and nurseries. Owen was firmly convinced that people were naturally neither good nor bad, but always creatures of their environment; only a good environment could produce good men and women. Through his influence coöperative societies were established which became the basis of the coöperative movement in England.

Karl Marx (1818-83). The father of modern socialism was Karl Marx, the famous German writer and agitator. As the son of well-to-do parents, Marx was given every opportunity to study. At the university he was an ardent student of philosophy, history,

and economics. As a young man he lived in the period when Metternich's oppressive policies drove many freedom-loving Germans into bitter opposition to the government. Marx became the editor of a radical paper, and wrote articles attacking the authorities, for which his paper was suppressed. He left Germany for Paris, where he came into contact with the followers of Saint-Simon. Marx was converted to the ideal of a new society, but not to the methods of the Utopians. He now became a "socialist," and began to develop those ideas that distinguish socialism today. To so great an extent did he influence that movement that Marxism and socialism became synonymous. Nearly all his life Marx was a refugee, being driven from country to country until he found refuge in England, where he lived until his death.



KARL MARX

Of Marx's many writings the most famous are *Capital*, a three-volume study of the capitalist system, which is regarded by his followers as the "bible of socialism"; and the *Communist Manifesto*, written in conjunction with Friedrich Engels, a pamphlet, which is a popular exposition of socialist principles. In these writings Marx develops his fundamental ideas: surplus value, the class struggle, and the economic interpretation of history, ideas which have been accepted by his followers.

Surplus value. Socialists denounce the present system as one based upon exploitation of the working class, the "proletariat," by the few capitalists, the "bourgeois," who own or control modern industry. Marx taught that labor is the creator of all value, but receives only enough to exist; the larger part, "surplus value," is taken by capital which produces nothing. This theory, say the opponents of socialism, leaves out of consideration the

part that capital plays in starting new enterprises and developing old ones, without which labor would not be employed at all.

The class struggle. Socialists preach the "class struggle." They believe that in all history there has been going on a constant struggle between the rich and the poor. Under the present industrial system the struggle is between the capitalists and the workingmen. In order to assure the triumph of the latter, the socialists urge the workingmen of all nations to be "comrades" and to unite against the capitalists. The triumph of socialism will come when the socialists are in a majority. They will then take over the government and establish socialism, slowly or quickly, depending upon circumstances. Socialists accept democracy as a peaceful method of gaining power, and are therefore opposed to violent revolution. "Agitate, Educate, Organize," is their motto.

Economic interpretation of history. According to Marx, there is a fundamental explanation of all great changes in history. It is that all institutions, political, religious, cultural, and social, are merely superstructures arising from the existing economic system. Changes in history take place only when changes take place in the economic system. Marx considered all appeals to reason, to idealism, and to sentiment as ineffective methods of achieving progress. Anti-socialists criticize this view as crass materialism, because it takes no account of racial, religious, cultural, and national sentiments which have often been stronger than economic interests.

Definition of socialism. What is this new society that socialists hope to establish? The answer cannot be given exactly. In the main, socialism may be defined as a system of society in which there is public ownership of all means of production, factories, mines, railways, land, and stores. Under this system all would be employed by the government at salaries depending upon ability and upon the nature of the work. No one would get so much as to be rich, and no one so little as to be poor; all would be obliged to work in order to live. Private business enterprise would be forbidden. Opponents of socialism declare that such a system would destroy initiative because there would be no large rewards for exceptional ability; progress would slow down, and the world be reduced to a dead level of stagnation.

The First International. Socialists favored the international

union of the working class. To realize this aim there took place in London, in 1864, a great meeting which resulted in the formation of the First International. The organization fell under the control of Karl Marx and his followers, who adopted a socialist platform calling upon the workingmen in all countries to unite to overthrow capitalism. This was the first international organization of the working class, and it inspired great fear among many who believed that the workingmen would start a world revolution. But factional quarrels soon began, and at the end of a decade the First International went out of existence.

The Second International. The Second International appeared as a result of a convention, held in Paris in 1889. It adopted a socialist platform and established a permanent organization. From time to time the Second International held world congresses, composed of delegates sent by the socialist parties of every country. These congresses decided upon general policies for the socialists throughout the world, and established what was in effect an international political party with a common platform and a common organization. The socialist parties were well organized, with members who spread their doctrines at all times and in all places.

World War divides socialists. All socialists were united in opposition to war which, they declared, was brought about by the machinations of the capitalists. They adopted strong anti-war resolutions, and conducted a vigorous anti-militarist campaign. But supposing that war, in spite of their efforts, did come, what should socialists do? Some favored calling a general strike in all countries to paralyze military action; others favored a policy of opposition by refusing to vote for war measures and by conducting a peace agitation. When the great crisis came in August, 1914, the socialists in all countries were as profoundly moved by nationalist ideals as were their fellow countrymen. The German socialists in the Reichstag voted to support their government, and the French socialists did likewise; their examples were followed by most of the socialists in the other warring countries. And so the Second International went down to destruction amid the general conflagration in the World War.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by "nationalism"? Compare nationalism in Europe of the nineteenth century with that in the eighteenth.
2. What were the dangers to democracy in Europe before the World War? After the World War?
3. Compare "religious toleration" with "religious freedom." What country was a pioneer of religious toleration? Of religious freedom?
4. Explain "*laissez faire*"; "social reform."
5. What country was a pioneer of social reform?
6. Contrast "craft unionism" with "industrial unionism."
7. What are the fundamental principles of Utopian Socialism? of Marxian Socialism?
8. Is socialism compatible with democracy?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

NATIONAL SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION. E. P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (1920), chs. XXII-XXIV; S. P. Duggan, *A Student's Textbook in the History of Education* (1916), ch. XXVIII.

MODERN NATIONALISM. J. H. Rose, *Nationality in Modern History* (1916), Lecture VIII; C. J. H. Hayes, *Essays in Nationalism* (1926).

THE SOCIALIST IDEAL. J. Spargo, *Socialism* (1909), ch. IX; O. D. Skelton, *Socialism* (1911), ch. VIII.

EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS. C. M. Lloyd, *Trade Unionism* (1914), chs. VI-VII.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, pp. 481-87; Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 22-40; 58-72; Macdonald, *The Socialist Movement*, pp. 99-103, 196-206.

MARXIAN SOCIALISM. Kirkup, chs. VII-VIII; pp. 586-97; Macdonald, pp. 206-13; Robinson and Beard, II, pp. 488-95.

CHAPTER LII

THE CULTURE OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

LITERATURE

The Victorian Age. As in government and industry so in literature did the middle classes make their influence felt during the nineteenth century. With their influence came new ideals of personal and social conduct, very different from those of former centuries when the aristocrats held sway. The period in English literature between 1840 and the end of the century is known as the Victorian Age, in honor of Queen Victoria who reigned during this period. Moral purpose dominates the writers of the Victorian Age. Their primary motive is to produce books as aids to better thinking and better living, and only secondarily as works of art. As popular education advanced, literature became more democratic. The writers now catered to their readers, their problems, their wants, their hopes, and not, as formerly, to the whims of aristocratic patrons. Another striking characteristic of the Victorian Age is science. The writings of the great scientists, Lyell, Darwin, and Huxley, profoundly influenced imaginative literature. Human life and destiny were discussed in the light of new scientific discoveries.

Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot. The three great novelists of the Victorian Age were Charles Dickens (1812-70), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63), and Mary Ann Evans (1819-80), known by her pseudonym "George Eliot." In the novels of Dickens the poor and unfortunate of industrial England are introduced into literature; his heroes are often the victims of society, such as *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*. Dickens was deeply moved by the suffering of the lower classes, and he entered on a philanthropic crusade against workhouses, charity schools, debtors' prisons, and law courts. His bitter attacks led to beneficent reforms in these institutions. Thackeray, in contrast, is the novelist of the elegant world. His novels, the most famous of which are *Vanity Fair* and *Pendennis*, are

witty, often bitterly satirical, exposures of the foibles and insincerities of the "better classes." Like Dickens, however, Thackeray is representative of his age in that he is a middle-class censor of aristocratic manners and morals. George Eliot's novels treat of problems that are primarily ethical. She analyzes the motives of her characters to discover hidden sources of good or evil. As Thackeray satirized the pretenses of the upper classes, George Eliot exposed the shams of the middle classes. Her most famous novels are *Silas Marner*, describing the life of a weaver whose economic situation was affected by machine industry, and *The Mill on the Floss*, dealing with the life of a young girl.

Kipling, Shaw, Wells, and Galsworthy. In the twentieth century a new era began in English literature. Middle-class ideals were discarded by the new generation of writers, some of whom, like Kipling, were inspired by imperialism, and others, like Shaw and Wells, by socialism. Kipling (1865-1936) was the literary spokesman of British imperialism. His stories and poems preach the gospel of the "White man's burden," according to which the English have a mission to civilize the colored races of Asia and Africa. George Bernard Shaw (1856-) achieved world-wide fame as a dramatist and essayist of great wit and brilliance. Shaw's works deal directly with the great social problems of his time from the point of view of a socialist. A Shaw play is not a drama in the ordinary sense. There is no plot, no hero, and no villain; instead, there is brilliant conversation concerning a social problem, such as poverty, war, religious intolerance, in which cherished institutions, such as the State, the family, and Church, are mercilessly satirized. Herbert George Wells (1866-) is primarily a novelist. But, like Shaw's plays, his novels deal directly with social problems. His heroes and heroines struggle to escape from the evil effects of bad education, outworn ideals, and cramping institutions instead of the evil machinations of villains. Wells's famous *Outline of History* created a great sensation when it appeared in 1921. It tells the story of the "common adventure of all mankind," as Wells calls history, with the purpose of showing that the common goal of all nations is social and international peace. The plays and novels of John Galsworthy (1867-1933) also deal with social problems, though not as radically as do those of Shaw and Wells. His *Forsyte Saga* is a pene-

trating study of a "man of property" whose passion for possession threatens to ruin all that makes for fine living.

Hegel. The great intellectual influence in Germany — and for that matter in Europe — during the first half of the nineteenth century was the philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). His political views were those of an absolute monarchist, not because he believed in divine right, but because he believed in an absolute State. Unless the State is personified in a monarch, it is only an abstraction, declared Hegel. The State was the very essence of freedom and reason; through it alone can every individual attain his highest development, and every class its greatest prosperity. To Hegel's influence has been ascribed the great reforms instituted by the Prussian monarchy during the nineteenth century.

Heine. Very different from Hegel in spirit was the poet and essayist, Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). "Lay on my coffin a sword, for I was a brave soldier in the Liberation War of humanity," wrote Heine. With matchless wit and bitter irony did he wage war against despotic government and intellectual repression. His famous *Pictures of Travel* is a unique work containing descriptions of places and scenes, criticisms of current ideas, satirical comments on his contemporaries, and poetical outbursts. Brimful of airy wit, delicate sentiment, acid irony, and blasphemous scoffing, overflowing with pathos and stabbing with cruel irony was Heine, "a nightingale nesting in the wig of a Voltaire."

Hauptmann. Later in the nineteenth century came the German writer, Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–), the literary spokesman of social discontent. His plays and novels are inspired by compassion for the lower classes. His famous drama, *The Weavers*, tells the story of an uprising of starving weavers who revolted as a mass against the evil conditions imposed by their masters.

Balzac. Bourgeois France found its greatest literary spokesman in the novelist, Honoré Balzac (1799–1850). His famous series of novels, the *Comédie humaine*, is truly described as a bourgeois epic. Money and ambition, not love and adventure, are its leading themes. Balzac gives detailed descriptions of the lives of shopkeepers, artisans, and professionals, analyzing their problems as dispassionately as a scientist classifies natural phenomena.

Zola. The most prominent French novelist during the second

half of the nineteenth century was Émile Zola (1840-1902). In imitation of Balzac's *Comédie humaine*, he wrote a series of novels in which the same characters pass and repass. These volumes depict French society during the Second Empire. Zola excels in describing groups, mobs, masses, crowds, assemblies. The lives of those working in mines, railways, and markets are described in a "naturalistic" manner as "slices of life."

Anatole France. Far different from Zola was the novelist, Anatole France (1844-1924), the greatest French writer of his day. France was deeply moved by the evils that afflicted his fellow men, war, poverty, persecution, and exploitation, and he determined to make war against these evils by means of satire. He became one of the greatest satirists in all literature. His satire, however, is not bitter invective, but a gentle irony, for he believes that it is folly rather than evil which mars the happiness and the natural goodness of mankind. In his novels France discusses the problems of the Third French Republic, socialism, anti-clericalism, and the Dreyfus Affair, with matchless wit and keen understanding. In describing the Dreyfus Affair he turns that tragedy into a screaming farce by showing how a great nation is deluded into doing wicked and absurd things by appeals to its prejudices.

Ibsen. The leading dramatist at the end of the nineteenth century was the Norwegian, Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906). His dramas were the literary sensation of the day because they attacked the conventions of respectability in all its forms. Ibsen was convinced that the majority is always wrong, and that the true benefactors of mankind are those individuals who hold unconventional ideas and who live their lives in their own way. Ibsen's fundamental principle is the right of the individual to assert himself or herself as over against the State, the Church, and the family.

The Russian novelists. It was not until the nineteenth century that Russian literature came to be widely known. The school of Russian novelists, chief among whom were Ivan Turgenev (1818-83), Feodor Dostoevsky (1821-81), and Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), achieved great literary fame as masters of "realism." They shrink at nothing in describing evil social conditions, and in stripping bare the human soul in its deepest degradation. Turgenev's novels excel in portraying the condition of the serfs, the

struggles between the old and new generations, and the eloquent but futile revolutionists of his day. Dostoievsky's main theme is the sublimity of human suffering, and his "mystic Slavic soul" is filled with compassion for all who suffer in this world, even for the most degraded. Tolstoy may be described as a great preacher-novelist. To him love of God and of mankind, not love of art, is the greatest thing in the world. A great master of style, he used his art to advance the cause of peace between nations, social reform, and political freedom. His great renown saved him from persecution at the hands of the tsarist government.

The historians. Of the great historians in the nineteenth century, the most notable were the Englishman, Lord Macaulay (1800-59), and the Germans, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) and Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903). Macaulay has the power of turning history into drama, and his famous *History of England* is widely read even to-day. He excels in giving graphic descriptions of persons and situations, but he seldom sees the underlying causes of great events. Ranke was a pioneer in what is called scientific history. He emphasized the value of studying original sources, and he ransacked the libraries of Europe in order to present the facts of history "as they really were," unbiased by party or national views. Mommsen was also a great scientific historian; in addition he had an excellent style. His famous *History of Rome* is a masterly presentation, in brief form, of the political history of the Roman Republic.

PAINTING

The Romantic movement. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Romantic movement held sway in literature, art, and music. In one sense the Romantic movement may be described as the "renaissance of wonder"; anything that was wonderful, strange, fantastic, and imaginative appealed to the Romantics. In another sense it meant the emphasis on individuality, and therefore encouraged unconventional ideas and methods of expression. The Romantic endeavored to express in his work, his individuality and his mood; he was, therefore, opposed to "classicism" which aimed to attain a perfect ideal of beauty by formal and conventional methods.

Corot and Millet. In painting, the Romantic movement is best seen in the works of the Frenchmen, Jean Baptiste Corot

(1796-1875) and Jean François Millet (1814-75). Corot was a great lover of nature, a subject which made a special appeal to the Romantics. His paintings show nature bathed in a soft, mellow atmosphere; evening dusk is the "hour of Corot." The colors are soft, dark, and delicate, and the scene, peaceful and intimate. Millet was primarily a painter of peasants, and he used nature only as a background. He loathed idyllic shepherds and sentimental milkmaids as untrue to life. He painted peasants as they actually were, hard, rugged, and gnarled, with bowed heads and bent bodies. Yet these figures have a great appeal because through their coarseness shine human dignity and pathos.

The Impressionists. In the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century a school of painters arose in France, known as Impressionists, who succeeded in discovering new beauties in nature. The Impressionists discarded the soft and dull colors of Corot and Millet; instead they painted nature in bold and brilliant hues. Their chief object was to put on canvas sunlight as it pierced the atmosphere and revealed the scene, "the tremor of the air upon the earth basking in light." In other words, the Impressionists did not primarily paint the scene, but the beautiful effects of sunshine or the exquisite gradations of the atmosphere. The most famous Impressionists were Édouard Manet (1832-83), Claude Monet (1840-1926), and Paul Cézanne (1839-1906). Manet was the father of the Impressionist school, which became known as the *plein air*, or open-air school. He believed that color had one value in the studio, and quite another, and truer one, in nature. He painted figures and landscapes in a very unconventional way which aroused much criticism. Monet is famous for his seascapes which show shining waves and blazing sun, or gloomy clouds behind which is a smoky red sky. Cézanne was the most individual of the Impressionists; he was really the father of a new school of art, known as the Post-Impressionists, or Modernists. His supreme work is in still life — a bowl of fruit, a basket of vegetables — which are painted in colors so extraordinary that such simple scenes become almost dramatic. A few apples, a bunch of bananas "have the weight, the nobility, the style of immortal forms."

Rodin. The great sculptor of the second half of the nineteenth century was the Frenchman, Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), con-

sidered by some as the successor of Michelangelo. Rodin's figures are unconventional in that he disregards elegance of form and smooth surfaces. Sometimes they are left rough and unfinished, sometimes they do not completely emerge from the mass of bronze or marble. Many of Rodin's statues are ugly in face and distorted in body, but they appear wonderful, and even beautiful, as a result of the sculptor's extraordinary genius in modeling the human form.

ARCHITECTURE

In architecture nothing really important appeared after the Renaissance until the advent of the "skyscraper" at the end of the nineteenth century. In America there appeared a new style of architecture and a new method of building which was as distinctive of the commercial civilization of our day as Gothic was of the religious civilization of the Middle Ages. In the large cities of America, especially in New York and Chicago, where vast numbers were forced to go to their daily work in the business districts, a necessity arose of building in the air as well as on the ground. As a consequence the "vertical" building appeared of immense height, known as the "skyscraper." Fireproof construction made these offices and factories safe and serviceable. These immense structures rested not only on their foundations but on a steel framework, riveted together, which supported the walls and floors. Steel construction was something entirely new in the history of building.

At first the skyscraper was ugly, but the genius of an American architect, Louis Sullivan, made it beautiful in a startlingly original way. Its immense height was intensified by vertical lines which gave the impression of a graceful giant with his head soaring in the clouds. The lower end of Manhattan, in the city of New York, presents an extraordinary scene viewed from a distance. The great mass of skyscrapers, outlined against the sky — one overtopping the other, is like a fairyland floating in the heavens.

MUSIC

Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Chopin. As France, in the nineteenth century, was the chief center of painting, Germany was the chief center of music. The Romantic school in music

counted, as its chief exponents, the Germans, Robert Schumann (1810-56) and Felix Mendelssohn (1809-47), and the Pole, Frédéric Chopin (1810-49). Schumann's compositions are chiefly instrumental music, especially for the piano. He wrote many songs, which make a strong appeal to sentiment and imagination. Mendelssohn's chief title to fame is that of a composer of oratorios, the best known of which is the *Elijah*. By far the most famous of the Romantics in music is Chopin whose compositions for the piano have long been favored by pianists. Chopin's music is sad, dreamy, poetic, and haunting; it transports one to a mood of exquisite melancholy.

Verdi. The great composers of the opera were the Italian; Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) and the German, Richard Wagner (1813-83). Verdi was the father of modern Italian opera, with its melodic arias and love duets. He knew, as few composers did, the power of the human voice, and his operas give full opportunity to singers to display their vocal powers.

Wagner. Wagner was the successor of the great German composers, Bach and Beethoven. He created a new opera form which took the world by storm. Urged on by a great dramatic impulse, Wagner composed dramas in music, in which words, action, and music are inseparably blended. To give unity to these compositions he himself wrote the play, composed the music, and staged the scenes. In the Wagnerian opera the orchestra appeared in a leading position, not, as hitherto, merely as an accessory. It intoned the themes and directed the movement of the play. Nearly all of Wagner's operas deal with heroic themes; in the most famous, the Nibelungen cycle of four operas, Wagner goes back to ancient Teutonic mythology to find heroes and gods worthy of his dramas. The music is so magnificent and the themes so profound that the listener is moved to his very depths. Wagner's place in music is with the immortal few.

SCIENCE

Influence of science. The nineteenth century may truly be called the Age of Science. In no other period of human history did science and scientific methods have so profound an influence on history. Extraordinary advances were made in knowledge of the world, its origin, its inhabitants, and the forces that control it. The scientist, laboriously experimenting in laboratories and

announcing his results in technical language understood by few, has not impressed himself on mankind as vividly as the statesman and soldier. Yet his work has exercised a deeper influence on civilization than eloquent speeches or brilliant strategy, for he has originated ideas and mechanisms that have revolutionized the life and thought of mankind.

Methods of science. The scientist seeks to ascertain truth chiefly by the method of experiment. What he wants to know is whether a statement is true or not; and its truth can be established by facts, and only by facts. In the method of science, there is (1) careful experiment and observation; (2) analysis and comparison of data with a logical inference of their significance; and (3) careful and continuous verification. To test established beliefs by these rigorous methods is characteristic of the scientific attitude of mind.

Internationalism of science. Science is truly international. It knows no frontiers of nationality, race, religion, or region; the laboratory is the common meeting-place of all scientists whatever their origin. Every civilized nation has produced men who have contributed to the development of science. A discovery, once made, immediately becomes a common human possession. The great mechanical inventions and their influence have already been described. It now remains to describe the great scientific theories that have profoundly changed man's views of himself and of the world.

Law of Gravitation. One of the greatest names in the history of science is that of the Englishman, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). His famous Law of Gravitation explained for the first time that an invisible force, gravitation, regulates the existence of the universe. Observing,



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

it is said, an apple fall to the ground he questioned the reason for so simple an action. Why did not the apple fly away into space? He came to the conclusion that the apple fell in a vertical line because it was attracted by a gravitational force to the center of the earth, which is also its center of gravity; and because the mass of the earth is so much greater than the mass of the apple that the attraction was toward the greater mass. His Law of Gravitation declares that the attraction between bodies is directly proportional to the product of their masses, and inversely proportional to the square of the distances between them. This Law enables us to understand celestial mechanics.

The Nebular Hypothesis. A new theory of the origin of the world, known as the Nebular Hypothesis, was advanced by the Frenchman, Simon de Laplace (1749-1827). According to this theory the solar system began incalculable ages ago in a mass of hot, luminous, vaporous matter called nebula which was diffused throughout space. This mass gradually cooled down, condensed, and finally became the sun, planets, and satellites.

Origin of the earth's surface. The present theory of the origin of the earth's surface is due to an English geologist, Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875). He asserted that, as a result of slow and constant changes, valleys were excavated by floods, rain, and snow; and that the banks of rivers were formed by the flowing waters which cut into the earth. This process is still going on, and future ages will see the surface of the earth very different from what it is to-day.

Lamarck and evolution. By far the most novel theory was that of organic evolution which offered an explanation of the origin of all animal and plant life. A French biologist, Jean Baptiste de Lamarck (1744-1829), declared that higher forms of life arose out of lower, through use and disuse of organs. If an animal used an organ then it developed; if, owing to changed conditions, the animal no longer had need of the organ, it fell into disuse and degenerated or disappeared. In either case the offspring would inherit these acquired characteristics, and in this way new species would arise.

Darwin and evolution. Lamarck's theories were superseded by those of the English biologist, Charles Darwin (1809-82), whose book, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*,

published in 1859, caused a world-wide sensation. In brief the theory is: All life upon earth, plant and animal, is the result of "evolution"; that is, of slow, constant, ceaseless change that has gone on for countless ages and will go on for countless ages. All living things to-day are the descendants of those that were very different from them and much lower in the scale of life. How did this come about? Darwin's explanation is the following. It is a common observance that the individuals of a species vary. Among animals some are stronger, bigger, and more clever than others; some have sharper teeth and claws; some, heavier fur; some are so colored that they can escape being seen.

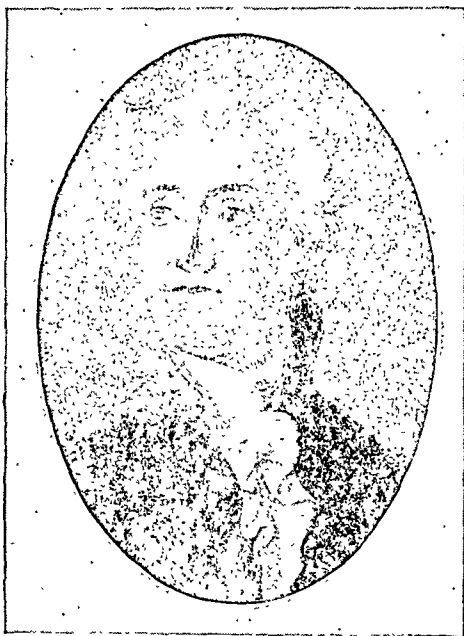


CHARLES DARWIN

Among the countless numbers that are born, only those animals that have these advantages have a chance of surviving; the others are destroyed by hunger, cold, heat, exposure, accident, and through being devoured. In this way nature selects the fittest to survive. These are Darwin's famous principles of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." Heredity makes possible the development of a new species; the special qualities of those who have survived are inherited by their progeny who differ markedly from their remote ancestors. Man himself, according to Darwin, came into existence as the result of evolution; he is the descendant of a lower animal, and came to be what he is through variation, selection, and heredity.

Modern chemistry. The father of modern chemistry was the Frenchman, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) who reorganized the methods of this science, and gave it its present terminology. Lavoisier proved that matter is indestructible; its form and substance may change but not its weight. A log may

burn to ashes and seemingly disappear, but if the ashes and the smoke and gases that escaped were weighed their weight would



ANTOINE LAURENT LAVOISIER

be found to equal that of the original log. Lavoisier gave the name to oxygen, and explained that combustion was caused by the union of this gas, which is present in the air, with the burning matter.

The atomic theory. The next great step in the development of chemistry was the discovery of the atomic theory by the Englishman, John Dalton (1766-1844). According to this theory each element is composed of atoms, particles of matter so small that they cannot be divided; and that chemical compounds of the elements are formed by the union of atoms in simple, numerical proportions. By deter-

mining the atomic weights of the various elements Dalton fixed the proportions in which the elements combine. A Russian chemist, Mendeléef, propounded the "periodic law," according to which the elements, if listed serially in the order of their atomic weights, show a recurrence of similar properties at intervals of eight.

Organic chemistry. The pioneers of organic chemistry were the Germans, Justus von Liebig (1803-73) and Friedrich Wöhler (1800-82). Organic chemistry concerns itself with substances produced by animal or vegetable organisms which, it was formerly believed, could be produced only through the "force of life." In 1828 Wöhler produced, in his laboratory, an organic compound called urea. Liebig was the first to introduce the method of organic analysis. He analyzed food products, and classified the various foods in accordance with the needs of the body, thereby laying the foundation of dietetics. He also experimented on methods of renewing impoverished soil, and his researches led to the manufacture of artificial fertilizers.

Radium. A famous event in the history of chemistry was the discovery, in 1898, of a new element, radium, by the Frenchman, Pierre Curie, and his Polish wife, Marie. As a result of much research they succeeded in obtaining this element from a mineral called pitchblende. From a large quantity of the latter, only a minute portion of radium is obtainable. Radium gives forth a tremendous amount of heat, a million times more than coal, and seemingly without loss; it would take centuries for a piece of radium to exhaust itself.

Discoveries regarding the atom. Radioactivity resulted in a new view of the atom. It is no longer regarded as a simple indivisible particle; on the contrary it is proved to be quite complex. According to the newer theory an atom is made up of negatively charged particles of electricity, called electrons, and positively charged particles, called protons. The atom of an element is pictured in the form of a miniature solar system, wherein the sun (or nucleus) consists of protons, and the planetary system surrounding the nucleus consists of electrons, equal in number to the number of protons in the nucleus. The properties of any element depend upon the number and arrangement of the electrons in the planetary system. It is now known that chemical changes involve changes in the planetary system of the atom, the nucleus never being affected; the latter is involved only in radioactive change.

Electricity. The foundation of modern electricity was laid by two Italian physicists, Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) and Luigi Galvani (1737-98). At the end of the eighteenth century Galvani discovered the existence of electricity in a flowing state, or the electric current, which passes through media, called conductors. His researches led Volta to invent the first electric cell, called after him the Voltaic cell, which is now the foundation of our electric batteries. Their most famous successor was the Englishman, Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829), who made a great advance in electro-chemistry by using an electric battery to decompose substances. By decomposing potash he discovered a new metal, potassium. By means also of an electric battery Davy produced a bright light from the points of carbon which led to the invention of electric lighting by means of arc lamps. His famous associate, Michael Faraday (1791-1867), discovered the principle of the dynamo, a contrivance which generates electrical

energy, and which is now applied to the electric motor. Faraday's researches in electricity gave a new conception of the nature of this mysterious force.

Physics. In the department of physics which deals with light and sound the great pioneer was the German, Herman von Helmholtz (1821-94). His greatest work was done on the mechanics of the eye and ear; it was he who discovered why the eye sees and why the ear hears. He founded the sciences of optics and acoustics through his researches on the physiology and physics of vision and of hearing. An associate of Helmholtz, Heinrich Hertz, discovered that light consists of electro-magnetic vibrations in the ether which permeates all space and matter. These vibrations, called after him "Hertzian waves," are the basis of wireless transmission, or radio. The discovery, in 1895, of the X-ray by the German, Wilhelm Röntgen, resulted in a device for photographing through solids. By making the human body transparent, X-ray photography has been of great aid to surgery; it reveals the conditions of the organs, fractures, and the presence of foreign bodies.

Vaccination. In its efforts to alleviate human suffering science has done its greatest service. In earlier ages dreadful plagues ravaged the world, carrying off large numbers of people. Among the worst was smallpox which, if it did not result in death, disfigured its victim for life. To combat this plague an English physician, Edward Jenner (1749-1823), devised a method called vaccination which, by inoculating a person with a certain virus, makes him immune to smallpox.

The germ theory. By far the greatest discoveries in the field of preventive medicine were made by the Frenchman, Louis Pasteur (1822-95). It was Pasteur who first showed that it was possible to control, and even to prevent infectious diseases in all living things, man, animal, and plant, a possibility which led many to hope for a world from which disease would be banished. Infection, he discovered, was due to the presence of "germs," minute animal organisms which are present in the air and which come into the body through inhalation, contact, or exposure of wounds. This discovery became the basis of antiseptic surgery and of modern sanitation. The cause of fermentation had remained unknown until Pasteur explained that it was due to the presence in the liquid of minute vegetable organisms, called bacteria,

that had entered when the liquid had been exposed to the air. He invented the process, called after him, "pasteurization," whereby liquids are made healthful by destroying bacteria and germs through heating. The wine and silk industries in France were threatened by diseases which attacked the vines and the silkworms, but Pasteur discovered methods of curing these diseases and saved the industries from being ruined. He investigated the cause of rabies in dogs, and discovered a cure for hydrophobia which has almost banished that disease. Pasteur was a simple, devout man who was dominated by a love of mankind to whose service he dedicated his life.



LOUIS PASTEUR

Relativity. The great scientific discovery of the twentieth century is the Theory of Relativity, formulated by a German, Albert Einstein (1879-). He advanced the idea that time, space, and motion are not absolute but relative to an observer upon the earth. A moving train is going at a definite speed, but while it is moving, the earth with the train on it is both spinning on its axis and circling around the sun. Considering these facts the speed of the train, to an observer off in space, would be relative to the earth and to the sun. A further development of the Relativity theory affects the movement of a ray of light from a star. As the ray passes the sun on its way to the earth it is bent out of its path by the gravitational force of the sun. This theory was strikingly confirmed by astronomical investigation.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. In what ways was Dickens a typical Victorian writer?
2. In what ways does Wells express the spirit of our day?
3. What are the leading characteristics of the works of Anatole France?
4. Explain how the architecture of the skyscraper arose from conditions in America.
5. What are the methods of science?
6. The civilization of a people in ancient times was judged by its literary and artistic contributions; of a people, in modern times, by its scientific contributions. Give your views of this statement.
7. What is meant by the germ theory?
8. What was the contribution of Pasteur to modern hygiene?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

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CHAPTER LIII

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Slow progress before 1870. In 1870, a century after the Industrial Revolution, western Europe was still chiefly agricultural. Factories were small and railways were few and short. Steamboats were rarely seen. In eastern Europe modern industry had hardly even begun. England, although highly industrialized, was still half agricultural.

Rapid progress after 1870. After 1870, a new Industrial Revolution began which first affected western Europe and America, then eastern Europe, and finally backward Asia and primitive Africa. New inventions appeared which made those of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Stephenson, and Whitney look as simple as the tools used by the craftsmen. Gigantic machines, very complicated in structure and capable of immense production, were installed in factories that covered acres of ground and employed armies of workingmen. In 1914 the famous Krupp Works in Essen, Germany, employed about fifty thousand men in their iron and steel industry.

Application of science to industry. Germany and America were the pioneers of the new, as England had been of the old, Industrial Revolution. Germany contributed the application of science to industry, or of scientific research to discover better ways of manufacturing. The various industries established chemical and physical laboratories which conducted experiments with the purpose of finding substitutes for natural products. From the laboratory came artificial indigo, dyes, leather, and new materials, like rayon. Processes of manufacture were revolutionized by new chemical methods, such as the making of paper and glass, tanning leather, and bleaching cloth.

Mass production. America's contribution was "mass production," or the output of vast quantities of goods by means of automatic machinery. The chief features of this method are (1) the making of standardized parts; and (2) the assembling of these parts with the minimum of hand labor. It is the most efficient, the most rapid, and the most economical way ever de-

vised of producing large quantities of cheap goods. Automatic machinery is so highly developed in some industries that human labor is almost entirely eliminated. Raw material is placed in one end of a machine, and, from the other end, the finished product comes out, wrapped and packed, all without the touch of human hands.

PRODUCTION

The "belt" system. The new method of production, called in America "mass production" and, in Europe, "rationalization," was applied to the new industries such as the automobile and radio. Waste of capital was eliminated by consolidating competing firms; waste of labor, by efficient management; production was increased and cheapened by standardization of material and products and by minute division of labor. Mass production is best illustrated by the method employed in assembling automobile parts, called the "belt" system. The many parts of the automobile, all standardized and interchangeable, are brought to the assembling plant. On each side of an endless conveyor belt are workers, each of whom has only one thing to do, to tighten a screw, to adjust the fender, to insert a wheel. The belt moves at a regular pace, and each worker does his part in the construction of the car, which keeps on "growing" until it is finished. By this method a car is turned out every few minutes.

Rubber. New materials were made as well as new mechanisms. The most notable was rubber. As a dark, sticky sap from trees in Brazil it had been known for some time. But it was not of much use until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the sap was "vulcanized," or treated chemically; the result was rubber that we use to-day. It would be hard to imagine our present industries without rubber, which is used for all sorts of purposes, from elastic bands to automobile tires, from erasers to overcoats.

Rayon. Another new material was rayon. Wood pulp treated by a certain chemical process produces a cloth that has the appearance of silk. Soon, this cheap material became a substitute for the highly expensive silk, long the aristocrat of textiles. The rayon industry developed rapidly, and the wearing of "silk" became popular.

New methods of distribution. Production under the new Industrial Revolution was so great that new methods had to be

found of distributing the many products. To create a demand, advertising began on an immense scale. Department stores, mail-order houses, and chain stores made their appearance and re-tailed goods rapidly and efficiently.

THE NEW POWER

Age of Electricity. New sources of power were found in hydro-electricity and in oil. Since the old Industrial Revolution, coal had been the source of power most widely used. But it had a great disadvantage in that coal had to be transported to the factory, often from great distances. Electricity, however, could be generated at its source, the coal mine, the waterfall, and the rapid streams, and transmitted by wires to distant places. The use of electric power developed rapidly, and the Age of Steam gave place to the Age of Electricity. Countries which had little coal, such as Italy, could now be industrialized by using rapid streams to generate electric power. Gigantic hydro-electric "super-power" stations were built at great waterfalls, such as Niagara, that distributed electric power over large areas lighting cities, operating factories, and running trains.

Oil as a fuel. Oil began to displace coal as a means of generating steam, especially in propelling ships. Oil wells were first discovered in Pennsylvania in the middle of the nineteenth century. At first the product was used as a medicine, as its true use was not understood. When it was seen that oil could be used as a source of power, its advantages over coal became evident. By using oil as fuel, a ship can carry more cargo and more fuel; in addition, it saves the labor off loading and stoking coal. As a result of the widespread use of hydro-electricity and oil, modern industry was established among nations that had hitherto been industrially backward.

TRANSPORTATION

As a consequence of the new Industrial Revolution, production increased so greatly that it is impossible to estimate it. The immense quantities of goods had to be shipped quickly to distant places, and this led to a revolution in transportation.

Trunk railways. There began an era of railway and ship-building unexampled in history. Formerly a railway was built between two points; later, it might be extended. "Trunk" lines

were now built spanning continents, with branches radiating in every direction. The most famous of the trunk lines were the Southern and Northern Pacific in the United States; the Canadian Pacific in Canada; the Trans-Siberian in Russia; the Bagdad in Asia Minor; and the projected Cape-to-Cairo in Africa. Immense locomotives, pulling a mile-length of cars at a pace of fifty miles an hour, took the place of the small, slow trains that now looked as old-fashioned as stagecoaches.

The steel liners. The small wooden steamers gave place to gigantic ocean greyhounds built first of iron, then of steel. These were so large that they could accommodate over five thousand persons, and so fast that they could cross the Atlantic in less than five days. Marine navigation underwent great changes through the invention of the "turbine," which sets in very rapid motion large "screws" that propel the ship with great swiftness; and through the invention of the Diesel engine it was possible to substitute oil for coal as the motive power.

The automobile. A new and very serviceable form of transportation came with the "horseless carriage," or automobile. A pioneer of this invention was the German, Gottlieb Daimler who, in 1885, produced an internal combustion engine, using gasoline, that propelled a carriage. Little progress was made in the automobile until mass production was used by the American, Henry Ford, in manufacturing it. The cheap serviceable car that he made gave a great impulse to the manufacture of low-priced automobiles. In a very short time so universal was the automobile that horse-drawn vehicles all but disappeared in the United States. Motor trucks and buses also displaced trolley cars, and even branches of railways. An era of road-building followed the use of the automobile which, because of its rubber tires, needed smooth surfaces. Magnificent highways appeared, built first of asphalt, later of concrete.

The airplane. Man had conquered the land and the water, and he now began to conquer the air. The balloon had been known since the eighteenth century; the movement of a balloon is not flying, however, but sailing through the air by means of some gas which is lighter than air. Flying, on the other hand, is the term applied to the motion of a body which develops its own power to traverse the air. Technically, therefore, the term is restricted to the heavier-than-air machines — airplanes. Numer-

ous experiments in flying were made, notably by the German, Lilienthal, by the Frenchman, Blériot, and by the American, Langley; but the first successful flight was made by the Americans, the brothers Wilbur and Orville Wright who, in 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, flew for almost a minute at a speed of thirty miles an hour in an airplane invented by them.

Record flights. Since 1903, the airplane has made rapid progress. Passenger transport service by airplane has been established, connecting the important centers of the world. Long-distance flights have been successfully made. In 1919 Ross Smith, an Englishman, flew from England to Australia, a distance of 11,500 miles in twenty-seven days, twenty hours, and twenty minutes. During the same year occurred the first non-stop crossing of the Atlantic by air. Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, British army officers, flew in an airplane from Newfoundland to Ireland in sixteen hours and ten minutes. The first flight around the world was made by a group of American army aviators in four airplanes starting under the command of Major F. L. Martin. They left Santa Monica, California, on March 17, 1924, flying westward. Through fogs, rains, winds, and storms they flew over Asia, Europe, and America, finally landing in Seattle on September 28. They had covered 27,534 miles in three hundred and fifty-one hours and eleven minutes of flying. The most sensational trans-Atlantic flight was made in 1927, by a young American, Charles A. Lindbergh. Alone, he flew from New York to Paris in thirty-three hours and twenty minutes. Another young American, Richard E. Byrd, flew across the North Pole in 1926; and, in 1929, he flew across the South Pole. A great event in the history of the conquest of the air by airship was the voyage of the German dirigible, the Graf Zeppelin. In 1928, under the command of Hugo Eckener, carrying about sixty persons, the Graf Zeppelin sailed from Friedrichshafen, Germany, and, in spite of storms, landed safely in Lakehurst, New Jersey, covering 6300 miles in one hundred eleven and a half hours. The fastest trip ever made by man round the world was made in 1931, by Wiley Post and Harold Gatty. They left New York in a monoplane, flew across the Atlantic, then across Europe, Siberia, Canada, the United States, and finally, to their starting point, New York. The daring and skillful aviators circled the globe in eight days, fifteen hours and fifty-one minutes.

COMMUNICATION

The Suez and Panama Canals. A part of the revolution in transportation was the building of two famous canals, the Suez (1859-69) and the Panama (1904-14). A short all-water route to India, long the search of bold navigators, was not found but made by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who built the Suez Canal. The commerce between Europe and Asia increased by leaps and bounds. Thousands of ships annually pass through the Canal on their way to India, to Polynesia, and to the Far East. The Panama Canal greatly shortened the distance by water from the Atlantic coast of America to the Pacific coast of Asia. Because of the Canal, New York is about two thousand miles nearer by water to Yokohama than is Liverpool.

Radio. Perhaps the most wonderful of all improvements in the means of communication is wireless telegraphy, or radio. At the end of the nineteenth century an Italian inventor, William Marconi, devised a comparatively simple apparatus without wires for sending and receiving messages through the air. It was based upon the theory of the "Hertzian waves."¹ Improvement in the radio was rapid, and it soon became the rival of the telegraph and the cable. To-day ships at sea are in communication with land and with one another; in case of accident they can signal for help. Daily papers are printed on board giving the passengers the news of the day. In 1926 a conversation, lasting four hours, was held between London and New York by means of a radio telephone. A speech or concert over the radio can be heard by millions all over the world. As a result of the invention of the radio the spoken word has out-distanced the printed word, as more people can be reached through the radio than through books and newspapers.

Motion pictures. Equally wonderful and new were the motion pictures, or movies, made by a continuous roll of photographic film presenting a series of pictures so rapidly that the eye fails to distinguish them as separate photographs. The movies originated in the kinetoscope, a peep show invented by an American, Thomas A. Edison, and his associates, during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Rapid improvements resulted in the silent movies, which were highly developed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. With them an immense

¹ See page 610.

amusement industry came into existence, having its center at Hollywood, California. From Hollywood have come movies that have been seen throughout the world.

In 1927-28 appeared the talking pictures, which reproduce sounds as well as sights. Talking pictures depend on the use of the photo-electric cell. Sound is recorded on the film itself; the light that projects the picture translates bands of light and shade into sounds. Talking motion pictures, being cheap and continuous, have begun to displace the established theater. At first they were of poor quality; the sounds were harsh and unnatural and the scenes disjointed; but so greatly have they been improved that it may be said that the talking motion pictures are a new art, beautiful, life-like, and marvelously ingenious.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

New lands in America and Canada. A new Agricultural Revolution took place about the same time as the new Industrial Revolution. The old Agricultural Revolution had not progressed very far because it was difficult to introduce scientific methods on small farms. With the opening-up of the American and Canadian West, farming on a large scale became possible.

Scientific agriculture. Again it was Germany and America who were the pioneers. From Germany came agricultural chemistry, and from America, agricultural machinery. By means of chemical fertilizers, careful planting and nursing, and irrigation, even poor land could be made to give bounteous harvests. Wonderful machines were invented, such as the power-driven "rotary plow," which automatically plows the soil, pulverizes it, plants the seeds, and smooths the surface. Animal power gave way to the tractor, which, unlike the horse, can be used continuously in all kinds of weather. The work of plowing and of harvesting was made immensely easier by the tractor.

Specialization in agriculture. Agriculture was put on an industrial basis. Large sums were invested in big tracts of land that specialized in some particular food, meat, milk, fruit, wheat, corn, or garden vegetables. Food production increased enormously as a result of the application of science to agriculture. Farming on a small scale now became precarious, as the small farmer had not the means to utilize the new science and the new machinery. Like the craftsman during the old Industrial Revo-

lution, he could not stand the competition of the new system, and was consequently forced to the wall. A flight from the land began, as many farmers left their farms and came to the city.

The new Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions are too recent to give any adequate idea of their influence on the history of mankind. Like their predecessors in the eighteenth century, they transformed, and even more profoundly, every form of human relationship, political, economic, social, and even moral.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the application of science to industry?
2. What is meant by mass production?
3. Contrast coal and oil as fuel, giving the advantages of each.
4. How did the Suez Canal affect the commerce of Europe?
5. In what ways is the automobile a competitor of the railway?
6. Show how the agricultural revolution affected the small farmer.
7. What is a "tractor"?
8. Compare the new with the old Industrial Revolution as to methods of communication.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. H. Ford, *My Life and Work* (1922); H. Rugg, *A History of American Civilization* (1930), chs. XX-XXIII; W. Meakin, *The New Industrial Revolution* (1928).

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RADIO. H. Rugg, *An Introduction to American Civilization* (1929), pp. 337-44; Kaempffert, vol. I, Pt. II, chs. III-IV.

OIL. H. Rugg, *An Introduction to American Civilization* (1929), ch. IX; Kaempffert, vol. II, Pt. IV, ch. III.

AIRPLANE. H. Rugg, *An Introduction to American Civilization* (1929), ch. XVII; Kaempffert, vol. I, Pt. I, ch. V.

WORLD INTERDEPENDENCE. W. C. Redfield, *Dependent America* (1926); H. Rugg, *An Introduction to American Civilization* (1929), chs. XXVIII-XXIX.

SECTION VII

THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER

THE greatest tragedy in history was the World War. At no other time were so many nations in conflict; nearly all the inhabitants of the globe were belligerents. In no other war was there so much loss of life and property; it is reckoned that about eight and one half million men were killed in battle and about twenty-one million wounded. How many died as a result of starvation and grief will never be known. The destruction of property was so enormous that its extent cannot be estimated. War expenses mounted so high that, when peace came, almost every nation was on the brink of financial ruin. The very existence of civilization was threatened.

A broken world issued from the struggle. For a time national hatreds were so deep and passionate that they foiled all attempts to make the world whole again. Former antagonists could neither forget their sufferings nor forgive those who had inflicted them.

However, better feeling slowly emerged as Europe realized the vital necessity of resuming peaceful relations. It remains for this and for future generations to find ways of bringing about a better understanding between nations and to devise means of settling international disputes through peaceful methods.

A new map of Europe appeared as a result of the World War. It was a Europe of small nations, nearly all republican, that had arisen from the ruins of four empires, the Russian, the German, the Austrian, and the Turkish. In some instances, notably in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, and Turkey, it was impossible to draw boundary lines that would include only people of the same nationality. The racial minorities in those countries were recognized and protected by special treaties. After a century of struggle nationalism achieved an almost complete triumph.

CHAPTER LIV

THE DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND OF THE WORLD WAR

PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE

EVER since the sixteenth century, when nations began to emerge from the political chaos of feudalism, the question has been, what should be the relations of one with the other? Should they form a European fraternity, each pursuing its ideals peacefully and working harmoniously for a common civilization? Unfortunately, however, the nations did not succeed in forming themselves into any kind of association to insure the peace of the world; on the contrary each one felt itself entirely independent of all the others and flatly refused to abate in the slightest degree its "sovereignty."

Ranks of the powers. In theory all the nations were equal before international law, little Holland being as much a "sovereign state" as gigantic Russia. But in Europe they occupied different ranks, graded according to military power. In the first rank were the great powers, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; in the second, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Sweden, and Norway; and in the third, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Luxemburg, and the Balkan states. Ever since the seventeenth century, Europe adhered to the doctrine of the "balance of power," according to which no nation was permitted so to dominate the Continent as to threaten the independence of the other nations.

Secret diplomacy. Although they jealously maintained their sovereignty, the nations were compelled to enter into constant relations with one another because they lived in the same world and were neighbors on the same continent. And so there grew up practices and principles which were formulated into rules, called international law, which regulated the conduct of nations and to which they were answerable before the judgment of mankind. There was another and more important phase of international relations, and that was diplomacy. Each nation felt itself in a jungle-world where it was likely to be pounced upon by another

nation, hence it must ever be wary or, better still, be ready to pounce upon its neighbors. Aggrandizement was the one test of national success. To conquer and annex territory brought respect and admiration; every nation believed that, in becoming powerful, its language, art, literature, ideals, and laws would be influential in shaping civilization. But none of them felt strong enough to be alone in the jungle-world, either in defense or in attack. What arrangements could they make in planning attacks or in preparing for defense? Necessarily these had to be secret, otherwise the plans would go awry. In this way arose secret diplomacy which to this day is prevalent in international relations. Democracy was the rule in domestic affairs, where matters were openly debated and openly acted upon, but in no country of Europe were foreign affairs in the hands of parliament. In theory the cabinet conducted foreign policy; but in practice only the foreign minister, the premier, and a few insiders knew the turn of affairs. In autocratic countries, such as Russia and Germany, the monarch would take a hand in the game. All diplomacy was secret but there were various degrees of secrecy. Some treaties would be announced but the terms remained secret; others would be published but there were "secret clauses" known only to a few; others were an "understanding" to act in common under certain circumstances; and finally there was the secret treaty whose very existence was not even suspected. There was so much secrecy that the path to dishonor was very inviting. To tell the truth was not considered "diplomatic"; an ambassador was once defined "as an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country." One nation would enter into a friendly understanding with another, and then behind her back enter into another one with her enemy. In this way were the lives and fortunes of the people of Europe put into the hands of diplomats who might be influenced by all kinds of motives, legitimate or otherwise.

Growth of militarism. Under such conditions the shadow of war constantly hovered over the nations of Europe. Immense sums were spent on armaments as an insurance against war; it was believed that a nation which was well prepared to defend itself would not be attacked. Between 1872 and 1912 the military and naval expenditure of the great powers increased so enormously that their peoples were burdened with taxes. The

new military system rested upon (1) conscription, (2) scientific armament, and (3) the dreadnaught. Conscription is a modern method of recruiting. Formerly the standing army was small and consisted of professional soldiers who enlisted for life. The idea of universal military service arose during the French Revolution,¹ but conscription, or the system of a "nation in arms" in times of peace, was first established by Prussia. An army based upon the new system proved its success on the battlefields of Sadowa and Sedan, and it was adopted in one form or another by all the nations of Europe except England who, being an island, was sufficiently protected by her navy. The conscript entered the army at the age of twenty and served from one to three years; then he was put in various reserves until he was about forty-five. Every year a large number of young men were "called to the colors," and, though paid little, their maintenance was very expensive to the nation.

Application of science to war. The sword and musket became almost as antiquated as the spear and bow and arrow. Many inventors put their genius at the service of war, and produced remarkable engines of destruction. Cannon were invented that could shoot with mathematical accuracy at targets many miles away. Machine guns could spray an enemy with showers of bullets that meant certain death to all within range. A new and terrible possibility lay in aerial warfare through the rapid improvement of the airplane and airship. In 1906 England completed a new battleship, the *Dreadnaught*, which was an immense floating fortress. It became the model for all nations who were in the naval race; and the number of dreadnaughts a nation had was the measure of its naval strength. As a counterpoise to this type of warship the submarine was developed; it was believed by many that the powerful dreadnaught could be torpedoed and sent to the bottom by the insignificant submarine.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Ideals of human brotherhood. Ever since recorded history began, man has cherished the ideal of universal peace. Dimly and haltingly has he groped his way through the ages in search of this goal, ever hopeful of reaching it despite constantly recurring wars. The world empires of ancient days, the Greek and the

¹ See page 277.

Roman, were in a sense efforts to establish universal peace. The world religions of medieval days, Christianity and Mohammedanism, preached the brotherhood of man. Christianity and Judaism, religions that profoundly influenced European civilization, have peace for their very corner-stone. Isaiah, prophet of Israel, foretold the day when "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks." Christ, the Prince of Peace, preached "peace on earth and good will toward men."

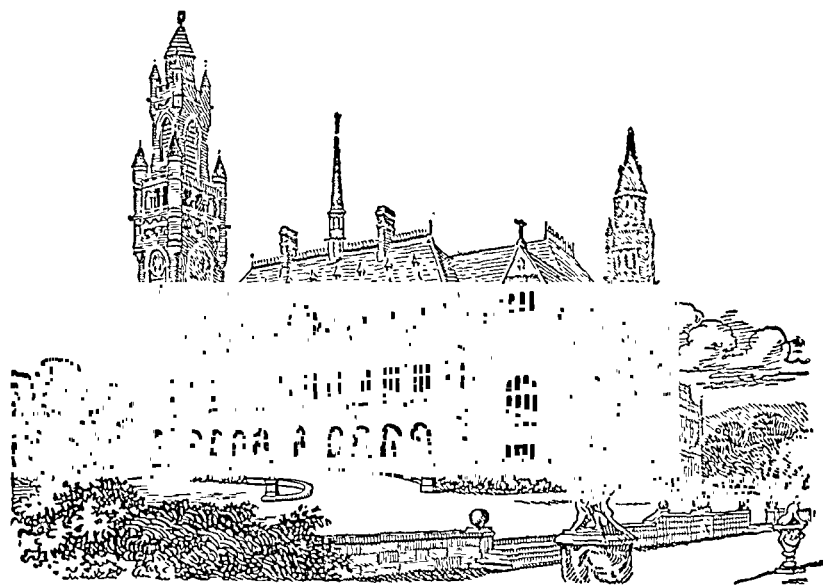
Plans for universal peace. When Europe became divided into nations, the ideal of human brotherhood did not disappear. From time to time proposals would appear to organize the nations into a "federation of the world" and to establish a "parliament of man." Henry IV, King of France, Grotius, father of international law, and Kant, greatest of modern philosophers, produced the most famous of such proposals. The French Revolution had visions of a federated world of democratic nations. Even the Holy Alliance had the idea of permanent peace for a Europe distracted by revolutionary wars.

The nationalist wars. But the nationalist wars of the nineteenth century divided Europe more than ever. A spirit of fanatical nationalism took possession of many who saw in their country all that was good, and viewed other countries with distrust and even with hatred. Never before did national pride mount so high, and national egoism become so intolerant. The relations between peoples became more and more strained, and suspicion and distrust darkened the European mind.

Characteristics of internationalism. It is a common error that internationalism means the abolition of nations. Quite the contrary. Internationalism means the fullest recognition of all nations as members of a universal society in which their common relations would be regulated by a common authority for the good of all. All disputes between nations would be brought before an international court whose judgment would be final. War would be outlawed, and any nation that engaged in it would find the entire world opposed to it. The opposite of nationalism is imperialism, not internationalism.

The peace movement. And yet the ideal of universal peace did not disappear. More than ever did those who loved mankind bestir themselves to hold fast to this ideal. International con-

ventions of all kinds were organized, humanitarian, scientific, literary, and philosophic. International unions such as the Red Cross, Postal, Telegraph, and Pan-American were formed; international conferences, such as the Congress of Berlin, the European agreements regarding African territory, and The Hague Conferences, were held; and an international political party, the socialist, was established. In every country peace societies were formed that agitated against war. Large sums of money were donated to the cause of peace. Prizes were established, notably the Nobel prize, which was awarded to those of any nation who rendered the greatest services to the cause of peace.

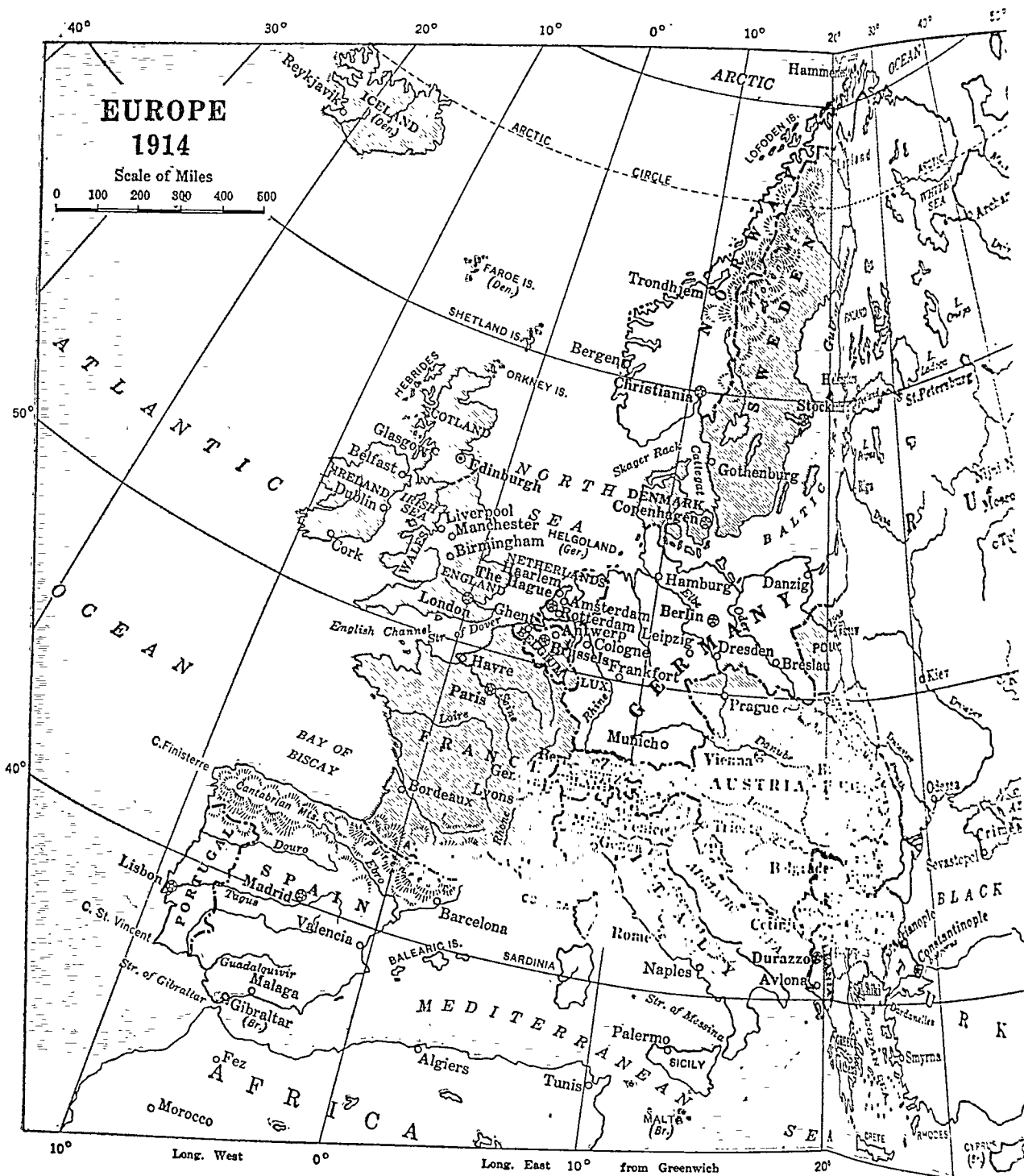
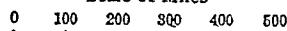


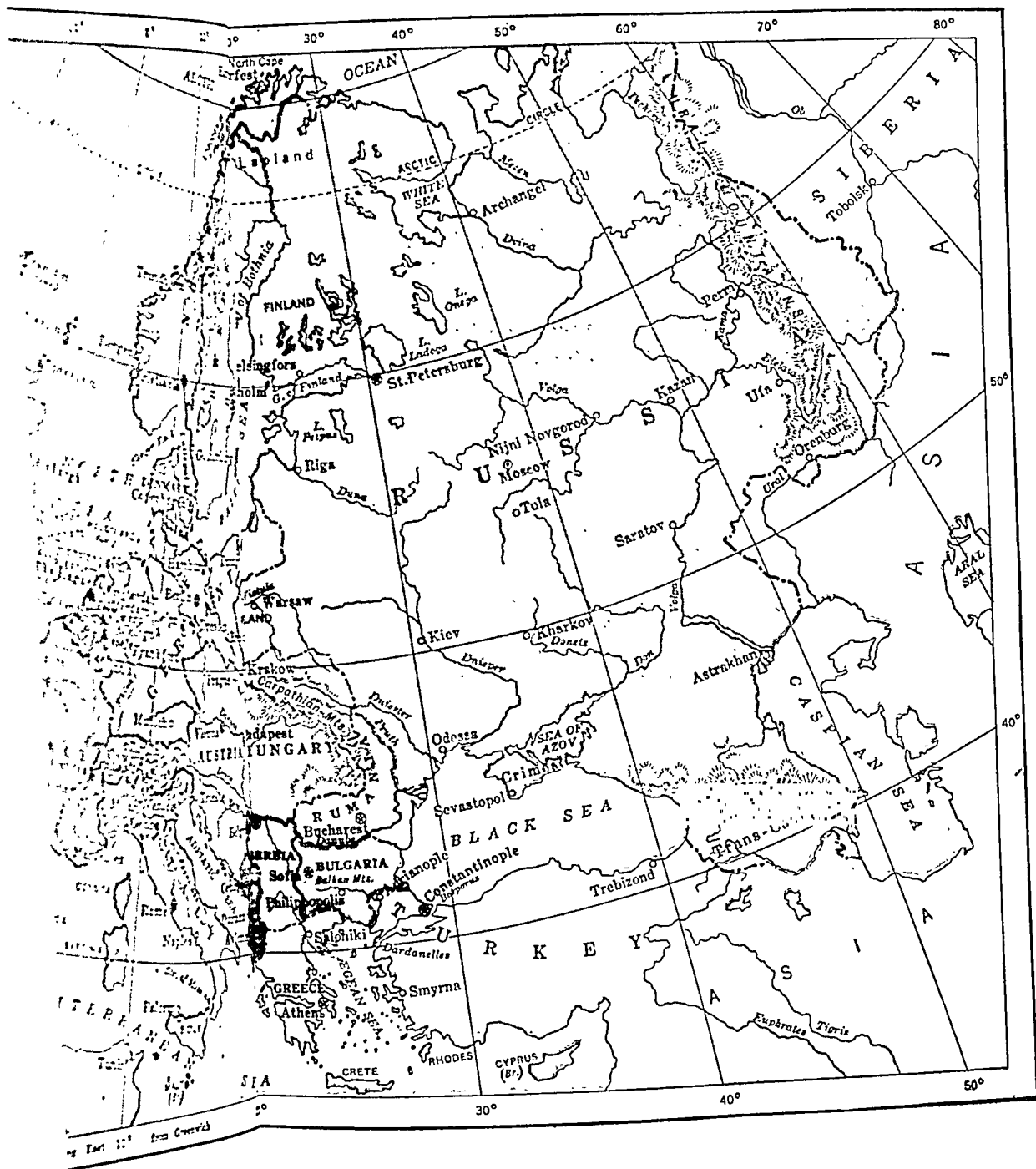
THE PEACE PALACE, AT THE HAGUE

The Hague Peace Conferences. To maintain the staggering burden of an "armed peace" more and more taxes were levied, which produced deep discontent among all classes in Europe. There seemed to be no solution of the crushing burden of armament, as each nation feared to take the first step. In 1898 the world was astounded by a statement of Tsar Nicholas II suggesting that an international convention be called to limit "the progressive development of existing armaments" as "the most effective means of assuring to all peoples the blessings of real and lasting peace." The outcome of the Tsar's efforts was the First

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Peace Conference, representing twenty-six nations, that met at The Hague in 1899. This "parliament of man" was so extraordinary an assembly that hopes ran high. But it soon became evident that the nations were not in accord about reducing armaments, least of all about total disarmament. Another conference, the Second Peace Conference, representing forty-four nations, met in 1907 but with no better results. Some things were, however, accomplished: The Hague Court of Arbitration was organized to which the nations could, if they so wished, go for a judicial settlement of their disputes. Humane rules for the conduct of war were adopted, such as forbidding of poison gas and the bombardment of a city from the air. The Peace Conferences failed of their object because competitive nationalism was unwilling to make way for coöperative internationalism.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

The Triple Alliance. The year 1871 saw the appearance of two great nations, Germany and Italy. They were big and strong, and demanded a place among the chief powers at the European table, around which the nations were sitting each in its rightful place. There was quite a shuffling until places were grudgingly found for the newcomers who were admitted as great powers. Diplomatic leadership on the Continent now passed from France to Germany, and Bismarck became the successor of Metternich as the leading diplomat of Europe. His constant thought was to safeguard the Germany that his genius had created. France was Germany's inveterate enemy, and would seize the first opportunity to satisfy her *revanche*. But France herself was not strong enough to attack Germany, hence she must seek allies. Whom? Russia, England, Austria, or Italy. Bismarck was "haunted by the fear of coalitions," for he well knew Germany's weak position geographically, almost entirely open to invasion. "We have to prevent France's finding an ally if she does not keep the peace. As long as France has no allies she is not dangerous to Germany," was Bismarck's view. His aim was, therefore, to isolate France, and the moves that he made in that direction showed the remarkable abilities of that master diplomat. In 1879 Germany and Austria-Hungary formed an alliance; later, in 1882, Italy joined them, thus forming the famous Triple Alliance which was engineered by Bismarck who managed to combine these former ene-

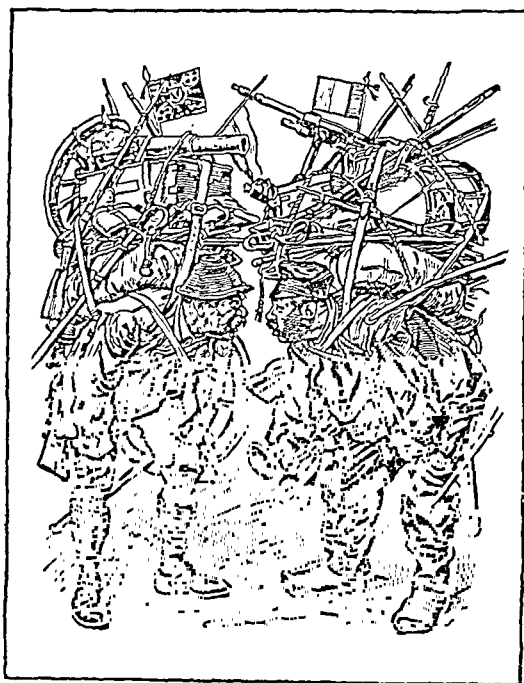
mies into a close and friendly union. Germany's motive in joining was of course obvious. Why did Austria join? After being

driven out of Germany she aimed to maintain her power by pursuing an aggressive policy in the Balkans. But this policy would arouse the hostility of Russia, and therefore Austria needed the powerful support of Germany.¹ Why did Italy join? The answer has to do with Africa, toward which Italy had been looking as a promising field of expansion. When France seized Tunis, Italy was furious and joined Bismarck's combination. She was promised French territory in Africa in case of a victorious war of the Triple Alliance against France.

Bismarck's policy toward Russia and England.

Of the great powers who might be allies of France there now remained Russia and England. Bismarck managed to get an agreement with Russia through what was later known as the Reinsurance Treaty, the existence of which was known to few besides himself. He negotiated this treaty behind Austria's back, and it is suspected that, in some ways, Russia was to benefit at the expense of Austria. As to England, Bismarck well knew that she would not intervene in Continental affairs unless a power arose that threatened her naval and colonial supremacy; and he was strongly opposed to colonial expansion and to the building of a German fleet. He made light of a possible English invasion. "If English soldiers land on our shore," he once said, "I'll have them all arrested."

¹ See page 514.



THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE

Hans and Jacques representing French and German citizens, remark, "And I hear there's more to come!" A cartoon from *Punch*, February 13, 1913.

Toward France. When France entered on a policy of expansion she received the encouragement of Bismarck. He reasoned that, in doing so, she would forget the "hole in the Vosges Mountains," Alsace-Lorraine; and that she would come into conflict with Italy and with England. Such proved to be the case. France clashed with Italy on account of Tunis, and with England on account of Egypt. France's attention was therefore distracted from Germany. Bismarck's diplomacy was amazingly successful, and, as long as he was at the helm, France was completely isolated.

THE DUAL ALLIANCE

Friendly relations between France and Russia. France's isolation, however, lasted only a short time. Her rapid recovery after the Franco-Prussian War enabled her to assume again a prominent position in European affairs. As Germany grew in population and in power France realized that she could not succeed in a war against her neighbor without the help of an ally. Russia, with her teeming millions on Germany's eastern border, was the one nation that could be of great assistance to France. After 1870 Russia was not very happy in having a great military power like Germany as her neighbor. In 1875 relations between France and Germany became strained, and a "war scare" created an intense situation in Europe. But Russia intervened in favor of France and the crisis passed.

At the Congress of Berlin Bismarck sided with Austria against Russia, a fact which incensed the latter against Germany. Tsar Alexander III declared that Russia "will watch events on the Rhine," and he plainly intimated that he would not permit a further weakening of France.

The Dual Alliance. France and Russia were drawing closer. What drew France was plain. But what drew Russia? It was French money. Russia was planning a great many improvements, the Trans-Siberian Railway, munitions, factories, a new navy, but she had not the capital with which to carry out these plans. The French bankers were encouraged by the French government to loan huge sums to Russia, but it was to be at the price of an alliance. In 1891 a French fleet visited Cronstadt where it was received by the Tsar with ceremonies that plainly indicated that it was a celebration of an alliance between the

revolutionary Republic and the autocratic Empire. This alliance was officially confirmed in 1894. There could be no doubt that it was against Germany that the Dual Alliance had been formed. Bismarck retired in 1890; shortly afterwards the Reinsurance Treaty expired, and was not renewed. There was great rejoicing in France at the formation of the Dual Alliance. At last she emerged from her isolation; no longer need she cower at German threats and yield to German demands.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

"Splendid isolation" of England. The Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance were about evenly matched. There was one great power not yet in either, and that was England. Whichever side she joined was sure to turn the balance, for that side would have the enormous advantage of the British navy and of the immense resources of the British Empire. From the Crimean War to the beginning of the twentieth century England followed a policy of "splendid isolation"; she saw no need of entering into any alliance because her powerful navy made her island shores safe from invasion.

Anglo-German rivalry. The appearance of the German Empire was warmly welcomed by England, who saw in the new nation the conqueror of her historic enemy, France. During Bismarck's régime the relations between the two countries were very cordial because, at that time, Germany's ambitions centered entirely on the Continent. During the reign of the Kaiser, as already related, Germany's policies underwent a marked change; she now wanted to be a world power with colonies, concessions, a navy, and a merchant marine. England was disturbed lest Germany become a formidable rival. What alarmed her most of all was the sudden appearance of a powerful German navy that was second only to her own. Was Germany challenging England's mastery of the seas? The industrial rivalry of the two nations still more embittered their relations. German competition was driving English manufactures from the markets of the world, and great fears were expressed that England would cease to be the "workshop of the world." The first signs of unfriendliness between the two nations appeared during the Boer War. Germany sympathized with the Boers, and England was severely criticized for making war upon the South African republics. It

was believed in England that German sympathy for the Boers was really German antipathy for England.

The Entente cordiale. Fear of Germany drove England out of her "splendid isolation." A change took place in international relations which was truly a diplomatic revolution; England entered into combination with her historic enemies, France and Russia. The friendship with France, curiously enough, was the outcome of a clash that brought the two nations to the very brink of war. This was the famous Fashoda Affair of 1898. A French expedition, under Major Marchand, had marched across Africa and had raised the French flag at Fashoda in the Sudan, a region claimed by England. This was a challenge to the latter, and it was immediately accepted. A diplomatic crisis developed which produced intense feeling in both countries. The crisis passed because the French yielded and hauled down their flag. During the Affair there came to the fore a very able French diplomat, Theophile Delcassé, who controlled the foreign policy of France continuously till 1905, despite many changes of ministry. Delcassé's chief aims were to isolate Germany, whom he bitterly hated, and to cultivate good relations with England. He yielded in the Fashoda matter, but his diplomacy achieved a great triumph in the treaty of 1904, according to which France was to have a free hand in Morocco, and England a free hand in Egypt; and each was to support the other in North African policies. This treaty was the beginning of the *Entente cordiale*, or the friendly understanding of France and England to act together in foreign affairs. Naval agreements were made, whereby the French navy relieved the English navy of patrolling the route to India through the Mediterranean. England could now concentrate all her fleets in the North Sea; in case of war with Germany the latter's exit to the Atlantic could be completely and effectively blocked.

The Anglo-Russian Treaty. The next step was to bring England into good relations with France's ally, Russia. This was done largely through the efforts of Sir Edward Grey who negotiated the treaty of 1907, according to which Russia and England agreed to settle their quarrels in Asia over Afghanistan and Persia.¹ Facing the Triple Alliance was now the Triple Entente composed of England, France, and Russia. There was fury in Germany at what was denounced as the policy of "encirclement";

¹ See page 556.

Germany felt herself almost surrounded by enemies. It now looked as if Germany, not France, was isolated.

The coalitions and war. The great powers of Europe were now grouped into two coalitions that were facing each other. Should a crisis arise in any part of the world that involved any power in either coalition, it might result in involving all of them. Under these circumstances war would not be between two powers, as the Franco-Prussian War, but between two coalitions. And there was the still greater dread of the whole world being dragged into a conflict by the influence of the great powers.

THE CRISES

European diplomacy, however, took no note of the movement for internationalism. It still believed in secret alliances, in the balance of power, in an "armed peace," and in national aggrandizement. It brought to naught every effort that was made to avert the terrible calamity that was to plunge mankind into the raging torrent of universal war.

The Algeçiras Conference. In the decade before 1914 there were many crises, big and small. Now they would arise in Africa, now in the Balkans, now in Asia. In the rush for colonies the powers had appropriated everything that they could lay their hands on, except one place and that a very desirable one, Morocco. France and Germany were eager to get it, and they both intrigued with the native rulers in order to bring about a state of affairs that would require intervention. France had the advantage, being a neighbor in Algiers, and she was constantly sending punitive expeditions against the disorderly tribes in Morocco. Germany determined to thwart France's obvious ambition to annex the country. In 1905, when Russia was engaged in the war with Japan and so could not give any help to her ally, the Kaiser landed in Tangier, and openly recognized the Sultan of Morocco as an independent ruler. The international situation was threatening, but fortunately the nations agreed to submit the question to an international conference. This body met, in 1906, in Algeçiras, a town near Gibraltar. It recognized the integrity of Morocco and established the principle of the "open door," but France was given special privileges in the financial control of the country. The Algeçiras Conference clearly showed the new diplomatic trend, for only Austria supported Germany, playing the part of a

"brilliant second," as the Kaiser put it. To the surprise of Germany, England and Italy supported France.

Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The next crisis arose in the Balkans. In 1908 Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus violating the Treaty of Berlin which gave her only administrative control of these provinces. Serbia protested against Austria's action on the ground that the region was inhabited by people of her nationality. The situation became very tense because Serbia appealed to Russia. The latter had tried to make a bargain with Austria in which she had agreed to the annexation of the provinces, but the bargain fell through. Then Russia came to the support of Serbia. A critical situation arose when to the side of Austria came Germany, "like a knight in shining armor." The crisis passed because the Slavs retreated before the Teutons. But the relations between them became so embittered that the crisis of 1908 was to lead directly to the terrible crisis of 1914.

The Agadir affair. The scene next shifted back to Morocco. In spite of the Treaty of Algeçiras France continued her "peaceful penetration" of Morocco. In 1911 a French army entered Fez. A German warship was despatched to Agadir as a warning to France, and war preparations were begun in Europe. England came out in full support of France, proving clearly enough that the *Entente cordiale* was as real as an open alliance. Italy, too, showed marked pro-French sympathies in spite of her membership in the Triple Alliance. Germany backed down, but in a mood that boded ill for the future peace of the world. A year later France declared a protectorate over Morocco. Italy, in return for her support of England and France, was permitted to annex Tripoli.

The Balkan crisis. Again the scene shifted to the Balkans. During the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 Serbian armies seized ports on the Adriatic and thus roused the opposition of Austria, who was determined to block Serbia's access to the sea. Austria demanded the withdrawal of Serbia from the ports, and a crisis soon developed. But the intervention of England and Germany resulted in a peaceful settlement, and Serbia withdrew from the coast which was made part of the newly created state of Albania.

Preparations for war. After the Balkan Wars the system of "armed peace" became more threatening than ever. Germany

increased her army; France increased military service from two to three years; England concentrated her fleets in the North Sea; Russia hastened to extend her strategic railways; and Austria reorganized her army. The two great coalitions, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, were awaiting the next crisis. It was not long in coming.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Why did Bismarck form the Triple Alliance? Why did Austria join? Why Italy? How did Bismarck maintain friendly relations with Russia? How did Bismarck maintain friendly relations with England?
2. Why did France seek an alliance with Russia? Why Russia with France?
3. What is meant by England's "splendid isolation"? Why did she change her policy?
4. Why did England seek friendship with France? With Russia?
5. What alliances together formed the Triple Entente?
6. Explain the importance of the Algeiras Conference.
7. How was war averted during the Agadir crisis?
8. Explain the revival of interest in the Balkan question at the beginning of the twentieth century.
9. Why did Russia support Serbia?
10. What was the effect of the Balkan Wars on the international situation?
11. To what extent had nationalism progressed before 1914?
12. What is the difference between nationalism and internationalism? Between nationalism and imperialism?
13. What was the weakness of the peace movement before 1914? Its strength after 1918?

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE. Robertson, *Bismarck*, pp. 411-27; Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, ch. II; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 469-72; Dickinson, ch. III; Fay, I, ch. II.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE. Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, chs. XIV-XV, XXV; Seymour, ch. VII; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 473-85; Dickinson, ch. IV; Fay, I, ch. III.

THE MOROCCAN CRISIS. Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XVII; *The New Map of Europe*, ch. IV; *The New Map of Africa*, chs. XVIII-XIX; Seymour, pp. 166-76, 184-91; Dickinson, chs. V, VII; Fay, I, pp. 168-92, 277-93; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 492-93, 496.

THE BALKAN CRISIS. Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, ch. XXIII; *The New Map of Europe*, ch. XVIII; Seymour, pp. 176-84; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 494-95, 497-98; Dickinson, chs. VI, XII; Fay, I, ch. V.

SYSTEM OF DIPLOMACY. Dickinson, ch. I; Fay, I, ch. I.

CHAPTER LV

THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES

Roots of the World War. The fundamental causes of the World War are to be found in the history of the world since the French Revolution. In a sense the greatest of all conflicts was the culmination of over a century of struggle between nation and nation, between class and class, between race and race, and between those who differed in their political and social ideals. In order to see more clearly the relations between these struggles and the World War, it is necessary to summarize its fundamental causes. These may be grouped as follows:

(1) *Aggressive nationalism.* The intense national feeling that swept over Europe, especially after 1870, bred a spirit of intolerance, and even of hatred, of one nation for another. It was most intense among the "submerged nations" in the four empires on the Continent, to whom nationalism meant freedom and independence from their oppressors. As the ambitions of the European nations grew, their rivalries became more and more bitter; and the appeal to war was sure to find a ready response.

(2) *Colonial imperialism.* The opening up of Asia and Africa led to a race for colonies among the powers, who sought to create empires in these backward lands. This resulted in rivalries which aroused bitter animosities, especially so, as each power aimed to monopolize the raw materials found in its colonies, and to exclude foreigners from sharing in their economic development.

(3) *Militarism.* With the establishment of conscription in almost every country, the war spirit was nurtured and sustained. Germany set the pace and gave the tone to militarism and entered into bitter naval competition with Britain. The two groups of European powers eyed each other suspiciously and all attempts to check the race in armaments failed. Lord Grey, then Foreign Minister, wrote later, "Militarism and the armaments inseparable from it made war inevitable."

(4) *Autocracy.* The existence of autocratic governments in

Germany and in Russia was a standing menace to the democracies of the world. Europe could not remain half-democratic, half-autocratic; sooner or later, these two systems would be engaged in deadly combat with each other.

(5) *Disputed territory.* There were certain regions in Europe, notably Alsace-Lorraine and *Italia irredenta*, about which bitter disputes raged as to what nation they rightfully belonged. France could not forget her lost provinces, and nourished her *revanche*. Italy ardently hoped to complete her unification by seizing Trieste and the Trentino. Although plebiscites were familiar the idea of "self-determination" was not yet fully accepted, hence the inhabitants in these disputed regions were not permitted to determine their nationality.

(6) *Fear.* The Austrian diplomat who declared in 1914, "Better a fearful end than endless fears," well summarized one factor of great importance. France feared the rising population of Germany. Germany feared the war on two fronts; Austria feared the break-up of her empire by nationalist intrigues, and Britain feared the strangulation of her commerce and food supplies by the powerful German navy. Russia feared that her failure to help Serbia's cause in 1908 would cause the loss of her leadership in the Balkans. Fear bred suspicion and suspicion begot hate which poisoned the European atmosphere. No statesman seemed strong enough to solve these grave problems and so Europe drifted along to the terrible calamity of the World War.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. On June 28, 1914, in the Bosnian town of Sarajevo, a tragedy occurred of world-wide significance. Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg crown, and his wife were assassinated by Bosnian patriots as a protest against Austria's aggressive attitude toward their race, the Yugo-Slavs.

Austria assured of German support. This event caused great indignation in Austria and in Germany where the assassination was regarded as a challenge to the Teutons by the Slavs. Austria asserted that the plot against the Archduke was aided and abetted by Serbia as part of her plan to destroy the Hapsburg monarchy. Count von Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister, was deter-

mined to bring about a situation which would force Serbia into a war with Austria. Realizing, however, that Russia might intervene on the side of Serbia, he succeeded in making certain of German support. On July 5 the Kaiser and his Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, assured him that Austria could rely with certainty on Germany's standing behind her as an ally and friend in her dealings with Serbia.

Ultimatum to Serbia. Berchtold then sent an ultimatum to Serbia (July 23) the tone of which was so harsh and the conditions so hard as to make its acceptance impossible. It charged that Serbian officials had planned the Sarajevo crime and had provided the assassins with weapons for that purpose; it then made several peremptory demands, the most important being: (1) that Serbia suppress within her borders all publications and societies hostile to Austria; (2) that she dismiss those teachers in her public schools who were known to be anti-Austrian, and (3) that she accept the "collaboration" of Austrian officials in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda and in the investigation of those implicated in the Sarajevo crime. A reply was demanded within forty-eight hours.

Serbia's reply rejected by Austria. Serbia yielded to most of the demands of the ultimatum. But she refused to accept the "collaboration" of Austrian officials which, she declared, were a violation of her sovereignty. If Austria found her reply unsatisfactory, Serbia declared, she was willing to arbitrate the matter before The Hague Tribunal or before a conference of the powers. Germany found the reply satisfactory, and advised Austria to punish Serbia merely by a temporary occupation of Belgrade. Austria, however, accepted neither Serbia's reply nor her ally's advice, and mobilized her armies on the Serbian frontier. War was imminent, and both Austria and Germany assumed that it would be "localized"; namely, that it would be waged between Austria and Serbia only. Should Russia attempt to intervene, a rattle of the German sword would be sufficient to cause her to back down as in previous crises.

Serbia supported by Russia. But they were badly mistaken; Russia did decide to intervene. An intense feeling arose in the Tsar's dominions in favor of coming to the aid of the "little Slav brother" whose existence was menaced by the two powerful Teutonic powers. When Sazonov, the Russian minister of

foreign affairs, was assured by President Poincaré that France would fulfill her treaty obligations under the Dual Alliance, he determined to face the situation boldly. Russia notified Austria that she would mobilize against her the moment Austrian troops invaded Serbia.

England proposes arbitration. The entrance of Russia into the Austro-Serb quarrel produced a world crisis. It was plain now that the conflict could not be localized, and the powers were greatly alarmed lest it should involve all of them. On July 26 Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, proposed a conference of Germany, France, Italy, and England to arbitrate the quarrel between Serbia and Austria. This proposal was rejected by Germany, and it therefore came to naught.

Austria declares war against Serbia, Russia mobilizes. On July 28 Austria declared war against Serbia, and moved her armies across her frontier. On July 30 the Tsar ordered general mobilization, a step not yet taken by Austria or Germany. The Russian mobilization caused almost a panic in Germany, and the Kaiser appealed in vain to the Tsar to cease mobilization. The situation was intensely critical. Attempts were again made by Sir Edward Grey and others to tide over the crisis, but they all failed. Russia's general mobilization convinced Germany that she was bent upon war, just as Germany's support of Austria and her refusal of Sir Edward's first proposal had convinced the powers that Germany was bent on war.

Germany declares war against Russia and France. On July 31 Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding that she demobilize. Russia refused. On August 1 Germany declared war against Russia. As soon as these great powers were in the field a world conflict was imminent, for the allies of Russia and of Germany would inevitably be drawn into it. Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia's ally, France, demanding to know her attitude toward the war. France replied that she would consult her interests. On August 3 Germany declared war against France.

Germany violates neutrality of Belgium. German armies were rapidly massed on her frontiers, including those of Belgium and Luxemburg, the states whose territory had been neutralized.¹ It seemed plain that Germany intended to violate the neutraliza-

¹ See page 359.



tion agreement to which she was a party. England sent a note to Germany asking whether she intended to respect the neutrality of Belgium. Germany answered that she was "not in a position to reply." Soon after, Germany sent an ultimatum to Belgium demanding that she permit German armies to pass through her territory. Belgium realized clearly that to refuse meant to challenge the greatest military power in the world. Nevertheless, her reply was a point-blank refusal. Belgium declared that she was unwilling to sacrifice her honor and her duty toward Europe which bound her to repel an invasion, and that she would resist any power that violated her neutrality. On August 4 German armies crossed into Belgium. German armies had already entered Luxemburg, which submitted after a protest.

England declares war against Germany. The entire world was profoundly shocked at this violent repudiation of a solemn international

treaty. England especially was deeply concerned over Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality. As in the days of Napoleon she feared a powerful hostile nation in control of Belgium. Germany's action was a challenge to England, and the latter immediately answered it. On the very day, August 4, that German troops entered Belgium, England declared war against Germany. Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg bitterly denounced England's entry into the war on account of a "scrap of paper" as he called the treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality.

Italy declares her neutrality. Italy, though the ally of Germany and Austria, declared her neutrality on the ground that her



PLUCKY LITTLE BELGIUM

A cartoon from *Punch*, August, 1914.

allies were engaged in aggressive war, and that her membership in the Triple Alliance obliged her to support them only in a defensive war.

Japan and Montenegro join the Allies; Turkey joins the Central Powers. Japan, as the ally of England, sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding that she evacuate Kiau-chau. Germany refused, and Japan declared war against her. In the Balkans the situation was very much confused. At first only two nations entered the arena. Montenegro sided with Serbia, and declared war against Austria. Turkey, fearing Russia's designs upon Constantinople, entered the war on the side of the Central Powers, as Germany and Austria were now called. Before long almost every nation was to enter the World War which, for the first time in history, included every continent.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Explain how colonial imperialism was a fundamental cause of the World War.
2. What is meant by "German militarism" and by "British navalism"?
3. Why did Germany consider it vital to her interest to support Austria in the crisis of 1914?
4. Give the chief points of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia.
5. Why was it impossible to "localize" the conflict between Austria and Serbia?
6. What was the attitude of France during the crisis of 1914?
7. In what way was Austria responsible for the outbreak of the war? Germany? Russia?
8. What were Russia's motives for supporting Serbia?

After the World War a great controversy raged as to the responsibility of Germany for causing the conflict. The best known books on the subject are: S. B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, 2 vols. (ed. 1930), best on subject, moderate, fair, holds view that Germany did not plan to bring on the war, therefore her guilt is shared by the other nations; P. Renouvin, *The Immediate Origins of the War*, trans. from the French (1928), moderate Allied point of view, holds Germany's guilt greater than that of the Allies; H. E. Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War* (1926), holds Russia and France primarily responsible for war; G. L. Dickinson, *The International Anarchy, 1904-1914* (1926), very critical of both sides, view that evil system of diplomacy was responsible; B. E. Schmitt, *The Coming of the War, 1914*, 2 vols. (1930), an exhaustive study of the crisis of 1914, inclines to view that Germany's actions during the crisis precipitated the World War.

CHAPTER LVI

THE WORLD WAR (AUGUST, 1914 — NOVEMBER, 1918)

COMPARISON OF FORCES

Strength of the Central Powers. The most important army on the side of the Central Powers was the German, a superbly organized force of 900,000 men with a reserve of about 4,500,000. Next came Austria-Hungary with 500,000 and a reserve of 2,300,000. Turkey could call to the colors about 1,000,000 men, but many were poorly disciplined and badly armed. The German navy, which was second only to the British, was the only important naval force on the side of the Central Powers.

Of the Allies. On the side of the Allies the best army was the French, numbering 800,000 with a reserve of 2,000,000. Russia had a standing army of about 1,500,000, and she could draw many more from her vast population. When the war broke out the British army was 250,000, but it grew rapidly, first through volunteering, later, in 1916, through conscription, to a force of 4,000,000. The British navy was easily the first of all the belligerents, and was as effective on sea as the German army was on land. The French navy was used largely as an auxiliary to the British to patrol the Mediterranean.

Resources of the combatants. The Allies had the advantage of having a larger population and larger resources in money and materials than the Central Powers. From the beginning to the end of the war Germany was cut off from the rest of the world by the blockade, which was as effective in bringing about her defeat as were the Allied victories.

Advantages and weaknesses of the combatants. The great advantage of the Central Powers was that of position. Theirs was an almost compact territory stretching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, whereas the territory of the Allies lay scattered throughout the world. Another advantage of the Central Powers was unity of command. From the very outset the German

General Staff planned all the operations of the Central Powers. On the side of the Allies there was divided military council almost to the end of the war. Each national army had its own independent commander: operations could be undertaken only by agreement.

The weak element on the side of the Central Powers was Austria whose armies were made up largely of the subject races in the Empire, who fought without enthusiasm and were ever ready to desert. The weak element on the side of the Allies was Russia. Her huge armies were ill disciplined, poorly equipped, and officered by men who were often incompetent and corrupt.

Each side convinced of the justice of its cause. Each side was profoundly convinced that its cause was just. The Allies believed that the triumph of Germany would spell the ruin of political liberty, won after centuries of effort and struggle. German autocracy was the unrelenting foe of popular ideals and movements: it had crushed democracy at home, and if triumphant would crush it abroad. On the other hand, the Germans believed that they were defending themselves against "revengeful France, envious England, and barbarous Russia" who had combined to destroy the Fatherland.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE FIRST YEAR

(August, 1914 — July, 1915)

Battle of the Marne. Germany's plan of campaign was to "hack her way" through Belgium, crush France by a swift march on Paris, and then turn on Russia with all her forces. To carry out this plan General von Kluck led a great army into Belgium, where the first encounter took place, at Liège, between the Germans and the Belgians. Liège was obliged to surrender, and the Belgian army, led by King Albert, retreated through the country fighting desperately. The Germans then began the invasion of France. French armies, aided by an expeditionary force of British, attempted to stop them, but were driven back. The Germans advanced so rapidly that at one time they were only fifteen miles from Paris. At this critical moment General Joseph Joffre, the French commander, launched a new army. Thus

reinforced, the French turned on the Germans, and a number of deadly combats took place along the Marne River. The Germans suffered a defeat and retreated as rapidly as they had come till they reached the Aisne River. The Battle of the Marne (September 6-10) is one of the decisive battles of the world. It foiled the German plan of campaign, thereby making a German victory at first doubtful, and later impossible.

Conquest of Belgium. Once the Allies were halted, the Germans turned their attention to completing the conquest of Belgium. By the middle of October the entire country was overrun except a small corner near the coast. The Germans were furious with the Belgians whose resistance had delayed their onslaught, thereby giving the French time to prepare; and they determined to punish them severely. Some of the towns were bombarded; famous buildings were destroyed, among them the library of the University of Louvain; prominent citizens were imprisoned or exiled; large sums of money were exacted, and machinery was removed from factories and sent into Germany. A once prosperous people was reduced almost to starvation, and had it not been for the generous help sent from America many would have died of want. World opinion was as severe in condemning Germany for her treatment of Belgium as it had been for violating her neutrality.





A BELGIAN WAR POSTER

The principal figure is the dauntless Cardinal Mercier, who immortalized himself through his resistance to the Germans early in the war.

Battle of Tannenberg. Fighting took place on the Eastern as

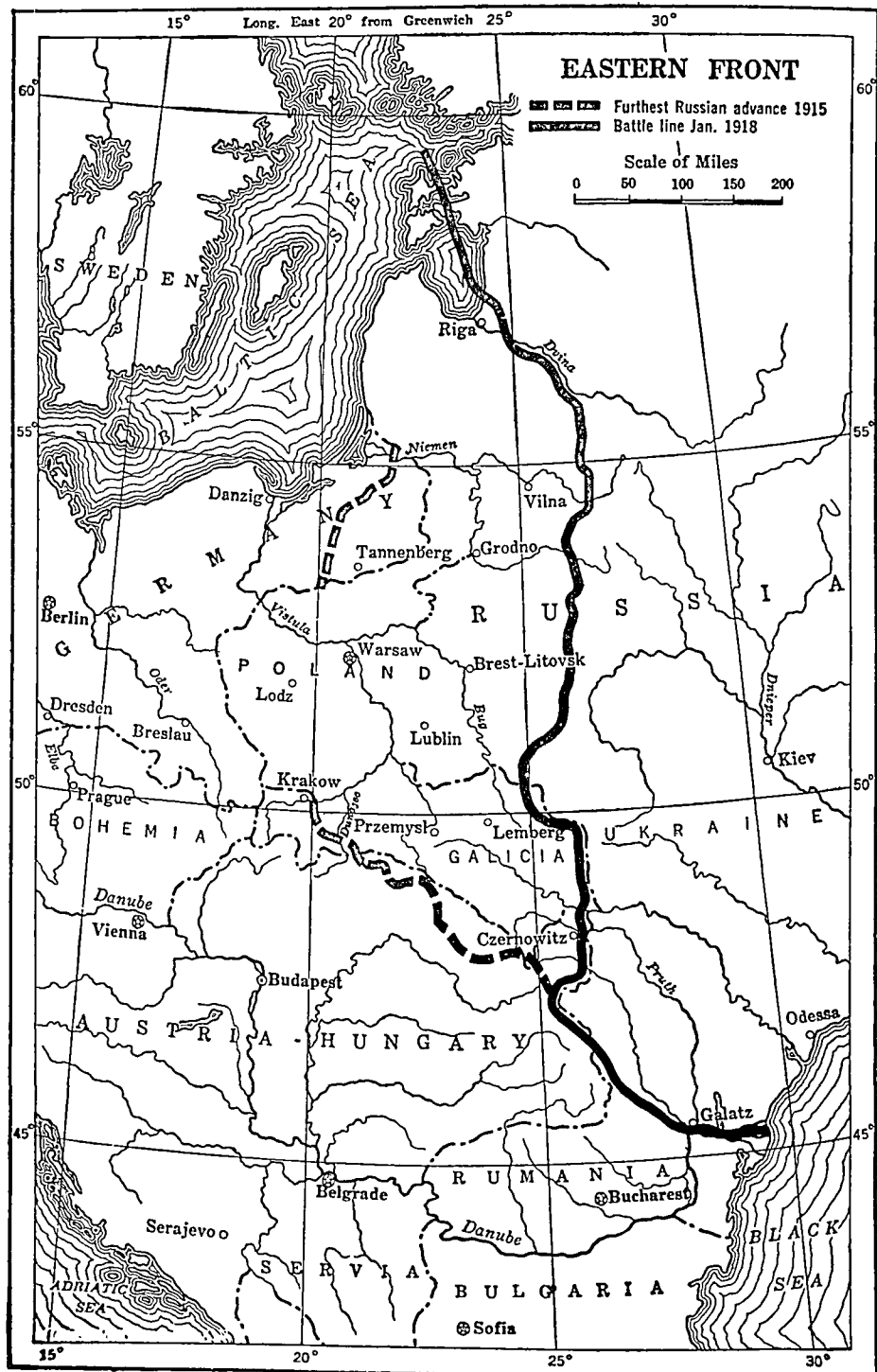
15° Long. East 20° from Greenwich 25° 30°

EASTERN FRONT

 Furthest Russian advance 1915
 Battle line Jan. 1918

Scale of Miles

0 50 100 150 200

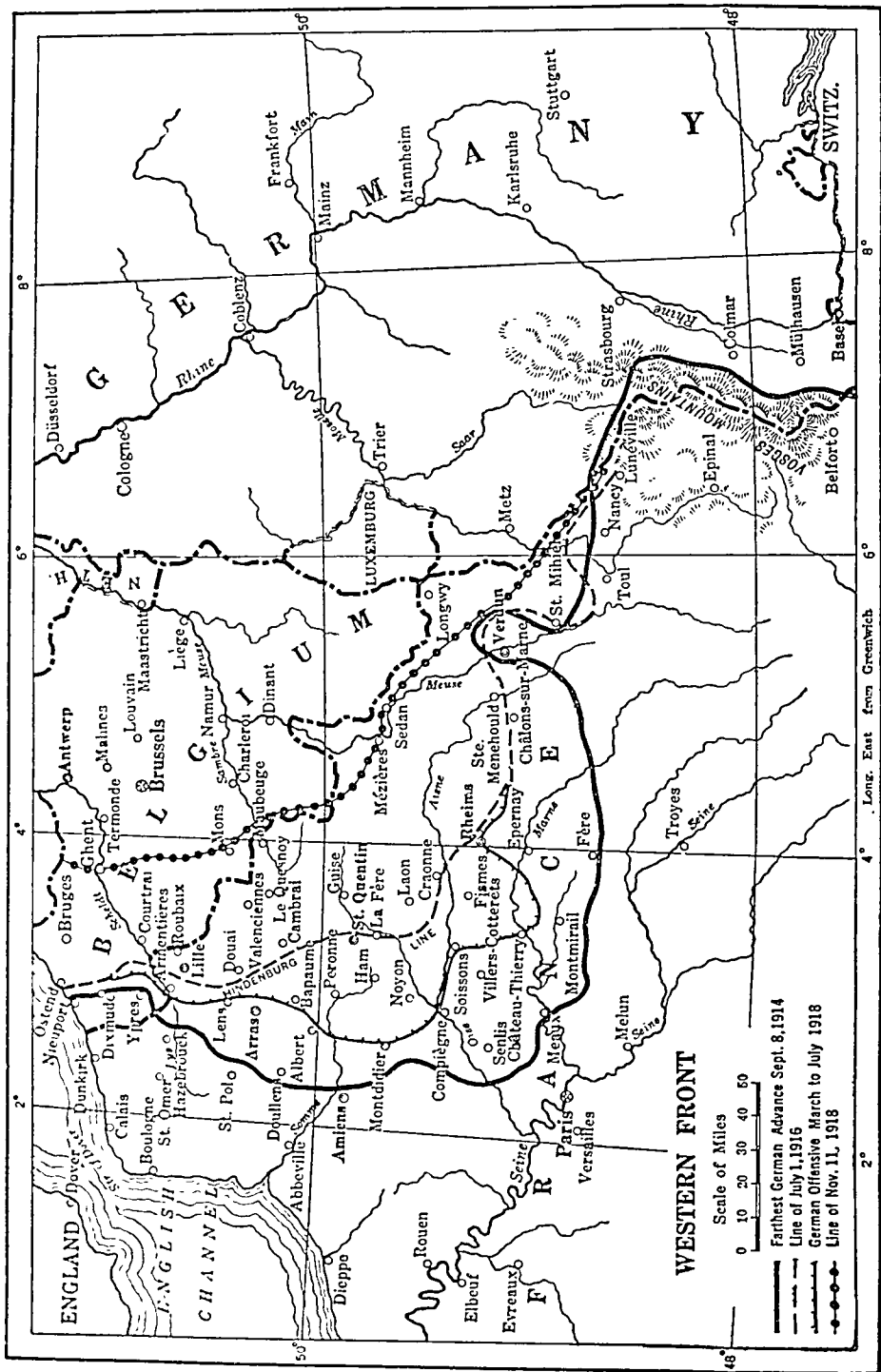


well as on the Western Front. At the outbreak of the war, Russian armies overran East Prussia and Galicia. To stop their progress many German troops were transferred to the Eastern Front which, like the resistance of Belgium, contributed to the Allied victory on the Marne. A German army under General Paul von Hindenburg was sent to engage the Russians. On August 29 was fought the Battle of Tannenberg in which Hindenburg almost annihilated the Russian armies and drove them headlong out of Germany. Hindenburg's great victory made him the hero of Germany as the victory on the Marne had made Joffre the hero of France. The Russians fared better against the Austrians whom they drove out of Galicia.

Invasion of Russia. The defeat on the Marne and the victory at Tannenberg caused the Germans to change their plan of campaign. Now they decided to crush Russia first and then turn on France with all their forces. Hindenburg invaded Russia, and again inflicted terrible defeats upon the Russians, who retreated rapidly. German and Austrian armies under General von Mackensen were sent against the Russian armies in Galicia. Mackensen was as successful as Hindenburg, and by June, 1915, the Russians were compelled to give up all the territory they had conquered. Finally the Russians reformed their lines leaving the Central Powers masters of much of their territory. The defeats suffered by Russia virtually put her out of the war. Whole armies had been destroyed, and immense stores of war material had been captured by the Germans. The latter had balanced their defeat on the Marne.

The Dardanelles Campaign. The Allies now determined to assume the offensive. In February, 1915 preparations were made to capture Constantinople, the control of which would have permitted the Allies to send much needed help to Russia which had been "bottled up" by Turkey through her control of the Straits. A large fleet of British and French battleships attempted to force the Dardanelles, but were driven back with heavy loss by the Turkish batteries erected on both sides of the Strait. A land attack was then attempted, chiefly by British and British colonials. They seized the peninsula of Gallipoli, but could make no advance in spite of many gallant efforts. By the end of 1915 the expedition was abandoned.

Italy joins the Allies. To offset the disappointment of the



Allies over these defeats came the joyful news, in May, 1915, of Italy's decision to enter the war on their side. Large Italian armies invaded Austria with the object of conquering the Trentino and Trieste.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE SECOND YEAR

(August, 1915 — July, 1916)

The military situation in 1915. At the opening of the second year of the war the position of the Central Powers was far more favorable than that of the Allies. In the west they held Belgium and northeastern France, regions rich in coal and iron; in the east they held a large section of Russia. But the Allies were in no mood to make peace with a successful Germany. Once more the latter determined to seek victory on the Western Front by a desperate attempt to crush France.

Battle of Verdun. The Western Front was six hundred miles long, stretching from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, and held chiefly by French and British armies. The most vital part of the line was at Verdun, a magnificently fortified city of great strategic importance. To break the Allied defense at its strongest point, the Germans launched an attack that resulted in the greatest battle of all history, considering the numbers engaged and the losses suffered. The Battle of Verdun began in February, 1916.

POUR LA FRANCE
VERSEZ VOTRE OR



L'Or Combat Pour La Victoire

'A FRENCH WAR POSTER

The legends read: "Pour out your gold for France":
"Gold fights for Victory."

Enormous armies of Germans were hurled in attack, and enormous armies of French were massed to its defense. For six months the battle raged with great losses on both sides. It is estimated that about half a million men laid down their lives. Every inch of ground was savagely contested, taken and retaken many times; the whole region was literally soaked with human blood. *Ils ne passeront pas!* (They shall not pass!) was the cry that rang through France. Verdun's heroic defenders, Generals Pétain and Nivelle, finally compelled the Germans to retire and leave the city to the victorious French. At the end of the second year of the World War the Germans again saw themselves baffled.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE THIRD YEAR

(August, 1916 — July, 1917)

Battle of the Somme. While the French were resisting the Germans at Verdun, the British, under General Douglas Haig, launched a drive along the Somme River. The Battle of the Somme was a series of attacks and counter-attacks with no decisive result. Later, in March, 1917, the Germans unexpectedly made a retreat along a hundred-mile front, evacuating much territory. In retreating they ruthlessly devastated the country. Towns were destroyed, fields ruined, private property confiscated, and many public buildings demolished.



DOUGLAS HAIG

Rumania and Greece join the Allies. The Central Powers solidified their control still more by victories in the Balkans. Bulgaria, the bitter enemy of Serbia, had

entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in October, 1915. Serbia was then attacked by Austrians, Germans, and Bulgarians, and quickly conquered. Rumania, who joined the

Allies in August, 1916, was invaded and, by the end of that year, was also conquered by the Central Powers. The only Balkan state that was still neutral was Greece whose king, Constantine, plainly showed sympathy with the Germans. In June, 1917, the Allies deposed Constantine, and gave Venizelos control of affairs. The latter was strongly pro-Ally, and through his influence Greece entered the war on the side of the Allies.

Japan captures Kiau-chau; China joins the Allies. The war cast its shadow not only over Europe but also over Asia and Africa. In November, 1914, Germany's stronghold in the Far East, Kiau-chau, had been captured by the Japanese. Germany also surrendered to Japan all the privileges in the province of Shantung that she had obtained from China. The latter demanded of Japan that she restore these conquests to her on the ground that they were originally taken from China by Germany. Japan refused, and the relations between the two Asiatic nations became very strained. In 1915 Japan presented to China the famous Twenty-One Demands, the most important of which bound the latter to recognize Japan's claims to former German rights in China, and to employ Japanese civil and military advisors. China was forced to accept most of these Demands. To make sure of her gains from Germany, Japan entered into a secret agreement with the Allies in which the latter recognized her conquests. China, now under Japan's influence, entered the war in August, 1917, on the side of the Allies.

British capture Bagdad. Western Asia was also a theater of war. British armies invaded Mesopotamia and attacked the Turks. After many desperate encounters, the British, in March, 1917, entered Bagdad in triumph.

Conquest of Germany's colonies. British, French, Portuguese, and Belgian forces invaded the German colonies in Africa. The Boer, General Jan Smuts, who had fought against the British in the Boer War, was now an ardent champion of the British Empire. At the head of an expedition of South Africans he aided in conquering German East Africa. By the end of the war all the German colonies were in Allied hands.

NEW METHODS OF WARFARE

Trench warfare. Trench warfare became the leading feature of the contest. The soldiers lay hidden in deep trenches, pro-

tected by barbed-wire entanglements. An attack was preceded by artillery fire or by a "smoke screen," behind which the attacking troops advanced. Often the combatants used small bombs, called hand grenades, and bayonets instead of rifles because the

opposing trenches were so near as to be within speaking distance of each other.

New artillery. Artillery was rapidly developed, and it became the most important arm of the service. The Germans used a gigantic siege gun which hurled a shell weighing a ton for a distance of fifteen miles. At one time shells fell in Paris, shot by a gun said to be seventy miles away. Machine guns were widely used because of their deadly power to "spray" an enemy with bullets at the rate of five hundred a minute. The tank was another novel fighting machine. It was a moving steel fort mounted on a caterpillar tread and carrying guns operated by men hidden



*Through Darkness
to Light*

**THE ONLY ROAD
FOR AN ENGLISHMAN**

*Through Fighting
to Triumph*

AN ENGLISH WAR CARTOON

inside. It lumbered through roads, ditches, fences, hills, valleys, spitting fire and causing deadly havoc.

Poison gas. By far the most novel method of fighting was by means of poison gas. It was wafted toward the enemy when the wind was favorable or exploded from gas-filled shells. Soldiers who were "gassed" were killed or rendered insensible for a time. Special masks were devised which prevented the gas from being inhaled.

The airplane. From the beginning of the war the airplane was of great military importance. It did double service, by hovering over the enemy's lines and spying on his positions, and by dropping bombs. In addition to airplanes the Germans used Zeppelins, enormous, dirigible balloons, named after their inventor. An air raid on a town caused great terror; nothing could be more fearful than to have bombs dropping from the skies.

The submarine. Nothing less than a revolution in naval warfare was effected by the submarine. It was a boat that submerged, and directed its movements by means of a periscope that projected above the water. The submarine would discharge a torpedo at an enemy vessel; if struck, an explosion took place blowing a hole in the side of the vessel which would almost immediately sink.

Strategic railways. In modern wars strategic marches have given way to strategic railways. The latter were built before and during the World War in order to transport men and supplies where they were most needed. Germany had a magnificent system of strategic railways connecting the Western and Eastern Fronts. More than once was a crushing defeat avoided by the timely arrival of reinforcements brought by fast trains.

Whole populations engaged in the war. Far more important than the new machinery of destruction was the fact that whole populations were engaged in war activity. Hitherto, wars had been a contest between armies only, hence the division between combatants and non-combatants. In the World War the distinction between the two was not as sharp as in former days. The governments conscripted all men of military age, and directed the energies of the whole nation toward aiding those in the field. Vast numbers were employed in the manufacture of munitions, of ships, and of military supplies. All industry was regulated: the amount and the nature of goods produced, the quantity of food raised, the hours and wages of labor, profits, prices, all were under government direction. It was in truth a war waged by the whole people.

NAVAL BATTLES

Blockade of Germany. Germany's victories on land were balanced by her loss of sea power. From the beginning Germany

was tightly blockaded by the British navy, which rendered incalculable service to the Allies by cutting off supplies to Germany and by making safe the transportation of Allied troops and supplies. Germany soon realized that she must break the blockade which was slowly strangling her; sooner or later she would have no oil, no rubber, no cotton, no gasoline, materials vitally necessary for military purposes. But how? Her navy was not strong enough to challenge that of England. Excepting a few raiders, most of the German warships were confined in Kiel Harbor.

The submarine campaign. It was to the submarine that Germany turned as the one means of breaking the blockade. She



AN AMERICAN WAR POSTER

The United States Navy was of inestimable service both in conveying transports and in reinforcing the British Navy.

declared the waters around the British Isles to be a war zone wherein enemy merchantmen would be attacked by submarines. Neutral merchantmen were also warned not to enter the zone. The U-boats, as the German submarines were called, then began their campaign against British shipping. Hardly a day passed without the submarines taking a deadly toll of British ships, which caused great alarm in England. To be cut off from the rest of the world meant starvation, as England produced only a small part of the food and raw materials that she needed.

Sinking of the Lusitania.

The most notable case in the submarine campaign was that of the passenger ship, Lusitania

which, on May 7, 1915, was torpedoed without warning by a U-boat. About 1150 men, women, and children lost their lives, among them a number of Americans. The ruthlessness of this deed sent a thrill of horror throughout the world.

President Woodrow Wilson sent a sharp protest to Germany denouncing the sinking of the *Lusitania* as a violation of international law and of the rights of humanity; and he added that the United States would maintain the right of her citizens to travel on their legitimate business anywhere on the high seas. Germany's defense was that the *Lusitania* was secretly armed, and was transporting ammunition to the Allies, a charge which she was unable to prove.

Battle of Jutland. Germany's prowess on sea was not limited to the submarines. Her raiders inflicted heavy damage on Allied shipping before they were captured. Several engagements occurred between British and German squadrons, but the one great naval battle of the war was fought on May 31, 1916, off the coast of Jutland. The German fleet under Admiral von Scheer left Kiel Harbor and was met by the British under Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty. A terrific contest took place between the two greatest navies in the world. Both sides claimed victory in the Battle of Jutland, the Germans because they had inflicted greater losses than they had suffered; and the British because the Germans had been forced to retire to Kiel Harbor. England's mastery of the seas remained unbroken.

AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR

Ruthless submarine campaign arouses America. The most important event of the last period of the war was the entrance of the United States on the side of the Allies. When the war had broken out the United States declared her neutrality, but American public opinion was overwhelmingly on the side of the Allies. Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality, her ruthless methods, her autocratic government convinced Americans that her triumph would bring evil consequences to mankind. As each side was eager to get supplies from America, and even more eager that the other should not get them, the position of America was difficult, not unlike that in 1812. Both the Allies and Germany were continually interfering with American trade on one pretext or another. But Germany's interference was far more serious because of her use of submarines to enforce her blockade of England. American ships were sunk in the war zone created by Germany, and American citizens traveling in Allied ships were victims of German ruthlessness, as in the case of the *Lusitania*. Several

times did President Wilson warn Germany that America would hold her to a strict accountability for such actions. Germany, however, paid little attention to these warnings; she was willing to risk a war with America to continue her submarine campaign.

America joins the Allies. In January, 1917, Germany announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare by declaring that all ships, neutral and belligerent, found in the war zone would be sunk. On April 2 President Wilson delivered a message to Congress which resounded throughout the world. He denounced the German Government as a menace to civilization and called upon the American people to make war upon it in order "to make the world safe for democracy." Great enthusiasm answered the President's appeal; and, on April 6, Congress passed a resolution saying that the "state of war forced upon the United States by Germany is hereby declared."¹

Wilson's Fourteen Points. President Wilson became the spokesman of the Allies. In a number of remarkable addresses he brought vividly before the world the idea that the war was a crusade for freedom and democracy, and that an Allied victory would mean self-determination for all peoples who would no longer be "bartered from sovereignty to sovereignty." America in entering the war, he stated, wanted nothing for herself yet she would fight to the limit of her resources in order to destroy German militarism. On January 8, 1918, he announced the famous Fourteen Points, a detailed statement of America's plan for an enduring peace among nations. These were: (1) abolition of secret diplomacy; (2) freedom of the seas; (3) equality of trade conditions for all nations; (4) reduction of armaments; (5) adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the natives; (6) evacuation of Russian territory; (7) restoration of Belgium; (8) restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France; (9) readjustment of Italy's frontier on the basis of nationality; (10) reestablishment of the Polish nation; (11) evacuation of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania; (12) the

¹ The complete list of belligerents during the World War were: On the side of the Allies, Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, the British Empire, Montenegro, Japan, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, United States, Cuba, Panama, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Brazil, Greece, Siam, Liberia, and China. On the side of the Central Powers were Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

The neutrals were: in Europe, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain; and in the New World, all the Latin-American nations except those mentioned. Virtually all of Asia and Africa were in the war.

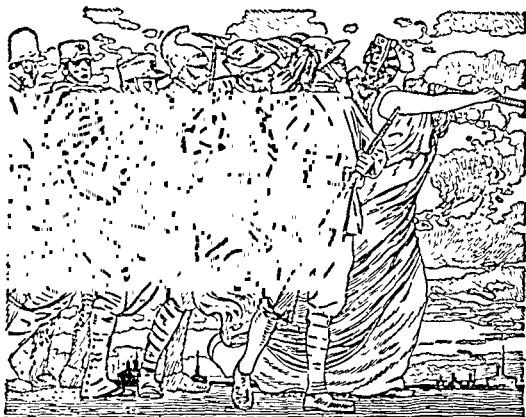
right of self-determination to be given to the races in Turkey; (13) likewise to the races in Austria-Hungary; and (14) the establishment of a league of nations.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE FOURTH YEAR

(August, 1917 — July, 1918)

Military situation favors the Central Powers. The fourth year opened auspiciously for the Germans. In the first place they were now impregnably intrenched on the Western Front; over and over again the Allies tried to break the Hindenburg Line, as the German line of defense was called, but without success. In the second place, they had succeeded in establishing "Middle Europe," consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and vanquished Rumania and Serbia, whose resources

were organized and directed by German forces. In the third place, the submarine campaign was working havoc among Allied shipping; every month showed an alarming increase of tonnage sunk. Discouragement spread in Allied countries where many people succumbed to what was called "defeatism," a movement to make peace with the Ger-



AN ITALIAN WAR POSTER

This represents various types of Italian soldiers.

mans on the basis of compromise. But "defeatism," though encouraged by German propaganda, was opposed by a still stronger will to fight to the bitter end. In France the situation was grave. France had borne the brunt of the struggle and her losses were very great. Under the leadership of Clemenceau, who became premier in November, 1917, France silently and grimly determined to fight on. In England Lloyd George became premier in December, 1916, and he set about his task with great energy and ability. The patriotism of the two war premiers, Clemenceau and

Lloyd George, inspired great enthusiasm among their fellow countrymen.

Italians defeated at Caporetto. Germany realized that victory must be won on the Western Front, but the battles of the Marne and Verdun taught her that she must use every available man. She therefore determined to get rid of Italy and Russia as factors in the war. Although the latter had been severely defeated in many battles, she was still in the field and many German soldiers had to be stationed on the Eastern Front. In October, 1917, German and Austrian armies attacked the Italians at Caporetto and inflicted upon them a terrible defeat. The Italians were driven out of Austria with tremendous losses, retiring into Italy where they managed to halt their foes on the Piave River. After Caporetto, Italy was not a serious military factor.

Russia makes a separate peace. The problem of Russia was solved for Germany by a sudden and unexpected event, the

Russian Revolution. In March, 1917, Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown, and a provisional government established. In November, 1917, another uprising took place which overthrew the provisional government and established a Bolshevist régime. The Bolsheviks were opposed to the war, and in March, 1918, Russia made a separate peace with Germany by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.¹

The March offensive. The Germans were now in position to attack on the Western Front with all their forces. Italy was on the defensive, Russia was out of the war, and America, they believed, was too unpre-



FERDINAND FOCH

pared to give much assistance to the Allies. On March 21, 1918, they launched a terrific offensive on the plains of Picardy, along

¹ The story of the Russian Revolution is told in another chapter.

the line from the North Sea to Rheims. The Allies were forced to retire from many important positions. The Battle of Picardy was another gigantic struggle on the scale of Verdun, and again both sides entered the contest with grim determination. So critical was the situation for the Allies that, for the first time since the beginning of the war, they agreed to coördinate the action of their forces on the Western Front under the direction of the French General Ferdinand Foch. Foch had on several notable occasions shown himself to be a brilliant commander and was recognized as the military genius on the side of the Allies. Opposed to him was Hindenburg, who was aided by General Erich von Ludendorff, an able organizer.

Battle of Picardy. The second phase of the Battle of Picardy began on April 4 with an attack on the British, who were forced back a distance of ten miles. In the words of General Haig the British were now "with their backs to the wall." On May 27 the Germans began the third phase with a drive against the French, who were driven out of the important position of Château-Thierry and had to retire to the Marne River.

America pours armies and supplies into France. Hitherto, German advances had been halted by the pouring in of reinforcements. But the Allies were becoming exhausted, and appealed to America to hasten her preparations. America's answer left no doubt as to her willingness and ability to do her

utmost. Congress adopted a selective draft law which enrolled about 23,000,000 men who were rapidly organized into armies and transported to Europe. On September 22, 1918, it was officially reported that 1,750,000 American soldiers were on French soil ready to enter the firing line. The man appointed to command



JOHN J. PERSHING

the American army in France was General John Pershing, a distinguished and experienced soldier. American shipyards turned out ships with great rapidity, which made up for the losses inflicted by the submarines. Herbert C. Hoover, who had done excellent work in Belgian relief, was given almost unlimited power over the food supply of America; and he succeeded in sending vast stores of food to Europe. America's rapid mobilization of her resources greatly heartened the Allies as it surprised and dismayed the Germans. When an American army under General Pershing took over a part of the Western Front there was frantic rejoicing in France.

END OF THE WORLD WAR

Counter-offensive of the Allies. Strengthened by American aid Foch determined on a counter-offensive. In July French and American armies attacked the Germans along the Marne; and there took place the second Battle of the Marne which was as disastrous to the Germans as the first. They were compelled to retire across the Aisne River, giving up Château-Thierry. In August the British attacked on a twenty-five-mile front, driving the Germans before them and regaining nearly all the positions that they had lost in the Battle of Picardy. The Allies rapidly followed up their successes, and by September the Germans were driven back to their old Hindenburg Line of 1917. The first break in this famous defense was made under American leadership. General Pershing made a surprise attack on Saint-Mihiel, an important point on the Line, and compelled the Germans to retire.

Surrender of Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria. Allied successes had a demoralizing effect upon Germany's allies, who now began to waver in the belief that she was unconquerable. The first to make peace was Bulgaria, who surrendered to the Allies on September 30. The next was Turkey. British forces under General Allenby had, in 1917, routed the Turks, and became masters of Asia Minor. On October 31 Turkey signed an armistice with the Allies. Austria-Hungary was the next to leave the arena. In October the Italians attacked the Austrians along the Piave River and drove them out of Italy. They then invaded Austria and entered Trieste in triumph. On November 4 Austria surrendered to the Allies.

Surrender of Germany, Armistice of November 11, 1918. Germany had made her last great effort in the March offensive and was now at bay. During October a series of desperate battles took place on the Western Front as a result of which the Hinden-

burg Line was broken in many places. The Germans retreated in good order to their frontier. Since Foch's counter-offensive German morale had been shaken; and when the Allies prepared to invade Germany it broke down. On November 11 the great military power surrendered to the Allies, and signed an armistice which terminated the greatest war in history.

Terms of the Armistice. The chief provisions of the Armistice were: Germany must evacuate France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine; surrender her prisoners of war; surrender a specified amount of war material and warships; permit the occupation by the Allies of the Rhineland; and repudiate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia and that of Bucharest with Rumania.

Losses of the War. No other war in modern history was so costly in life and property. Accurate figures are not available, but it is estimated that over 8,000,000 men were killed in battle; over 9,000,000 were permanently crippled; and over 21,000,000 were wounded more or less seriously. The destruction of property was so great that it cannot be estimated. So heavy were the war debts that many nations were ruined financially; and even the victorious Allies were on the brink of bankruptcy.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. What new methods of warfare were used in the World War? How did the new military strategy differ from the old?
2. Explain how the war was fought by the nations as a whole as well as by armies.
3. Why was Italy neutral at the outbreak of the war? Why did she finally join the Allies?
4. Describe Germany's submarine campaign.
5. How did the Russian Revolution of 1917 affect the military situation?
6. To what extent did French military leadership contribute to the defeat of Germany? the British blockade of Germany? American intervention on the side of the Allies?
7. Describe the Battle of Jutland.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

- BATTLE OF THE MARNE. F. H. Simonds, *History of the World War*, 5 vols. (1917-20), vol. I, pt. I, ch. IV.
- GERMAN CONQUEST OF RUSSIA. Simonds, vol. II, pt. I, ch. IX.
- BATTLE OF VERDUN. Simonds, vol. III, pt. I, chs. II, III, IV, X.
- SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN. Simonds, vol. II, pt. I, ch. VI.
- METHODS OF WARFARE. Simonds, vol. I, pt. II, chs. I, VIII.
- AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR. J. B. McMaster, *The United States in the World War* (1927).

CHAPTER LVII

THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE

Problems before the Conference. The World War was over, and a peace congress was called to meet in Paris. It was to represent the victorious Allies only, for their opponents were not invited to send delegates. The opening session of the Conference took place on January 18, 1919, the forty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the German Empire, now humbled and broken and soon to pass out of existence. No other assembly in history faced a task so stupendous, that of making a new map of the world, of calling new nations into existence, of giving terms to the vanquished, and of laying the foundations of a new world order.

The secret treaties. During the war the Allies had entered into secret treaties with one another, which were made public by the Bolsheviks when they came into power in Russia. England and Russia had an agreement according to which the latter was to get Constantinople, and the former, most of the "neutral Zone" of Persia. For coming to the aid of the Allies, Italy was promised Trieste, the Trentino, part of the Tyrol, and part of Dalmatia. Russia, England, France, and Italy agreed to partition Asiatic Turkey. Russia and France agreed that, in case of victory, the latter was to have Alsace-Lorraine, a special position in the Saar Valley, and to be the protector of the left bank of the Rhine which was to be organized as a buffer state; and Russia was to have a free hand in determining Germany's eastern boundary and in reorganizing Poland. Japan and the Allies agreed that the former was to get Germany's possessions in the Far East, Kiau-chau and the sphere of influence in Shantung. These imperialistic treaties, no less than the idealistic Fourteen Points, were to be a determining factor in the peace treaty.

Leading delegates. Delegates representing thirty-two nations came to Paris, among them Clemenceau, old and grim, who well remembered the humiliation of France in 1871; Lloyd George, once the idol of the British masses because of his social reforms, now the idol of the nation because of his success as war Premier;

Orlando, the spokesman of Italy's national ambitions; and President Wilson. The eyes of a war-torn world turned to the American as the one man in the Conference who had dreamed dreams and had seen visions of a fraternity of nations united to banish war and all its evils. Wilson's Fourteen Points had made him the spokesman of liberals throughout the world who desired a treaty that, unlike peace treaties in the past, would be the starting-point for a better system of international relations, and not for future wars.

Organization of the Conference. The Conference as a whole did not meet often, as it was too large a body for efficient work. It appointed a Supreme Council, representing the five leading powers, England, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan. The "Big Five" were given power to make decisions, subject, however, to ratification by the Conference. But the Big Five soon became the Big Three. Japan was interested only in matters pertaining to



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

the Far East and gave little attention to European matters. Italy, for a time, left the Council because it did not settle the Adriatic question to her liking. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, representing the Big Three, made the great decisions. They were assisted by numerous commissions of experts who investigated the problems before the Conference.

Differences between Wilson and his associates. The Conference lasted about five months. Throughout its many debates a battle of policies raged between Wilson and his associates. The latter were the spokesmen of the mood of their nations, embittered by four years of war and determined to take the full measure of their vengeance upon Germany; Wilson, on the other hand, was the champion of a peace without vengeance. The one

thing upon which he was intent, and which he supported ardently and without compromise, was the League of Nations; and to get the support of his associates for the League he was compelled to modify his Fourteen Points.

Treaties with the Central Powers. In May, a German peace delegation was admitted to the Conference. They were admitted, not to participate in the making of a treaty, but to sign one already made by their enemies. On June 28, 1919, in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the palace of the old French kings in Versailles, the treaty was signed by the delegates of Germany and by the delegates of the nations in the Conference. Later, treaties with Germany's allies were concluded by plenipotentiaries who remained in Paris after the Conference came to an end. The treaties that emanated from the Conference of Paris laid the political foundation of the new Europe that emerged from the World War.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The following are the most important provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Territory ceded by Germany. To France was given Alsace-Lorraine unconditionally. To Belgium was given the districts near her frontier, Moresnet, Eupen, and Malmédy. The Saar district was to be ruled for fifteen years by a commission appointed by the League of Nations; at the end of this period the inhabitants were to decide by a plebiscite, whether they desired the existing system, union with France, or union with Germany. Plebiscites were to be held in northern and southern Schleswig; in 1920, as a result of a favorable plebiscite, northern Schleswig was ceded to Denmark. To Poland was ceded Posen and most of West Prussia, inhabited chiefly by Poles. Danzig, inhabited chiefly by Germans, was organized as a Free City with an independent government under the protection of the League of Nations. East Prussia was now separated from the rest of Germany by a "Polish Corridor"; but German goods and persons were permitted free transit through it. As a result of a plebiscite, held in Upper Silesia in 1921, part of this region was ceded to Poland; and part remained with Germany. The city of Memel was taken from Germany; in 1924 it was ceded to Lithuania by the League of Nations.

Germany was compelled to surrender all her colonies. They

were not distributed to the Allies as colonies but as "mandatories," a new status established by the Conference. A mandatory was to be "administered" by the power to whom it was assigned as a "sacred trust of civilization"; its government was to be organized by the League of Nations who was to have power of supervising the administration of the mandatory power. England was given a mandatory over German East Africa, renamed Tanganyika; the Union of South Africa, over German South-West Africa; and England and France, over Togoland and Cameroon. The German island possessions in the Pacific were divided up as mandatories among Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Germany's leasehold of Kiau-chau and her rights in Shantung were ceded to Japan.

Economic. Germany ceded to the Allies all her merchant ships as compensation, "ton for ton," for the losses that she had inflicted on the Allied shipping. She had to deliver large quantities of coal, annually for ten years, to France, Belgium, and Italy, as compensation for the damage inflicted by German armies. She also had to surrender many locomotives and railway cars.

Military. Conscription was abolished in Germany. Her standing army was limited to 100,000 men who were to be volunteers for twelve consecutive years. She had to surrender her stock of munitions. Her fleet, which she surrendered to England, was scuttled and sent to the bottom by the German crews. Germany's navy was limited to a few warships and submarines.

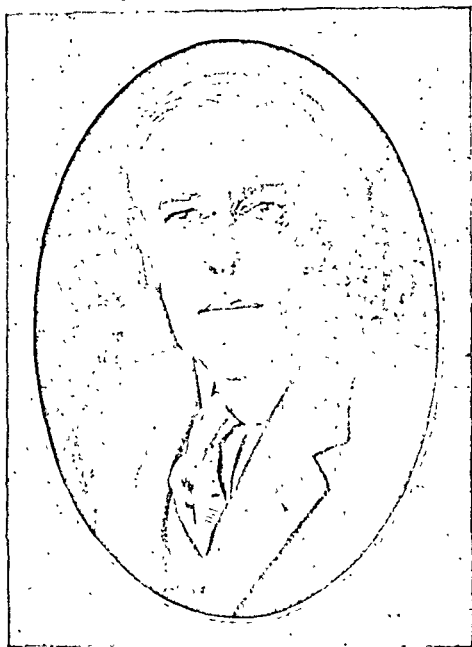
Reparations. The Treaty declared that "Germany accepts the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated powers and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." Therefore she was to pay "reparations." A Reparations Commission was appointed to compute the amount and to arrange for methods of payment; in 1921 it drew up a bill of damages against Germany amounting to about \$33,000,000,000.

Guarantees. Allied armies were to occupy the territory of the left bank of the Rhine for a period of fifteen years as a guarantee that Germany would fulfill her obligations under the Treaty. Evacuation was to be gradual: one part at the end of five years; another, at the end of ten; and the remainder at the end of fifteen years.

The Allies were convinced that Germany's responsibility for the war, her ruthless conduct during the conflict, and her harsh treatment of vanquished Russia merited the severe terms of the Treaty of Versailles. France, especially, saw in Germany a mortal enemy, who must be rendered powerless to wage another war.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Wilson and the League. The incalculable havoc and suffering caused by the World War aroused a desire to establish a permanent



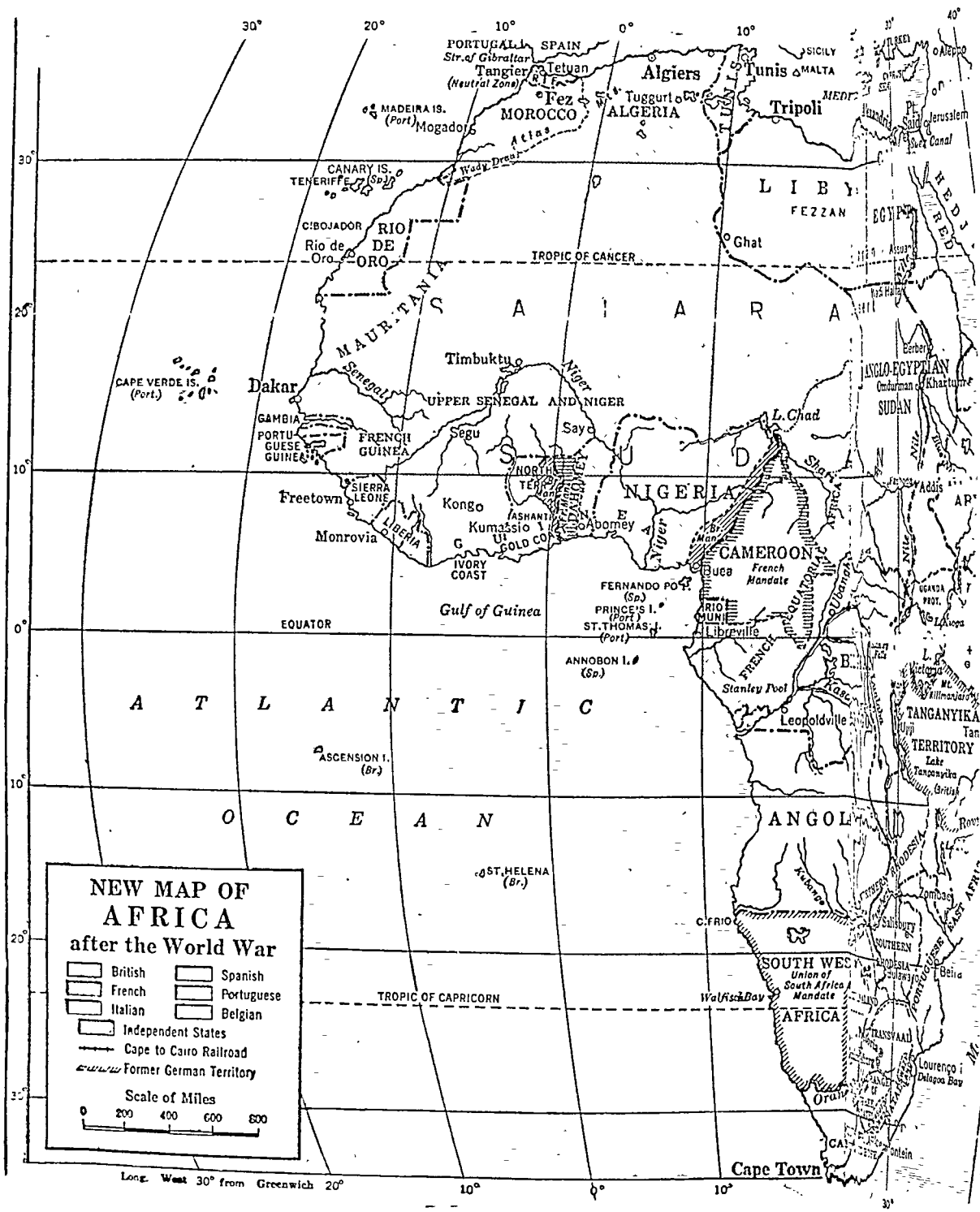
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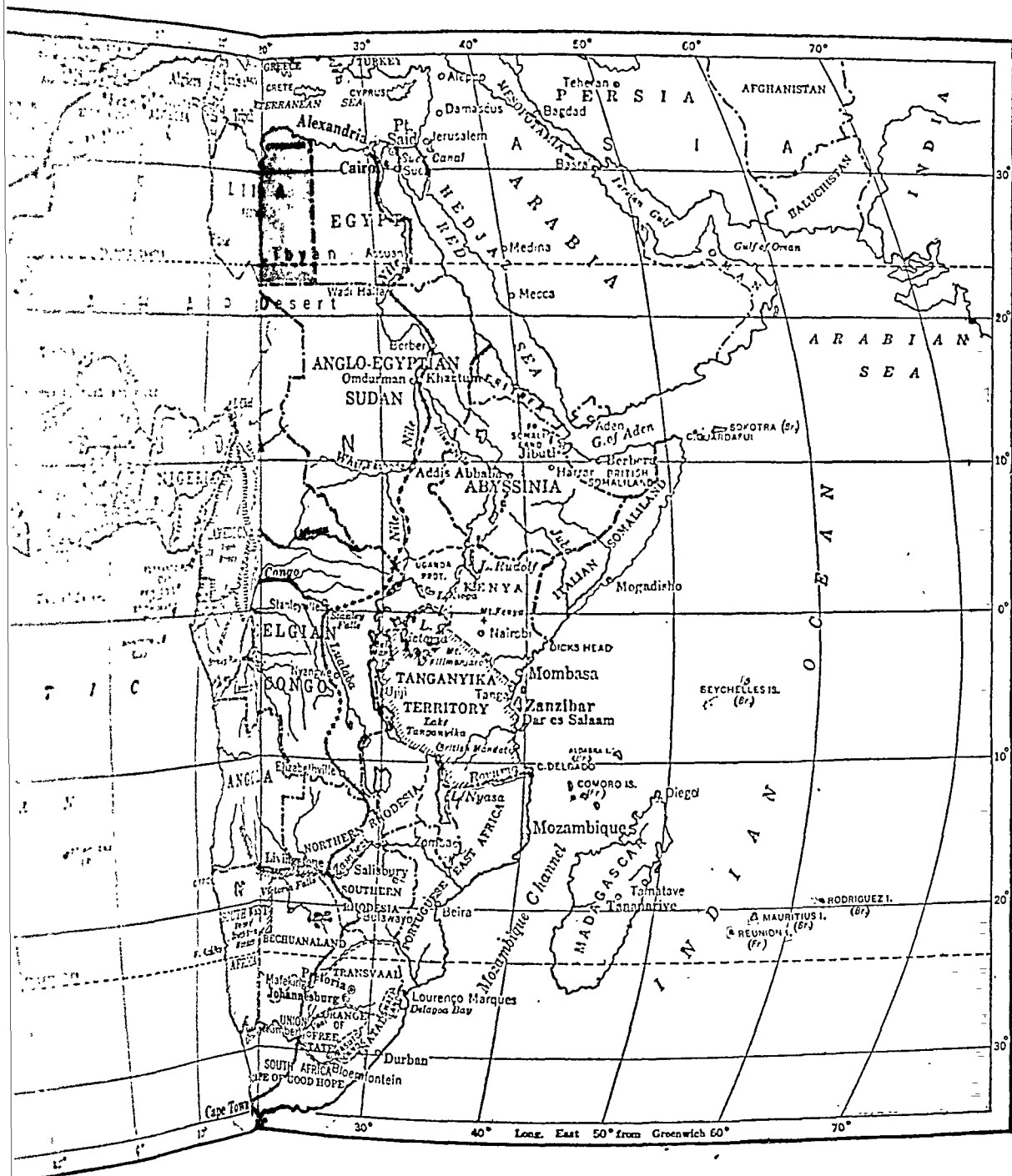
WOODROW WILSON

method of dealing with the scourge of war. No one voiced this desire so ardently, so eloquently, and so insistently as did President Wilson. All during the war Wilson continually championed the idea of a league of nations whose chief object would be to maintain peace. In his famous Fourteen Points he declared that such an organization must be formed "for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike." Largely through his influence there was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles, the Covenant, or

the constitution of the League of Nations. Its preamble states that the object of the League is the promotion of international coöperation and the achievement of international peace and security.

Organization. The organs of the League were: (1) a permanent Secretariat; (2) an Assembly representing the member nations each having one vote and not more than three representatives; (3) a Council consisting of nine members, one each from England, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan, who were to have permanent representation, and four others chosen by the Assembly for definite terms; and (4) a Permanent Court of Inter-





national Justice. The United States refused to join the League, hence it was not represented on the Council. In 1926 the number of non-permanent members was increased from four to nine, thereby giving the smaller powers control of the Council.

Peace provisions in the Covenant. Peace between nations was to be established by compulsory arbitration, by the limitation of armaments, by public diplomacy, and by a guarantee of territorial integrity. All disputes between members had to be submitted to arbitration or to an inquiry by the Council. If a member went to war in disregard of the Covenant, it was to be considered an act of war against the League as a whole. All commercial relations with the offender would be stopped, and the Council could recommend military action. The Covenant favored the reduction of armaments, and provided for future conferences to draw up detailed plans for this purpose. Secret diplomacy was declared abolished, and all treaties had to be published and registered with the Secretariat. As a concession to the United States the Covenant recognized as valid "regional understandings," such as the Monroe Doctrine. The League was pledged to preserve "as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

Membership. The original, or charter members of the League were those who had been on the Allied side or neutral during the World War. In the future any self-governing state, colony, or dominion could be admitted by a two thirds' vote of the Assembly. A member could withdraw from the League, after giving two years' notice of its intention to do so, and only after its obligations had been fulfilled.

Labor organization. The Treaty included sections dealing with labor in the various nations. The League was to establish a permanent organization to promote the improvement of labor conditions on the ground that universal peace "can be established only if it is based upon social justice." International labor conferences were to be held under the direction of the League to recommend reforms in labor conditions.

America rejects the Treaty. The Treaty of Versailles encountered bitter opposition in the United States. It was denounced as an unjust settlement, which America should refuse to guarantee. The opponents were especially bitter against the

League of Nations which, they declared, would infringe on the sovereignty of the United States by subjecting her policies to the control of other nations, and would permanently entangle her in the affairs of Europe. The Senate refused to ratify the Treaty, despite the efforts of Wilson. Strangely enough, the League of Nations was repudiated in the land of the man who had brought it into existence! In 1921, when President Harding succeeded President Wilson, the United States signed a separate treaty of peace with Germany.

TREATIES WITH GERMANY'S ALLIES

Partition of Austria-Hungary. During the war the various nationalities in the Hapsburg dominions were not over-enthusiastic in their devotion to the cause of the Central Powers. They thought of their kinsmen who were fighting for their liberation on the opposing side. Toward the close of the war, the Slavic nationalities made moves toward secession which were encouraged by the Allies. In July, 1917, the Yugo-Slavs issued the Declaration of Corfu, in which they announced their intention to join Serbia and Montenegro to form a Yugo-Slav nation under the rule of the Serbian dynasty; it was to have a democratic constitution which would treat equally the Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, and the Mohammedan faiths. Later, in April, 1918, a "Congress of Oppressed Nationalities" met in Rome which denounced Austria-Hungary as a tool of Germany and proclaimed the doctrine of self-determination for every nationality. The defeat of Austria was a signal for a general uprising of the subject nationalities in Austria-Hungary.

Even before the Conference of Paris had met, the Dual Monarchy had entirely disintegrated. The Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919) with Austria and that of Trianon (1920) with Hungary officially recognized the partition of the ancient monarchy. Part of its territory went to form new nations, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary; part was given to Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, and Italy; and what was left, German Austria, was recognized as an independent nation.

Republic of Austria. In the fall of dynasties after the World War none was less dramatic than the fall of the most ancient of them all, the Hapsburgs. Emperor Charles, who had succeeded Francis Joseph in 1916, abdicated and fled to Switzerland; later,

he was interned by the Allies in the Madeira Islands, where he died in 1922. Austria was proclaimed a republic by a National Assembly which, in 1920, adopted a democratic constitution modeled on that of Germany.

Post-war Austria was in a condition of utter ruin and chaos. The League of Nations stepped in to aid the helpless nation, and in 1922, it induced the Allies to float a loan in favor of Austria. As a result of this loan, Austria's finances were stabilized, and conditions became normal.

The Anschluss movement. However, Austria could not hope ever again to become a prosperous nation. The great industrial and agricultural regions that had once been her empire no longer contributed to her prosperity. Austria now consisted of a huge city, Vienna, and some country districts. A movement began, known as the "Anschluss," which aimed to join Austria, now almost entirely German, to Germany. But the Allies were opposed to such a union because the addition of Austria would make up for Germany's territorial losses. A clause had been inserted into the Treaty of Saint-Germain forbidding Austria to join Germany, without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Revolution and reaction in Hungary. The new Hungary, now independent of Austria, was shorn of most of her territory, and became a small state almost solidly Hungarian in population. When the war ended, an uprising took place in Budapest which swept away the old régime. A republic was proclaimed, headed by the liberal noble, Count Michael Karolyi, who aimed to establish a Hungary that would be free and democratic. But the Republic found a new enemy in a rapidly growing revolutionary movement inspired by Bolshevism. In March, 1919, Karolyi was compelled to resign, and the government fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks led by Béla Kun. A class war followed which reduced Hungary to a state of confusion and disorganization. Taking advantage of the situation, a Rumanian army invaded Hungary and captured Budapest. The Rumanians overthrew the Bolshevik régime, and in revenge for the Hungarian invasion of Rumania during the war, they seized railway stock, factories, and other supplies. It was with difficulty that the Allies managed to induce the Rumanians to leave the country. Political control of Hungary fell into the hands of a powerful nationalist

party, led by Admiral Nicholas Horthy who, for a time, was in the position of a dictator. A National Assembly, elected in 1920, declared Hungary a monarchy, and chose Horthy as regent. Hungary was a kingdom, but without a king. Like Austria, Hungary was in a desperate economic situation. In 1924 a foreign loan was floated through the agency of the League of Nations, which resulted in rehabilitating the country.

Czecho-Slovakia. To the Bohemians the collapse of Austria was the opportunity for independence that they had sought for centuries. A new nation was born, Czecho-Slovakia, composed of what was formerly Bohemia and Moravia in Austria, and Slovakia in Hungary. A constitution was adopted, in 1920, which established a democratic republic based on universal suffrage. The first President was Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, a distinguished publicist, who had been a life-long champion of the nationalist movement in his country.

Poland. The resurrection of Poland was one of the dramatic events of the Conference. To constitute the frontiers of the new nation was a very difficult problem, because (1) territory had to be taken from Russia, Austria, and Germany; and because (2) within these borders were large non-Polish populations. In addition to the territory that she received from Germany, Poland received Russian Poland from Russia, and Galicia from Austria. She then seized Vilna from Lithuania. In 1920 she made war on Soviet Russia, and succeeded in extending her Russian frontier. The success of Poland was largely due to the support that she received from France, to whom she was closely allied.

In 1921 Poland adopted a constitution based largely on that of France. The first President of the Republic was



Erving Gallouay

JOSEPH PILSUDSKY

General Joseph Pilsudsky, who had rendered notable patriotic service; and the first Premier was Ignace Paderewski, the famous Polish pianist.

Yugo-Slavia. As a result of the World War a powerful nation

appeared in the Balkans, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," or, more commonly, Yugo-Slavia. It consisted of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Yugo-Slav parts of Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and most of the Adriatic coast. Yugo-Slavia adopted a system of government based on the Declaration of Corfu.

Fiume. At the Conference of Paris a bitter dispute arose between Italy and Yugo-Slavia over Fiume, an important Adriatic port. The Italians claimed it on the ground that its inhabitants were overwhelmingly Italian; and the Yugo-Slavs, on the ground that the country around it was overwhelmingly Yugo-Slav. Wilson favored the Yugo-Slavs because he desired to give them a port on the Adriatic, and Fiume was the only one to which they had any claim. Wilson's stand so enraged the Italians that they left the Conference. In 1920, the matter was temporarily settled by establishing Fiume as a Free City like Danzig; later, in 1924, it was annexed to Italy as a result of a treaty between Yugo-Slavia and Italy.

Partition of Turkey. According to the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), Turkey was deprived of nearly all her territory in Europe and Asia, except Anatolia in Asia. It was partitioned as mandates or protectorates among England and France. Greece succeeded Russia as one of the heirs of the "Sick Man." She got Thrace in Europe and the region of Smyrna in Asia Minor.

Nationalist Turkey. The treaty infuriated the Turks. A nationalist movement arose, led by Mustapha Kemal, which refused to recognize the partition of their country. The Nationalists repudiated the Sultan who had signed the Treaty of Sèvres, and established a new government at Angora, in Asia Minor. As usual the powers were divided when it came to the problem of the Near East. France and Russia recognized the Angora government: France, because she feared the loss of her large Turkish loans, and Russia, because she wished to weaken the Allies who were encouraging the enemies of the Soviet government. England, however, refused to recognize the Angora government because she controlled the Sultan in Constantinople. In 1921 Greece, encouraged by England, declared war against Turkey. A Greek army invaded Asia Minor, but it was badly defeated by Mustapha Kemal, who drove the Greeks out of Asia and entered Constantinople in triumph. A new treaty,

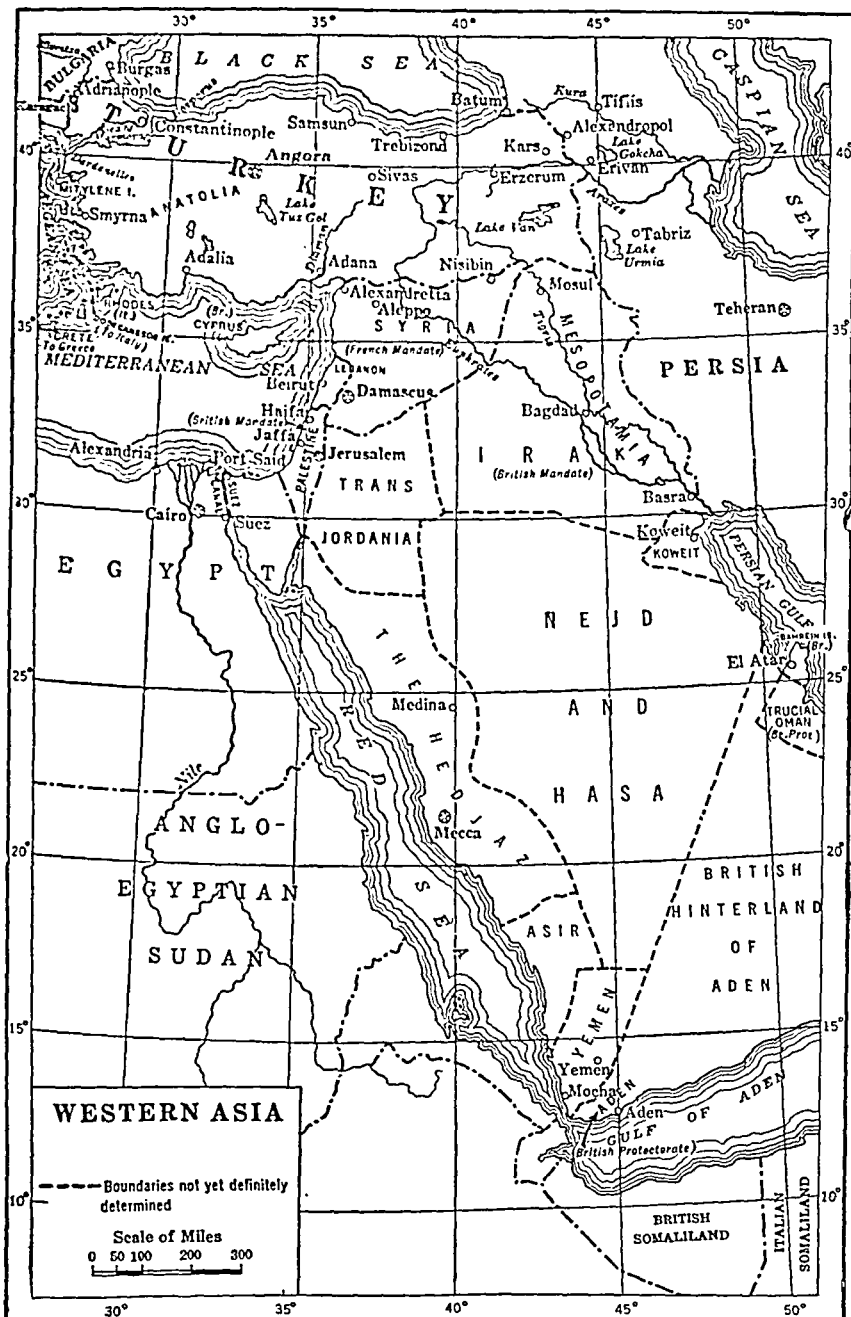
much more liberal to Turkey, was signed at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1923. Special conventions and agreements completed the settlement, the chief terms of which were: (1) Constantinople and eastern Thrace were to remain under Turkey; (2) the boundaries of Turkey in Asia were greatly extended; (3) the Greeks living in Turkey, and the Turks living in Greece, were to migrate; (4) the Capitulations, which gave special privileges to foreigners in Turkey, were abolished; and (5) the Straits were neutralized by forbidding Turkey to erect fortifications on their shores; (6) Syria was to be a mandatory of France, and Palestine, of England, and (7) the Dodecanese Islands were to go to Italy. A number of Arab states were recognized, Irak, Hedjaz, and Trans-Jordania, under the protection of England.

Turkey a republic. A new Turkey now appeared. The Ottoman Empire was abolished, and the Sultan deposed by a National Assembly. A republic was proclaimed, and its first President was Mustapha Kemal. In 1924 the Assembly adopted a democratic constitution which granted full civil and political rights to all citizens irrespective of religion or race. A new code of laws was adopted based upon Western models. Polygamy was restricted. Church and State were separated by the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate.¹ After many centuries of stubborn refusal to reform, Turkey at last took radical steps to become a modern nation.

Greece a republic. Greece, disappointed with her defeat, blamed her ruler and his advisers for entering upon the disastrous war. A republican movement swept the country which drove King George II into exile. In 1924 Parliament deposed the King, and proclaimed Greece a republic. The appearance of two new republics was the unexpected result of the war in the Balkans.

Palestine. The disposition of Palestine attracted universal attention. That ancient land was to have a political resurrection as a Jewish state. In 1917 Balfour, speaking for the British government, made the following famous declaration: "His Majesty's government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavor to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish com-

¹ The Sultan was also the Caliph, or the head of the Mohammedan faith.



munities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country." As mandatory of Palestine, England established a new government for the country. The Zionist organization, representing the Jewish nationalists throughout the world, was recognized officially; it was to coöperate with England in governing Palestine.

The Arabs in Palestine, who constituted the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants, were incensed at the Balfour Declaration which, they declared, was a violation of their national rights. Bitter feeling arose between Arabs and Jews, which, in 1929, resulted in an uprising of the Arabs against the Jews. The riots were suppressed but they led to concessions to the Arabs by the British.

Partition of Russia. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Russia and Germany in March, 1918, Russia was obliged to surrender nearly all the territory that she had gained since the time of Peter the Great. The Armistice, which Germany signed when she surrendered, required her to abandon all claims under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. What was to be done with this vast territory? Russia was not represented at the Conference, therefore she was not a party to the Peace of Paris. As the Soviet government, like the Allies, was committed to the principle of self-determination, a number of "succession" states peacefully emerged from the one-time Empire of the Tsars. When Tsar Nicholas II was dethroned in March, 1917, Finland formally declared her independence, which was recognized by Russia. In the same manner the Baltic provinces became the independent nations of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. These "succession" states were organized as democratic republics. How Poland emerged partly from Russia has already been told.

RESULTS OF THE WORLD WAR

The Europe that arose from the World War was as different from the Europe of Bismarck and Gladstone as the latter was different from the Europe of Louis XIV and Frederick the Great. The changes, political, economic, social and cultural, were so vast that it is possible to give only a bare statement of them.

Spread of nationalism. The outstanding political result of the World War was the spread of nationalism. Unlike the Congress of Vienna, the Conference of Paris recognized the doctrine of self-

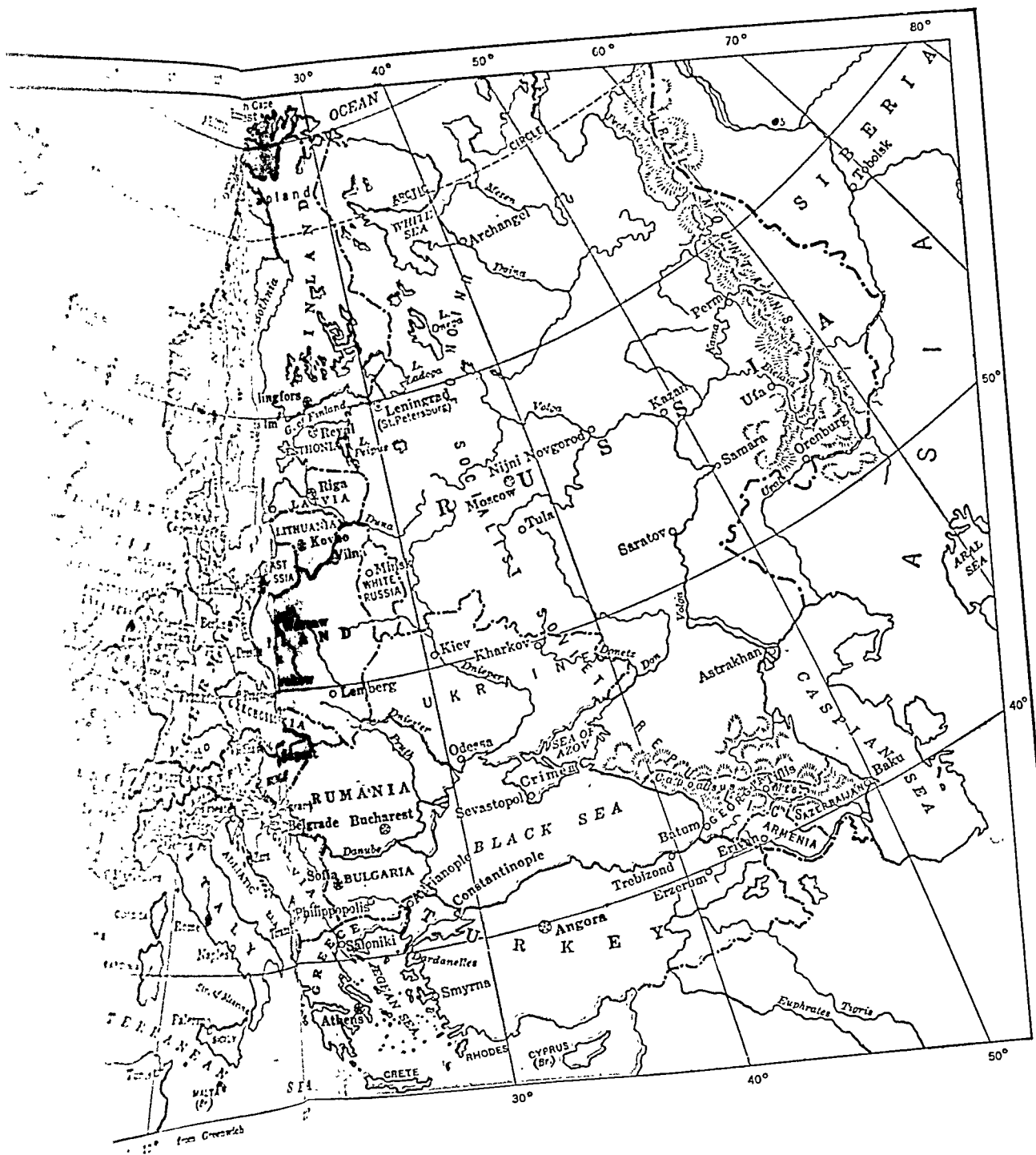
EUROPE

after the World War

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500





determination of peoples wherever possible. As a consequence, four great empires disappeared, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey; Europe now consisted chiefly of small nations. In 1931 there were no less than thirty independent states of which only six were large. In the new, or "succession" states which had mixed populations, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, and the Baltic States, "minorities of race, minorities of language, or minorities of religion" were guaranteed full and equal rights of citizenship, religious freedom, the use of their language in the courts, and public support of their schools and charities.

Spread of democracy. Democracy kept pace with nationalism. All the "succession" states were established as democratic republics. Woman suffrage was adopted almost universally in Europe; of the important states, only France and Italy had not yet enfranchised women in 1931. Reorganized states, such as Germany, Austria, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, Turkey, and Rumania, adopted democratic constitutions. Republics were now the rule instead of the exception; of the twenty European states, in 1914, only three were republics; of the thirty, in 1931, only thirteen were monarchies. The world now seemed "safe for democracy." However, dictatorships also appeared, notably in Russia and Italy, and parliamentary government underwent serious criticism even in democratic countries.

Spread of social reform. Political democracy based on the doctrine of *laissez faire* was universally repudiated. All the states now accepted social reform, or the intervention of the State in the relations between capital and labor. Social reforms, such as workmen's compensation, sickness and unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and minimum wage laws, were widely adopted. The League of Nations established the International Labor Office to advance the interests of labor throughout the world. Annual conferences, under its auspices, have since taken place which recommended the establishment, by all nations, of a living wage, an eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, and equal pay for men and women doing the same work.

Peasant proprietorship. The peasant gained even more than did the workingman. An agrarian revolution took place in eastern Europe which transformed large estates into peasant properties. The great estates in Russia were confiscated by the

Soviet government and turned over to the peasants. In the Baltic States, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, in Rumania, the large estates were expropriated and sold to the peasants. In western Europe the peasants profited by the rise in the cost of foodstuffs and enlarged their farms. Agriculturally, Europe was now a continent of peasant proprietors.

Economic leadership of America. As a result of the war, America received no territory and only little Reparations, but she became the economic dictator of the world. America was the creditor of the European governments to the extent of \$12,000,000,000 in war loans. From America came the capital to reconstruct the economic life of Europe. Without American investments, Germany's recovery might have been impossible. There was also a great expansion of America's foreign trade; from 1913 to 1924 it almost doubled. Before the war Germany had been England's commercial rival; now England encountered in America a far more formidable competitor.

The Russian Revolution. Perhaps the most unexpected outcome of the World War was the Russian Revolution which is described in the following chapter. It is an event as momentous in history as was the French Revolution. A great power, Russia, was now ready to aid a world-wide revolutionary movement to overthrow the capitalist system. The Second International, which favored the establishment of socialism by democratic methods, was revived, only to be faced by the Third International, pledged to establish socialism by violent revolution. Unlike the Second International, which was a loose federation of socialist parties, the Third International, organized in Moscow in 1919, was a highly centralized organization. The adherents of the former were known as Socialists, and those of the latter as Communists. Communist parties appeared in every country whose policies, tactics, and leaders were directed by the Third International.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Who were the chief delegates at the Peace Conference? How did the peace policies of President Wilson differ from those of his associates? In what ways did President Wilson modify his Fourteen Points? Why?
2. Is the League of Nations a step toward world peace? Give arguments pro and con.

3. Why did the United States Senate refuse to ratify the Versailles Treaty?
4. Explain historically why each of the following territories was taken from Germany: Alsace-Lorraine; Schleswig; Posen; and West Prussia.
5. What were the treaty provisions in reference to Germany's colonies? merchant marine? army and navy?
6. How did the Congress of Vienna and the Conference of Paris differ in their attitude toward nationalism and democracy? How did each attempt to establish universal peace?
7. Describe the dissolution of the Russian, Austrian, and Turkish Empires.
8. Describe the rise of the Turkish Republic. What is the present status of Constantinople and the Straits?
9. Why is enlistment in the German Army limited to twelve consecutive years?

Map questions: Indicate Germany in 1914; Germany in 1918; the Republic of Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Denmark, Memel, Latvia, and the Polish Corridor. Compare the boundaries of Soviet Russia with the boundaries of Russia on the accession of Peter the Great. Compare the boundaries of the Republic of Poland with those of the kingdom of Poland; the boundaries of the Republic of Austria with those of the Empire of Austria; the boundaries of Turkey in 1925 with those in 1914. Indicate the territorial gains of Italy as a result of the World War; the territorial losses of Hungary; and the gains of the British Empire in Africa.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT. Bennis, F. L., *Europe Since 1914*, chs. VII-VIII; Scott, J. F., and Baltzly, A., *Readings in European History, 1815-1928*, pp. 539-53.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Bennis, ch. IX; Gibbons, ch. XXXIII.

DISMEMBERMENT OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. Bennis, ch. V; Bowman, I., *The New World*, chs. XII-XIII.

DISMEMBERMENT OF TURKEY. Gibbons, ch. XXXIX, pp. 376-80; Bowman, chs. XXV-XXVI, XXVIII; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 610-16.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR. Flick, A. C., *Modern World History* (1928), ch. XXXVIII; Schapiro, J. S., *Modern and Contemporary European History* (1931), pp. 754-58; Bennis, ch. XXI.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

THE MARCH REVOLUTION

THE widespread uprising of the Russian masses in 1905 had been suppressed, and Tsar Nicholas II had triumphed. Even the most stubborn foes of the autocracy were now dismayed. The greatest of the many attempts to overthrow tsarism had ended in failure. No one could have foreseen in 1914 that, in a dozen years, an astonished world would see the Romanov dynasty hurled from the throne and the Russian government in the complete control of the most extreme revolutionists of modern times.

Defeat brings discontent. When the World War broke out, Tsar Nicholas had behind him an almost united nation. The Russians regarded the war as a crusade for the freedom of the Slavic nations whose existence was menaced by the Teutonic powers. Many revolutionists supported the Tsar because they hoped that the association of Russia with the democratic nations in a war "to make the world safe for democracy" might result in making Russia herself democratic. But the terrible defeats of the Russian armies discredited the government, which was charged with incompetence and corruption. It was rumored that "dark influences" were in control at the court, and were urging the Tsar to sign a separate peace with Germany. Nicholas and his wife, both of whom were weak-willed and superstitious, were under the spell of a religious fanatic, named Rasputin, who, they believed, performed miracles for them. So great was the influence of this man that he became the Tsar's chief adviser. This situation shocked even the Russian courtiers. Rasputin was assassinated by a group of patriotic nobles who wished to rid their country of his evil influence.

Growth of discontent. War disorganized the country and led to widespread discontent. The transportation system broke down, and food could not be sent to the cities. Prices rose, and many were starving. The old revolutionary spirit began to flare up. In the country the peasants raised the cry "More land!" In the cities the cry "Bread!" was heard on all sides.

Defeat, starvation, and misery was Russia's portion in the World War.

Fall of tsarism. In March, 1917, events took place which turned the attention of the world from the battlefields of France to Petrograd.¹ Strikes broke out in the capital, and when the soldiers were ordered to attack the strikers, they refused; instead, they fraternized with them. Delegations came to the Duma from all over the country demanding the abdication of Nicholas. The Duma, although controlled by the conservative parties, was forced to ally itself with the revolutionary movement. It voted the abolition of the government of Nicholas II, and the creation of a provisional government. Nicholas found himself deserted by every element of the nation. The strongest prop of his throne, the army, went over to the side of the people. On March 15, 1917, Nicholas II abdicated his throne. The March Revolution took place, declared Miliukóv, one of its prominent leaders, because "history does not know of another government so stupid, so dishonest, so cowardly, so treacherous, as the government now overthrown."

FIRST PHASE — LIBERALISM

Provisional government controlled by liberals. Who were to be the members of the provisional government? What were to be its policies? These were the questions uppermost in everyone's mind. Nearly all the men appointed to the provisional government represented the liberal parties, the Cadets and Octobrist;² to placate the radical element, a Social Revolutionary, Alexander Kerensky, was included. It was headed by a liberal noble, Prince Lvov, but its leading member was the Cadet, Miliukóv, one of the heroes of the Revolution of 1905.

Its democratic policies. A proclamation issued to the people clearly showed the intention of the provisional government to establish a thoroughgoing democratic régime. It announced the following program: (1) a general amnesty to all political offenders; (2) freedom of speech, of the press, and of association;

¹ When the war broke out, the name of the capital of Russia was changed from "St. Petersburg," which is of German origin, to "Petrograd," which is Russian; later, it was changed again to "Leningrad" in honor of Lenin, the leader of the Revolution.

² For a description of the Russian political parties see pp. 531, 535.

(3) abolition of all social, racial, and religious restrictions; and (4) the calling of a constitutional convention to establish a permanent government in Russia. The provisional government immediately set about to enact this program by means of decrees. Finland was restored its constitution. The anti-Jewish laws were abolished. Autonomy was given to Poland. Thousands of exiled revolutionaries returned to their now free country, where they were welcomed as heroes and martyrs.

Its attitude toward the war. What was to be the attitude of the provisional government toward the war, was the anxious thought of the Allies. It gave positive assurance that Russia would go on fighting, if anything even more vigorously. Miliukóv, who was foreign minister, came out in favor of Russia's getting Constantinople which had been promised to the Tsar by the Allies.

Rise of the soviets. But the reforms of the provisional government aroused little enthusiasm among the masses. The peasants were thinking of getting more land, not of freedom of speech. The workingmen hailed the advent of a free Russia as a means of bettering their economic condition. The soldiers at the front, demoralized by continual defeat, thought of peace. Before long a new revolutionary movement was on foot. All over Russia *soviets* (councils) appeared, composed of factory workers in the cities, peasants in the country, and soldiers in the army. In April, 1917, an All-Russian Congress of Soviets met in Petrograd and issued a proclamation quite different from that of the provisional government. It demanded "peace without annexations and indemnities on the basis of self-determination of the peoples," and a social and economic transformation of Russia in the interest of the peasants and workingmen. "Peace, Land, Bread!" was the battle-cry of the soviets.

Soviets controlled by socialists. There were now two rival organizations that claimed to rule Russia, the provisional government and the soviets. The former represented chiefly the middle classes, and it definitely and clearly promised to protect the rights of property. When land was to be given to the peasants, compensation was to be given to the landlords. The soviets were controlled by the representatives of the lower classes, the Social Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats, who favored confiscating the property of the landlords and capitalists.

Provisional government becomes more radical. The most powerful of the soviets was the Petrograd Soviet which had the support both of the soldiers in the garrison and of the mobs in the streets. It organized great meetings of protest against Miliukóv because he favored the continuation of the war. Strangely enough, the hero of the Revolution of 1905 heard himself denounced as a reactionary tool of imperialists. The pace of revolution was quickening. So powerful were the soviets that, in May, 1917, they compelled a reorganization of the provisional government. Miliukóv and other members were obliged to resign, and leaders of the soviets were appointed in their places. The policies of the provisional government now became more radical. It adopted the peace formula of the soviets, and promised to enact labor and land reforms.

SECOND PHASE — KERENSKY

Kerensky, Prime Minister. In the reorganized provisional government, Kerensky succeeded Miliukóv as its most important member. Early in August he became Prime Minister. As he was radical in his views and an eloquent orator, Kerensky enjoyed, for a time, a degree of popularity. But his attitude toward the war was to determine his fate, and perhaps also that of the provisional government. He was well aware that Russia, defeated, starved, exhausted, and embittered, longed for peace. Kerensky, however, was opposed to a separate peace with Germany. What he favored was a general conference of the Allies to state their war aims, but the Allies opposed this plan. Kerensky himself led a drive of the Russian army in Galicia. But it was not successful, and he became unpopular.

The pace of revolution, once it began to quicken, continued faster and faster. By the savage suppression of centuries the tsars had succeeded in creating a state of mind in Russia unlike that of any other country in the world. The masses, dumb, driven, brutalized, ignorant, were ready, once the discipline of despotism was removed, to follow any leader no matter how extreme his views and how violent his methods.

Bolshevists and Menshevists. A new element now came prominently to the front. It was the Bolsheviks. Early in the twentieth century the Russian Social Democrats split into two factions, the Bolsheviks (Russian, *majority*) and the Menshevists

(Russian, *minority*). Both factions accepted socialism as their goal, but they differed widely as to methods of attaining it. The Bolsheviks favored the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; namely, that, at the first opportunity, the working class should rise in insurrection and seize the government; once in power, they should suppress all opposition without mercy, confiscate all property in land and industry, abolish all existing institutions, and establish a new system of government and society based on socialist principles. Government by an armed minority, not by a peaceful majority, was the Bolshevik creed. The Mensheviks were opposed to violence and to dictatorship. They believed that socialism should be established in an orderly manner, and only when the majority of the citizens desired its establishment. Democracy was to be the stepping-stone to socialism, hence agitation and education were the methods advocated by the Mensheviks. Between the two factions there was the most intense hatred.

Lenin (1870-1924) and Trotsky (1877-). Two Bolshevik leaders now appeared prominently on the Russian scene, Nicholai Lenin and Leon Trotsky. In the



Ewing Galloway

NICHOLAI LENIN

annals of revolution there is no more remarkable figure than that of Lenin, who was virtually unknown until the Revolution. Like many another Russian revolutionist he came from the upper classes. As a young man he was converted to the socialist doctrines of Karl Marx to which he was enthusiastically devoted all his life long. Because of his revolutionary activity, Lenin was compelled to live many years in exile, chiefly in England and Switzerland, where he was active among his fellow exiles, preaching socialism, writing books and pamphlets on economic subjects, organizing socialist groups, and conspiring against tsarism. In temperament, he was totally unlike the dreamy, idealistic, impractical type of Russian revolutionist. On the contrary, he was cool, shrewd, practical, with an

iron will and tremendous energy. He was neither a speculative thinker nor a popular orator, but a master of political tactics and revolutionary strategy. Lenin's most famous follower, Leon Trotsky, differed from him as markedly as Danton differed from Robespierre. Trotsky was an eloquent orator and a vivid writer of socialist books. Like Lenin he was a "professional" revolutionist, and his life from early boyhood was devoted to the struggle against tsarism.

Bolshevist demands. In the failure of Kerensky's drive, the Bolsheviks saw their opportunity. They issued a program demanding: (1) the immediate ending of the war, (2) the confiscation of the landed estates, (3) the confiscation of the factories, and (4) the establishment of the soviets as the government of Russia. "Peace, Land, Bread," and "All Power to the Soviets," were the Bolshevik slogans.

The Bolsheviks realized that the soviets, not the provisional government, exercised whatever authority existed in Russia. The soviets were controlled by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries whose leaders were in the provisional government. To get control of the soviets now became the aim of the Bolsheviks whose propaganda was making rapid headway in these bodies.

The Kornilov affair. The situation in Russia was verging toward chaos. At the front, discipline broke down and the soldiers killed their officers and deserted in regiments. In the country, the peasants attacked the landlords and seized their estates. In the cities, the workingmen seized the factories. Property-owners became greatly alarmed when they realized that Kerensky was unable to check the onslaught of the Bolsheviks, who hated the bourgeois as deeply as the Jacobins of the French Revolution hated the aristocrats. The Prime Minister was a man of words who, whenever a situation became critical, made eloquent speeches. What the property-owners wanted was a Bonaparte to suppress the "Reds" with a "whiff of grapeshot." They turned to General Kornilov who had succeeded in restoring discipline among his troops.

Kornilov sent an ultimatum to Kerensky demanding the abolition of the provisional government. When it was refused, he began a march on Petrograd at the head of a counter-revolutionary army. The Revolution was now in danger. A new

military force, the "Red Guard," appeared, composed of armed Bolsheviks who prepared to defend the Revolution. As Kornilov advanced, the morale of his soldiers was undermined by Bolshevik propaganda, which caused many to desert. Kornilov, leading only a remnant of his forces, appeared before Petrograd, and was routed by the Red Guard.

THIRD PHASE — BOLSHEVISM

The November Revolution. The Kornilov affair still more discredited the provisional government. It was plain that Kerensky had neither military power nor popular opinion behind him. The "plump little man, with a high bulbous forehead, a snub nose, and a bald head," Lenin, realized that the hour of revolution had struck. He convinced his associates that nothing could withstand a Bolshevik uprising. Suddenly, on November 7, 1917, the provisional government was overthrown by an insurrection in Petrograd, organized by the Bolsheviks. Most of its members were seized, but Kerensky managed to escape. A new government was established by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, called the "Soviet of the People's Commissars." It consisted chiefly of Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin as Prime Minister and Trotsky as Minister of War.

Suppression of the Constitutional Convention. The provisional government had been reluctant to use drastic methods against its opponents. But not so the Bolsheviks. All opposition to the Soviet was ruthlessly suppressed. But there still remained one body that was anti-Bolshevist, and that was the Constitutional Convention which met in January, 1918. It had been elected by universal suffrage and was controlled by moderate Social Revolutionaries who refused to recognize the Soviet. The Bolsheviks were opposed to democratic government both in theory and in practice; what they favored was the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Therefore, they decided to suppress the Constitutional Convention. A few days after it had convened, the Convention was dissolved by Bolshevik soldiers. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets then adopted a new constitution establishing a soviet system of government for Russia.

Soviet Russia makes a separate peace. The Bolsheviks were now in full control. What would be their attitude toward the war, was again the anxious thought of the Allies. They were

not left long in doubt. The Soviet immediately began peace negotiations with the Central Powers, who were overjoyed at the success of the Bolsheviks. Russia, out of the war, would enable Germany to throw all her forces on the Western Front. A peace conference between Russia and the Central Powers met at Brest-Litovsk early in December, 1917. The Germans, knowing that the Russians would be obliged to accept any terms, dictated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed March 3, 1918. Russia surrendered Poland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Finland, the Ukraine, and some districts in the Caucasus; and promised to pay an indemnity of \$1,500,000,000. At first the Bolsheviks refused to accept these staggering terms. But Lenin persuaded them to accept peace at any price on the ground that peace would give the Soviet a "breathing spell" during which it would be free to consolidate the November Revolution.

Bolsheviks suppress opposition. The Bolsheviks then turned their attention to their foes at home. War to the death was declared against landlords and capitalists. A reign of terror began that sent thousands to death or exile, and reduced many more to poverty. Freedom of the press was abolished, and all criticism of the Soviet régime was severely punished. Opponents of the latter, reactionaries, liberals, and radicals, all equally felt the heavy hand of the Soviet. Miliukóv and Kerensky were compelled to flee for their lives. Tsar Nicholas and his family were confined in a secret prison. One morning (July 16, 1918) they were suddenly awakened, stood up against a wall, and shot. Unlike Charles I and Louis XVI, who went to their doom in the glamour of a public execution, Nicholas II died beside a prison wall in a lonely town in Siberia, unseen, unheard, unwept, and unsung.

Confiscations. The Russian Revolution was followed by confiscations of property which made those of the French Revolution look small by comparison. All land was declared public property, and the great proprietors were deprived of their estates. Russian nobles fled to western Europe, where they agitated against the Revolution. Capitalists shared the same fate as landlords; their factories were confiscated and turned over to the workingmen. All foreign trade, banks, mines, railways, and ships were nationalized. The debts of the tsarist government were repudiated. A heavy hand was laid on the Orthodox Church. It

was separated from the state, shorn of its privileges, deprived of most of its wealth, and reduced to the position of a private religious society. The practice of religion was not forbidden, but it was greatly hampered by many restrictions.

"Reds" and "Whites." From the outbreak of the November Revolution, Soviet Russia met with the greatest hostility. The Allies were embittered because of her desertion during the war, and established a rigorous blockade. Allied troops occupied the ports of Murmansk in the Arctic and Vladivostok in the Pacific to prevent supplies reaching Germany by way of Russia. After the war the Allies seized the territory around the White Sea, Crimea, and eastern Siberia. At the same time they helped to establish a "White" government¹ in Omsk, Siberia, headed by Admiral Kolchak. The hostility of the Allies after the war was largely due to the fact that the Bolsheviks were conducting a world-wide propaganda with the purpose of overthrowing all capitalist governments.

During 1919 Russia was the scene of civil war between the Reds and the Whites. Kolchak's army advanced on Moscow and, at first, won several battles. But a Red army, organized by Trotsky, turned furiously on Kolchak and completely destroyed his army. Other White armies, who had invaded from the south, met a similar fate. During 1920 Soviet Russia was again fighting for her existence. Poland, urged on by France, declared war against Russia. At the same time a White army under General Wrangel invaded from Crimea. Realizing its perilous situation the Soviet made haste to sign a treaty with Poland, who received considerable Russian territory. Trotsky then launched the Red army against Wrangel, who was defeated and driven out of the country.

When it became evident that the Bolsheviks could not be driven from power the Allies adopted a new attitude toward Russia. They raised the blockade and evacuated the territory that they had occupied. One by one the nations of the world recognized the Soviet government and made treaties with it. In 1930 the United States was the only important nation that had not recognized Soviet Russia.

Reasons for the success of the Bolsheviks. It is necessary to

¹ The two opposing parties in Russia were "the Reds," or Bolsheviks, and "the Whites," or the champions of tsarism. The middle parties were forced to support one or the other.

explain how so small a group as the Bolsheviks managed to seize power in so great a country as Russia. In the first place, they were united and well-disciplined; those opposed to them were sharply divided into reactionaries who wished to restore the autocracy, and liberals who wished to establish a democratic republic. Secondly, the Bolsheviks received the support of the peasants, despite the fact that the latter were very conservative. The peasants feared that the success of the Whites would result in bringing back the landlords, who would then demand the return of their confiscated lands. Thirdly, Allied intervention aroused a national spirit of resistance, and many opponents of the Soviet supported the government as the defender of the country. Fourthly, there was the Red Army, a powerful, well-disciplined force at the service of the Soviet government. After the imperial army had been disrupted, Trotsky organized a new army, composed largely of devoted believers in Bolshevik doctrines. This Red Army was more than a match for the hired or conscripted soldiers of the White armies. Finally, in Lenin, the Bolsheviks had a leader, unerring in judgment, and daring and resourceful in revolutionary tactics. His was the master mind that planned and directed the November Revolution.

Soviet system. While the Soviet was fighting for its existence against enemies within and without, it was establishing a new system of government. Moscow became the new capital, and the red flag of international socialism, the new flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, as Russia was now called. The government of the R.S.F.S.R., both legislative and executive, is concentrated in the hands of the Council of the People's Commissars, a small body of the size of a cabinet. It issues decrees having the force of law and appoints officials to execute them. The Council is appointed by a larger body, the Central Executive Committee, to which it is responsible. In turn the Committee is appointed by a still larger body, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which exercises sovereign power. The Congress consists of delegates chosen (1) by city soviets and (2) by the provincial congresses of soviets which are the result of a pyramid of local soviets, until finally the base is reached, the village soviet. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is maintained in the preponderance given to the city soviets, that elect one delegate for every 25,000 voters; the provincial delegates,

mainly peasants, elect one for every 125,000 inhabitants. How are the city and village soviets chosen? By all citizens, men and women over eighteen, who are productive workers. The voters are grouped, not according to districts, but according to occupations, factory workers, peasants, civil servants, miners, teachers, clerks; each occupational group elects representatives in proportion to its numbers to the local soviet.

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Russia became the model of some of her neighbors who, in 1923, joined her to form the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.). Its most important members were the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Trans-Caucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The government of the Union is modeled on that of Russia. A noteworthy feature of the constitution of the Union is the Union Central Executive Committee. It consists of two houses: one in which the states are represented according to population; and the other, the "Soviet of Nationalities," in which about forty national groups are represented as "nations." Each national group is not only permitted, but even encouraged, to develop its own language and culture, a policy in direct contrast to the Russifying policy of the tsars. The Bolsheviks are very tolerant toward nationalism in their system because they do not believe that it is important. As long as the members of the Union maintain the Soviet economic system, the Bolsheviks are indifferent to their national ideals and aspirations.

The Communist Party. Behind the elaborate façade of the Soviet system of government, there is the directing real power, the Communist Party.¹ In theory the government is based on the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; but in practice, on the dictatorship of the Communist Party. All policies are first decided by party conventions, and then carried out in all branches of the government. Such action is assured by the presence of party members in all important posts throughout the Soviet Union. In every factory, in every office, in every village, in every district and region there are communist "cells," or local organizations that direct the elections to the various soviets. In a dictatorship rival parties do not exist, hence the Communist Party rules unopposed.

¹ After their power was firmly established the Bolsheviks took the name of "Communists."

This ruling minority, only ten per cent of the population, are tried and true adherents of the communist faith. In order to have a party membership composed only of devoted communists, two youth organizations were established in Russia. Boys and girls, between ten and sixteen, are admitted to the "Young Pioneers"; and those between sixteen and twenty-three to the "League of Communist Youth." These organizations are devoted to the teaching of communist doctrines and ideals; from them only are party members chosen.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Show how reforms in Russia issued from the following wars: Crimean War; Russo-Japanese War; World War.
2. What were the weaknesses of the provisional government?
3. In 1917 the chief demand of the Russian peasant was "more land." Explain historically.
4. What were the main differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks? Why did the Russian peasant support the Bolsheviks?
5. What economic changes did the Bolsheviks introduce? What political changes? How does the Russian system of government differ from the American?
6. How may you account for the success of the Bolshevik Revolution?
7. Compare and contrast the views of the Bolsheviks with those of the Jacobins regarding (a) the land, (b) the Church, and (c) democracy.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

THE MARCH REVOLUTION. Bennis, pp. 61-72; Olgin, ch. xxxvi; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 564-70.

THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION. Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 581-84, 764-68; Bennis, pp. 572-89; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 570-84.

LENIN. Antonelli, pp. 43-46, 117-23, 224-30; Chamberlin, ch. iv; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 584-87.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. Chamberlin, ch. v; Bennis, pp. 455-58; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 633-38.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Chamberlin, ch. iii; Bennis, pp. 464-65.

CHAPTER LIX

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

PROBLEM OF REPARATIONS

Conflict over Reparations. No provision of the Treaty of Versailles aroused more criticism than the amount demanded of Germany for Reparations, \$33,000,000,000. Germany protested against this huge sum as calculated to ruin her permanently and to enslave her people; but the Allies hoped to recoup at least part of their losses from German payments, and they insisted on the full measure of their demands. The bad economic situation in Germany, however, made it difficult for her to pay, which resulted in differences between France and England over Reparations. England was inclined to favor moderate terms to Germany in order to restore the latter to normal economic conditions. Bad conditions on the Continent caused widespread unemployment in England; a revival of Germany would result in a revival of Europe generally, which would lead to a growth of business between England and the other nations. Not so reasoned France, who was unyielding in her demand that Germany pay in full. France believed that if Germany was rehabilitated, she would immediately prepare for a war of revenge, hence, in Germany's weakness lay France's security. Moreover, France depended upon Reparations to restore her devastated regions and to pay her enormous war debt.

Occupation of the Ruhr. Many conferences were held to solve the Reparations problem, all of which ended in failure. In 1922 Germany was declared to be in default in her Reparations payments. Premier Poincaré promptly sent French armies into the Ruhr, where they established military control of both government and industry. Feeling between France and Germany was now as bitter as it had been during the war.

The Dawes Plan. The occupation of the Ruhr did not solve the problem of Reparations. A new method was then tried. In 1924 a commission was appointed, headed by the Americans, General Charles G. Dawes and Owen D. Young, to make a study of conditions in Germany and to suggest methods whereby she

could meet her obligations to the Allies. The recommendations of the commission, known as the Dawes Plan, were accepted by Germany and the Allies. Its chief features were: (1) that Germany stabilize her currency which had fallen so low as to be worthless; and (2) that a schedule of Reparations payments be adopted, according to which yearly payments were to be increased or diminished as economic conditions were better or worse in Germany. After a year of the Dawes Plan, it was reported that Germany had met her obligations fully and promptly, thereupon France evacuated the Ruhr.

The Young Plan. The Dawes Plan did not solve the Reparations problem, but it did give Germany a "breathing spell" in that the payments for the first four years were reasonably low. In 1929, when heavier payments were to be made, a new Reparations crisis threatened to develop. To avoid such a crisis an international committee of financial experts was appointed by the Reparations Commission to draw up a more satisfactory system of payments. This committee was headed by Owen D. Young, and the result of its labors was the Young Plan. Its chief features were: (1) the abolition of the Reparations Commission, and the establishment of a Bank for International Settlements to be a central agency for the receipt and distribution of Reparations; and (2) the adoption of a new schedule of payments according to which the amount Germany had to pay each year was considerably less than that under the Dawes Plan.

The Hoover Moratorium. Although the Young Plan was devised to make Reparations payments easier, the economic depression in Germany made the situation harder. Foreign trade was falling, and unemployment was rising rapidly. Government finances were in a bad way, and the Reparations problem once more came to the front. In 1931 President Herbert Hoover made an announcement that created world-wide interest. He proposed a suspension of all payments of Reparations and intergovernmental debts for one year beginning July 1; during this period Germany was to make no payment on Reparations, and America was to receive no payment on the debts owed to her by the Allies. This moratorium, designed to aid in bringing about economic recovery in the world, was accepted.

End of Reparations. But economic recovery was slow in coming. Germany's payments of Reparations came largely from

money that she borrowed in America and in England. But, after the depression began in 1929, she could no longer get money from abroad, and the Reparations problem again became acute. In 1932 a conference was held, representing Germany and the Allies, which agreed that Germany pay \$714,286,000 in full settlement of Reparations. In this way the vexed problem of Reparations from Germany was solved. But, as will be seen, it was solved at the expense of America.

THE INTER-ALLIED DEBTS

The United States a creditor of the Allies. Almost as important as the problem of Reparations was that of inter-Allied debts. During the war the Allies had loaned money to one another, a procedure which gave them a great advantage over Germany who could borrow only from her own citizens. The United States had advanced money to all of the Allies; in 1925 they owed her the huge sum of about \$12,000,000,000.

Arguments for and against cancellation of war debts. How were these debts to be paid? The debtor nations pleaded that what they had borrowed during the war should be canceled on the ground that it was a contribution to a common cause. France argued that she had borne the brunt of the fighting and had suffered the most damage; if, in addition, she had to pay her large war debts, she would become bankrupt, unless payment was made conditional upon her getting Reparations from Germany. The United States replied that not all of the money due her was lent for military purposes, much of it being for food for the civil population, and for the purchase of army supplies after the Armistice. To cancel the war debts, the United States argued, would merely transfer the burden to the American people. Nevertheless, the United States determined not to be a harsh creditor, and a Debt Funding Commission was appointed to negotiate terms of payment with each debtor nation separately; these terms were to be based upon the debtor's capacity to pay.

Funding of war debts. During 1923-1929 each of the Allies entered into an agreement with America according to which each debtor promised to pay its debt to America in sixty-two annual installments. America made a concession to her debtors by reducing their interest rate from 5 per cent, the rate at which the money had been borrowed, to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and even to 2 per cent

in some cases. It is estimated that by this reduction of interest America canceled 19.7 per cent of the debt of England; 52.8 per cent of that of France; 53.5 per cent of that of Belgium; and 75.4 per cent of that of Italy.

Allies default on their debts. When the Allies agreed to cancel further Reparations payments by Germany they asserted that they did so only on condition that America should revise their war debts. America consistently and emphatically refused to recognize any connection between Reparations and war debts. She had loaned the money to the Allies, and expected them to pay it back. When the 1933 payments on the war debts were due, all the debtor nations, except Finland, defaulted outright or made slight payments in "token" of their debt.

The refusal to pay the war debts roused widespread indignation in America where it was regarded as an attempt by the Allies to load the burden of Reparations on the backs of the American people, who would now have to pay heavier taxes to make up the amounts due from the Allies. There was so much resentment that Congress, in 1934, passed the "Johnson Act" forbidding American citizens to make loans to those foreign governments who were in default on their debts to the United States.

THE NEW ALLIANCES

Revival of alliances: All the nations of post-war Europe were uneasy or vengeful. Despite the existence of the League of Nations they showed little disposition to strengthen the coöperative internationalism on which it was founded. Because of the weakness of the League there arose a revival of the competitive nationalism of pre-war days. New alliances and counter-alliances were formed to take the place of the Triple Alliance, the Dual Alliance, and the Triple Entente, which no longer existed.

France, center of alliances. France feared a war of revenge by Germany, therefore the chief aim of her foreign policy was security. To take the place of her former ally, Russia, on the eastern front of Germany, France, during 1921-1927, allied herself with Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Yugo-Slavia. The neutralization of Belgium was not renewed by the Conference of Paris; in 1920 an alliance was entered into by France and Belgium. The little nations, allied to France, believed that their

security rested on the maintenance of the Peace of Paris, of which France was the most powerful guarantor.

The "Little Entente." The nations that emerged from the ruins of the Dual Monarchy feared a return of the Hapsburgs. During 1920-21, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania entered into a famous alliance, known as the "Little Entente." They promised to aid one another in case of an unprovoked attack by Hungary against any member of the Alliance. Any attempt by Austria or by Hungary to restore the Hapsburg dynasty would be opposed, even to the point of war, by the Little Entente.

Italy and Yugo-Slavia. Italy emerged from the war with the problem of the Adriatic unsolved. Before the war it was Austria that blocked Italy's desire for mastery of the Adriatic; after the war it was Yugo-Slavia. When Mussolini came into power he determined to annex Fiume. By a treaty, in 1924, between Italy and Yugo-Slavia, the former was allowed to annex Fiume; in return Italy guaranteed the new frontiers of Yugo-Slavia. In 1926 there was a diplomatic sensation. Italy entered into an agreement with Albania which virtually made the latter a protectorate of the former. In case of war Italy could now bottle up Yugo-Slavia, because, through Albania, she controlled the entrance to the Adriatic. A year later Italy allied herself with Hungary as a warning to the Little Entente.

Revival of German militarism. The great influence of France on the Continent was challenged by the appearance of nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler. The foreign policy of the Weimar Republic had been directed with a view of conciliating the Allies by fulfilling, as nearly as possible, the Treaty of Versailles. Quite opposite was the foreign policy of nazi Germany. Hitler aimed to restore Germany's pre-war position as the dominating power on the Continent by breaking loose from the armament restrictions imposed by the Treaty. A powerful, rearmed Germany could defy Europe, and would prepare the way for the restoration of the Reich's lost territories. In 1933 Germany left the League of Nations; in 1935 she violated the armament restrictions imposed on her by the Treaty of Versailles by establishing a great army through conscription, a new navy, and a new air force; and in 1936 she violated the Pact of Locarno by sending an army into the Rhine. Germany rearmed with feverish energy and in a few years she appeared more powerful than in pre-war days.

Diplomatic changes. This new situation deeply affected the system of alliances. Fear of Germany led Poland, in 1934, to enter into a friendly agreement with her; to this extent Poland was less tied to France. In 1935 England felt compelled to grant Germany the right to build a fleet 35 per cent of that of her own. Far more important were the diplomatic changes affecting Austria, Italy, and Russia.

Fascism in Austria. Nazi Germany proclaimed her intention of having an Anschluss with Austria. But Italy was strongly opposed to such a union, as she would have powerful Germany instead of weak Austria as her neighbor. Germany might then be a formidable champion of the German-speaking inhabitants of southern Tyrol that Italy had annexed. Therefore, Mussolini determined to keep a tight grip on Austria by insisting on her "sovereignty." A movement began in Austria, aided by Mussolini, to overthrow the democratic system, and to establish a fascist government which would coöperate with Mussolini. The Premier of Austria was Engelbert Dollfuss, an intimate of Mussolini. He ordered the Heimwehr, a fascist military organization, to oust the government of Vienna, which was in the hands of the socialists. A desperate conflict was waged between the socialists and the Heimwehr, the outcome of which was a victory for the latter. Austria was organized as a fascist state with Dollfuss as dictator. But he now had to reckon with a nazi movement, supported by Germany, which was as hostile to Dollfuss as it was to the democratic system that had been overthrown. Both were obstacles to an Anschluss. A few months after his triumph, Dollfuss was assassinated during an uprising of the Austrian nazis. The uprising was suppressed, but Austria continued under a fascist government, with Mussolini as a sort of protector.

Italy, Austria, and Germany. Cool relations between Hitler and Mussolini followed the assassination of Dollfuss. Mussolini was determined to prevent an Anschluss, and he therefore entered into a friendly agreement with France in 1935. But the ink on treaties, pacts, and agreements was barely dry when they were violated, and new ones were made. During the Ethiopian War Germany was friendly to Italy; but France and England were on the side of Ethiopia. So, in 1936, Mussolini swung to the side of Germany. Agreements were entered into by Germany, Austria,

and Italy according to which they agreed to a closer coöperation; but Germany recognized the "complete sovereignty" of Austria.

Italy and the Balkans. In the Balkans a new situation arose, due to Italian ambitions in that region. Fear of Italy led to the formation, in 1934, of the Balkan Pact binding Turkey, Greece, Rumania, and Yugo-Slavia to aid one another in case of an attack by another power. Still another arrangement, aimed at Italy, was made by a conference, in 1936, which made the first peaceful revision of the post-war treaties. Turkey was allowed to fortify the Straits; and Russia was given the right, under certain circumstances, to send her fleet through the Straits in both peace and war. In case of war involving Italy and Russia, the Straits would be shut to Italy but open to Russia.

Entente between France and England. The nations that feared a rearmed Germany most were France, England, and Russia. France dreaded a renewal of the conflict with her mortal foe, and she built an impregnable line of forts, the "Maginot Line," along her frontier facing Germany. When it became known that Germany was building a great air force England realized that it might be used against her. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin announced that, henceforth, Britain's "frontier was on the Rhine," and England came to a friendly understanding with France.

Franco-Russian alliance. The most surprising change of policy took place in the relations between Germany and Russia. After the war they entered into treaty arrangements of the most intimate and friendly character. Both were outcast nations, hence, they sought each other's company. But with the coming of Hitler into power this friendship was suddenly and sharply broken. Hitler preached a crusade against communism, which implied a war against Russia. He advocated the expansion of Germany in the east, and it was generally believed that he desired to seize the fertile Ukraine. Soviet Russia, fearful of Germany, was now eager to associate herself with the "bourgeois" nations. In 1934 she joined the League of Nations, and was given a permanent seat on the Council. During the following year a striking event took place: France and Russia formed an alliance with the object of aiding each other in case of unprovoked aggression. The Germany of Hitler was the cause of an alliance between bourgeois France and communist Russia. In

1936 came the announcement of an alliance between Germany and Japan which caused great uneasiness among the Pacific powers, Russia, England, and America.

ARBITRATION, SECURITY, AND DISARMAMENT

New armament race. These alliances and counter-alliances resulted in a new armament race which threatened to become even more menacing than that which existed before 1914. With the new deadly weapons, airplanes, submarines, and poison gas, being rapidly perfected, another world war would threaten the existence of civilization itself. Had the "war to end war" been fought in vain?

The Washington Conference (1922). The first step in the movement for disarmament was taken by President Harding, who summoned a conference at Washington to consider the limitation of naval armaments. This conference was to consider also the Far Eastern Question which was looming up as a menace to world peace. The principal decisions of the Washington Conference, which met from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922, were: (1) an agreement (Five Power Treaty) between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to reduce their capital ships to the ratio of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 respectively; (2) an agreement (Four Power Treaty) between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan to respect one another's rights in their insular possessions in the Pacific, the islands of the Japanese homeland not being included; (3) the nine signatory powers, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, China, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal, signed the Nine Power Pact, which guaranteed the administrative and territorial integrity of China, and asserted the policy of the Open Door. As a result of the Four Power Treaty, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was abrogated.

The Locarno Pact (1925). Although there was a great desire for peace, yet the steps taken in the direction of disarmament were few and meager. There was a general feeling that security must precede disarmament, otherwise a nation that reduced her armament might fall a prey to her enemies. The first move in the direction of security originated with Gustav Stresemann, the German foreign minister. He declared that Germany was willing to renounce Alsace-Lorraine in order to guar-

antee peace between France and Germany. His efforts were heartily seconded by Briand, the French foreign minister. A conference met at Locarno, in Switzerland, in 1925, representing England, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium, with the object of establishing a "peace zone" in western Europe. There was a great feeling of amity among the delegates, and the "Spirit of Locarno" augured well for the peace of the world. A Treaty of Mutual Guarantee was signed between the five powers. Germany, France, and Belgium agreed to respect one another's boundaries, and not to violate the demilitarized Rhine Zone, as established by the Treaty of Versailles; and not to go to war except in self-defense, or in case of a flagrant violation of the demilitarized Rhine Zone, or when authorized by the League of Nations. England and Italy agreed to take up arms against the violator of this agreement. Germany, France, and Belgium further agreed to settle by peaceful means "all questions of every kind which may arise between them, and which may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy."

A significant fact of the Conference of Locarno was the admission of Germany on an equal footing with the other nations. She was no longer held in bounds by her former enemies; she was now a member in good standing of the European family of nations. In 1926 Germany was admitted to membership in the League of Nations, and given a permanent seat on the Council.

Pact of Paris (1928). Following Locarno came a new peace move, inaugurated by Briand and by the American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg. Representatives of fifteen nations met in Paris, in 1928, and accepted a pact that condemned "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies" and renounced war "as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." The settlement "of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin...shall never be sought except by pacific means." The Pact of Paris was universally hailed as a milestone in the movement for permanent peace. Its critics, however, pointed out the failure to provide machinery to enforce its provisions.

Evacuation of the Rhineland. Locarno and the Pact of Paris gave some feeling of security to the nations of Europe. Germany's prompt payments of her Reparations under the Dawes and Young plans convinced the Allies that she was sincerely try-

ing to meet her obligations. Therefore, in 1930, five years before the date fixed by the Treaty of Versailles, the Allies evacuated the Rhineland.

London Naval Conference (1930). After steps toward security came steps toward disarmament. A notable naval conference met in London, in 1930, representing the five leading naval countries, England, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. The aim of the Conference was, in the words of the American Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, head of the American delegation, "to remove the secrecy, the rivalry, the mutual irritation which inevitably attend the precedent of competition in armament" by establishing open international agreements regulating naval armaments.

The Treaty of London was signed by England, the United States, and Japan; and was to be in force until 1936. France and Italy, not being able to agree as to the size of their respective navies, did not sign the Treaty. The chief provisions were:

(1) A battleship "holiday" was declared until 1936. The signatories and France and Italy agreed not to build the battleships authorized by the Washington Conference.

(2) Maximum tonnage levels were established for cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. The United States was allowed more tonnage than England in large cruisers, and England, more tonnage than the United States in small cruisers. Japan was assured 70 per cent of American tonnage in small cruisers and in destroyers. Parity was established in submarines between the signatories.

(3) There was an important provision, the "Escalator Clause," which declared that any signatory, if it felt itself menaced by the increased armament of a non-signatory power, could exceed its tonnage by notifying the other two, who would then be free to increase their tonnage. The provision was inserted at the instance of England, who feared that France and Italy might engage in a naval rivalry which would undermine her "two power" standard. It had been the policy of England to have a navy as large as that of any other two European powers combined.

New Armament race. The movement for disarmament came to an end, when nazi Germany, as has already been described, began her re-armament program. Practically the whole of the economy of Germany was concentrated on armament. In order to

buy necessary raw materials abroad Germany bought less of food-stuffs. "Cannon not butter!" was the Nazi rearmament slogan. As before the war, Germany set the armament race, and the other nations had to follow or be left in peril of their existence.

Another blow to disarmament came from Japan. She declined to continue the restrictions on naval armament, imposed by the Washington and London treaties, which expired in 1936, on the ground that America and England declined to give her parity with themselves.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The first Assembly. With the League of Nations there came into existence, for the first time in history, the beginnings of a system of international government. Its fundamental principle of action was the coöperation of all nations in order to promote universal peace and to solve problems of any and every sort that affect all mankind. In 1920, at Geneva, there took place the first meeting of the Assembly of the League, consisting of delegations from forty-one nations. It was a notable event, being the first "Parliament of Man" representing the first "Federation of the World." Since then the Assembly has met annually, and, at almost every session, new nations have been admitted to membership. At first the League consisted of those nations who had been victorious or neutral during the war. But the admission of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany transformed the League into a truly non-partisan organization. It was a notable session of the Assembly, in 1926, when Germany was warmly welcomed as a member. "Is it not a moving spectacle," declared Briand, the representative of France, "and a specially ennobling and comforting one, when we think that only a few years after the most frightful war which ever devastated the world...the same peoples who were hurled in combat against each other are meeting in this peaceful assembly...to collaborate in the work of world peace?"

The World Court. The most important work of the first Assembly was the organization of a world court required by the League Covenant. An international commission of jurists, appointed by the Council of the League, drafted the statute organizing the Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the "World Court." The statute was then sub-

mitted to all the nations of the world, whether members of the League or not, for adoption. A nation could join the World Court without being a member of the League. Nearly all the nations of the world adopted the statute, and the World Court came into existence in 1921. It is composed of judges, elected for a term of nine years by separate majority votes in the Council and in the Assembly of the League of Nations. A man belonging to any nationality may be elected a judge of the World Court. Unlike the Hague Tribunal, which is a body of arbitrators, the World Court is a permanent court of law with international jurisdiction. It decides cases bearing upon international affairs that are submitted to it, and gives opinions upon matters submitted to it by the League. Those nations that have accepted the jurisdiction of the World Court must abide by its decisions. The League now had the framework, at least, of an international government. The Secretariat and the administrative bureaus constituted the executive; the Council, the cabinet; the Assembly, the legislative; and the World Court, the judiciary.

Settlement of disputes. In the many post-war disputes the nations often, though not always, resorted to the League for settlement. The first dispute, settled by the League, was that between Finland and Sweden over the Aaland Islands. The inhabitants, chiefly of Swedish stock, desired to join Sweden when Finland became an independent nation. The matter came before the Council of the League which, in 1921, decided that the islands should go to Finland, but on the condition that they be neutralized and not fortified, and that the inhabitants be granted autonomy. Both Sweden and Finland accepted the decision. In 1921 the League settled a dispute between Yugo-Slavia and Albania concerning their common boundary. In 1925 it prevented possible war between Bulgaria and Greece by compelling the latter to pay an indemnity to the former for invading her territory without justification.

Variety of League activities. In carrying out the treaties of the Conference of Paris the League has rendered notable service. It conducted the plebiscites required by the Treaty of Versailles to insure fairness in bitterly fought contests. It has looked after the interests of the national minorities in those states where their rights are guaranteed by the minorities treaties. It has protected the native races in the mandatories over which it has supervision.

It has maintained an international labor office to collect and to spread information on labor conditions throughout the world. Through its agencies the numerous refugees and prisoners of war have been repatriated. It has established commissions and organized conferences on all sorts of matters: waterways, railways, traffic in opium, limitation of armaments, intellectual coöperation, health conditions, and protection of children. There is hardly an international matter that is alien to its interests.

Japan seizes Manchuria. However, the chief purpose of the League was to maintain peace through a system of collective security, whereby all the members would come to the aid of any nation that was a victim of unprovoked aggression. The first real test of the League came in 1931, when a Japanese army invaded China and seized Manchuria. Japan's act was clearly a violation of the Covenant, as well as of the Pact of Paris and of the Nine Power Treaty. The matter came before the Council of the League which appointed a commission, headed by an Englishman, Lord Lytton, to report on the issues between China and Japan.

The Stimson Doctrine. America was very much interested in the Far Eastern Question, and accepted an invitation to coöperate with the League by taking part in the meeting of the Council of the League, when it took up the matter of Manchuria. America's policy in reference to Manchuria was clearly stated by the Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson. The American government, he declared, "does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris." This "Stimson doctrine," as it was called, was ratified by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Japan defies the League. The report of the Lytton Commission, in 1932, roused world-wide attention. In substance, the report declared that the chaotic conditions in China created a condition from which the Japanese were the chief sufferers. It condemned Japan, however, for her aggressive action in Manchuria. It recommended that Manchuria be granted autonomy under Chinese sovereignty; that China and Japan enter into an agreement to end the Chinese economic boycott; and that a stable government be established in China through international coöperation. The report was accepted by the League, despite

the protests of Japan. It was the first universal condemnation of a nation for an act of aggression. America gave support to this decision, and announced her intention to coöperate with the League "in such a manner as may be found appropriate and feasible." Japan refused to accept the League's recommendations, and threatened to resign as a member. The issue was now joined between Japan and the League. According to Article XVI of the Covenant any member that commits an act of aggression may be subject to "sanctions"; punishment, in the first instance, would take the form of a financial and trade boycott, and, in the second instance, of military action by all the members. But the League backed down and refused to apply sanctions, largely through the influence of England. Despite the fact that England had the support of America she feared to endanger her great interests in the Far East by rousing Japan.

The failure to apply sanctions against Japan gave a great blow to the prestige of the League. In 1933 Japan left the League; her example was followed by Germany. The prestige of the League was somewhat restored when Russia was admitted in 1934.

Italy violates the Covenant. The next trial of strength of the League came in 1935, when Italy invaded Ethiopia. The Council, in response to an appeal by Emperor Haile Selassie, ruler of Ethiopia, investigated the issues between Italy and Ethiopia. It found Italy guilty of violating the Covenant by an act of unprovoked aggression against Ethiopia. In England, especially, popular sentiment flared up against Italy as a violator of the Covenant. Moreover, the British government feared that Italy's success in Ethiopia might endanger Britain's position in Egypt and in the Sudan. To be prepared against an attack by Italy Britain sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. France, however, was somewhat averse to taking action against Italy because she needed Italian help in case of an attack by Germany. But, as the champion of the League and of collective security, France finally gave the League her support. Of all the members the small nations were most ardently in favor of punishing Italy; they felt that their safety, like that of Ethiopia, lay in League action.

League votes sanctions against Italy. An unprecedented event in history happened! The League voted sanctions against Italy, according to Article XVI of the Covenant. Members of

the League were requested to make no loans to Italy, to buy nothing from her, and to sell her no war materials. Nearly all the members applied these sanctions, and Italy's commerce was seriously hurt. Her gold reserves were drained; she had to pay with gold for goods that came from non-sanctionist countries, such as the United States, Austria, Hungary, and Germany. A demand arose for sanctions on petroleum which, if applied, would have crippled the Italian armies in Ethiopia. Italy needed oil for her ships, for her tanks, and for her airplanes. But neither England nor France were willing to take this step which would have put Mussolini in a desperate mood to start a world war.

Removal of sanctions. The rapid collapse of Ethiopia's resistance made sanctions against Italy useless. Therefore, in 1936 the sanctions were removed. The League, however, adhering to the Stimson doctrine, refused to recognize the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy. The Ethiopian delegates to the Assembly were given their seats, despite the protest of Italy that no such nation as Ethiopia was now in existence.

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Explain the differences between England and France over Reparations.
2. Discuss the controversy between the Allies and America over Reparations and war debts.
3. What was the problem of the Adriatic before the war? After the war?
4. What steps were taken to solve the problem of security?
5. What is meant by "parity?" Discuss parity as between Japan and America, as between France and Italy, as between England and Germany.
6. How did the World Court come into existence? Give arguments for and against America's joining the World Court.
7. Austria is merely a pawn in a diplomatic game. Explain.
8. In 1936 the diplomatic situation in Europe was like that before the war. Explain.
9. Explain how the revival of German militarism changed the diplomatic situation in Europe.
10. What is meant by "sanctions"? Give arguments for and against sanctions against a country found guilty of aggression.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

REPARATIONS. Bennis, (ed. 1936), ch. x; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 668-73; J. M. Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*.
INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT. Scott and Baltzly, pp. 682-89; Bennis, chs. XI-XII; J. T. Shotwell, *War as an Instrument of National Policy* (1929).

CHAPTER LX

NATIONAL PROBLEMS

THE Europe that emerged from the World War found itself facing the great problem of reconstruction. Energies that had been used for the conduct of war had now to be turned to rehabilitating industry, demobilizing vast armies, rebuilding devastated regions, and restoring social and economic life to its normal state. With amazing rapidity Europe began to recover from the terrible losses of the war. Production increased, commerce expanded, money was stabilized, and devastated regions were rebuilt. However, new problems arose in every nation of the newly created Europe that are still clamoring for solution.

GREAT BRITAIN

Gains of England from the war. England's gains from the World War were considerable. Germany's fleet that had threatened her naval supremacy was at the bottom of the sea. Germany's trade that had threatened her industrial supremacy had vanished from the markets of the world. Nearly all of Germany's African colonies were now mandates controlled by the British Empire. British capitalists gained control of the Bagdad Railway. Palestine, Irak, Hedjaz, and Trans-Jordania were under British influence.

The British Commonwealth of Nations. As a result of the World War the Dominions gained a new status in the Empire, now called the British Commonwealth of Nations. An Imperial conference, held in 1926, issued an important document defining the new status of the Dominions. It declared that "Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." In 1931 the declaration of 1926 was enacted into a law, known as the Statute of Westminster. This measure definitely and clearly stated the constitutional position of the Dominions. Hence-

forth, no law of a Dominion could be held void in England on the ground that it was contrary to an English law. No law, passed by the British Parliament, could extend to any Dominion, except with its consent. The Dominions could abolish appeals from their courts to British courts.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a political organization unlike any other in the world. It is now a voluntary partnership between Great Britain and her five Dominions in which each member has complete autonomy in domestic matters; and all must agree on foreign policies to be pursued by the Commonwealth as a whole. Each Dominion is represented in the League of Nations, and it may vote as it pleases. If England enters into an agreement with a foreign nation, it is not binding upon the Dominions unless they consent to ratify it.

Ottawa Conference (1932). The Dominions had now reached a degree of self-government that could hardly be distinguished from independence. What bound them was the sentiment of loyalty to the mother country which grew ever stronger. This sentiment found expression in a movement to create an economic partnership which would strengthen the political partnership. In 1932 Great Britain, the Dominions, and India held a conference at Ottawa, Canada, at which they adopted a system of "Imperial preference." By a number of trade agreements between Great Britain and the Dominions and India, and between the various Dominions, preferential tariff rates were adopted; each gave the other tariff rates on certain goods lower than those on foreign goods. England hoped, by these agreements, to find a larger market for her manufactures, and the colonies, a larger market for their foodstuffs and raw materials. Although the Ottawa Conference did not establish free trade among its members it did lay a foundation for the economic unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Strained relations between Ireland and England. The newest Dominion, the Irish Free State, did not enter into the system of Imperial preference. A new conflict began between England and Ireland as the result of the Irish elections of 1932, which gave control to the Republican Party, whose leader, Eamon de Valera, became "President," or Prime Minister. Ireland then took a step which caused the British government to make reprisals. According to the land purchase acts, passed by the

British Parliament, the Irish peasants were required to pay "land annuities" to the British government for money advanced to them to buy their farms. In 1932 the Irish Free State collected the annuities, but refused to pay them to England. In retaliation, the British government laid a high tariff on Irish imports. During the following year Ireland took a step in the direction of independence by abolishing the oath of allegiance to the king. But Ireland did not take the extreme step of declaring her independence.

Political changes. The democratic tide that rose after the war produced an effect in England, the original home of representative government. A new suffrage law was passed, the Reform Bill of 1918, which gave the vote to those women over thirty who had the right or whose husbands had the right to vote in local elections; it also gave the vote to all men over twenty-one. In 1928 a new law gave the vote to women on the same terms as those to men. At last, after a century of agitation and reform, England was a complete political democracy; Parliament was supreme and it was elected by universal, direct, equal suffrage. After the Reform Bill of 1918, elections took place which resulted in a coalition ministry of Conservatives and Liberals, headed by Lloyd George. In opposition was the Labor Party. At the Conference of Paris Lloyd George had an almost united Britain behind him. Once peace was established, the coalition ministry tended to disintegrate. As a result of elections, held in 1922, the Liberals suffered so great a defeat that the historic party of Gladstone and Bright was reduced to the position of a small faction. The Labor Party was now recognized as the official Opposition. Elections were again held in 1923, and the issue between the parties was tariff reform. The Conservatives came out first, but failed to win a majority of the seats. Who would now form a cabinet? Being strong upholders of free trade, the Liberals refused to form a coalition with the Conservatives; on the contrary, they agreed to support a Labor Ministry.

First Labor Ministry (1924). A Labor Ministry took office with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. The advent of the Labor Party to the government of the Empire caused a great sensation. MacDonald, though a socialist, was moderate in his views and cautious in his methods. He determined to urge only those measures that would meet the approval of Parlia-

ment. One of his first acts was the recognition of Soviet Russia, with whom England signed treaties of commerce. MacDonald succeeded in bringing England and France into harmony on

the subject of Reparations. The Labor Ministry was a strong champion of the League of Nations, and gave hearty endorsement to the movement for the reduction of armaments.



Ewing Galloway

JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD

Program of the Labor Party. After the war the Labor Party underwent a marked transformation. It was no longer narrowly trade-unionist, but appealed for support to all who "live by earning" against those who "live by owning." The aim of the Party was "to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry" through "the common ownership of the means of production."

This socialist program was to be

accomplished only "by parliamentary means and in progressive stages," not by an uprising of the working class. Its immediate demands were the nationalization of mines, land, railways, and electric power, but with full compensation to the owners. It also demanded the "right to work or maintenance," namely, that the government should provide work for the unemployed or give them allowances. The Labor Party was not republican but monarchist, on the ground that the king could be a figurehead in a socialist state as he was in a democratic state. It also favored the maintenance of the British Empire, but with the extension of self-government to the colonies whenever practicable.

Fall of the Labor Ministry. Being a minority in Parliament, Labor was always at the mercy of its opponents. Considerable opposition was aroused against the government because it favored a loan to Russia. It was believed that the Soviet would refuse to

pay Russia's new debts as it refused to pay her old ones. After being in office about nine months, the Ministry was defeated in the Commons. Parliament was dissolved, and the elections resulted in a large Conservative majority.

Post-war economic problems. The all-important problem that has faced every ministry since the war has been the trade depression. England depended almost entirely on foreign trade for her prosperity, and many of her factories had to close because of the disturbed economic conditions throughout the world. Moreover, the other nations were establishing their own factories, and therefore imported less from England. New competitors appeared, notably Japan and America, that were driving English goods from the markets of the world. The great coal export trade, one of the pillars of England's prosperity, was especially hard hit, owing to the wide use of oil and of water power. Silent factories and closed mines were the "devastated regions" of England. Unemployment rose to alarming figures. At times the economic situation became almost desperate.

Tariff reform. How was the economic problem to be solved? The solution offered by the Conservatives was by "safeguarding" industry through protective duties with a system of Imperial preference between Great Britain and her Dominions. Its purpose was to establish an Imperial home market which would, they believed, balance the loss of foreign trade by a greatly increased Imperial trade. In 1925 the Conservatives put through a tariff law which imposed duties on luxuries, such as automobiles and silks. In 1932 England finally and definitely abandoned free trade by establishing a comprehensive system of tariff duties. However, foodstuffs were permitted to come in free; but the farmers were protected by having the price of wheat guaranteed through subsidies. In connection with the new tariff there was established a system of Imperial preference, already described.

Social reforms. In England, as well as in the other countries in Europe, the widespread unemployment brought out vividly the insecurity of the working class under modern industrialism. There followed a complete collapse of *laissez faire*. Every ministry that came into power made drastic changes in the social reforms of pre-war times. In 1923 a new workmen's compensation law was passed which applied to nearly all manual laborers. In case a workman was injured while at work, he was to receive

compensation from his employer graded in proportion to the extent of his injury. In case he was killed, his survivors received a money benefit.

In 1920 a national health insurance law was passed which compulsorily insured almost every worker. A fund was established consisting of contributions of employer, employee, and the state. In case of sickness the insured received a weekly cash benefit for the maximum period of twenty-six weeks, free medical services, and free medicines. In case of being disabled for life, as a result of a serious illness, the insured received a reduced cash benefit until the age of sixty-five, after which he received an old age pension.

A minimum wage act had been passed in 1909 to apply only to the "sweated" trades in which labor was not organized. In 1912 the law was extended to the highly organized coal industry. After the war the minimum wage system was widely extended to many trades. Minimum wages in a specified trade were fixed by boards, representing the employers, the employees, and the state.

The Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 was supplemented by a law in 1925. All manual workers over sixteen were compelled to insure against old age. A fund was established, consisting of equal weekly contributions of the employer and employee, to which were added annual subsidies by the state. At the age of sixty-five, the insured was to receive a pension; in case of the death of the insured, his widow and his orphans under fourteen received survivor pensions.

Owing to widespread unemployment, the most drastic changes took place in the unemployment insurance law. The original law of 1911 applied only to a few trades, in which there was considerable unemployment. In 1920 the law was made to apply to all manual workers, except agricultural laborers and servants, and to nearly all clerical workers; in 1936 the law was extended to agricultural laborers. The chief provisions of the law were as follows: the fund was to be made up of nearly equal weekly contributions by the employer, employee, and the state. To be entitled to a benefit, the insured must have made at least thirty contributions during the two years preceding his claim. As long as he was genuinely unemployed, he received an allowance for himself and for his adult and minor dependents. What is called

the "dole" was a special measure regarded as temporary. In 1921, when there was an alarming increase in unemployment, those who were unemployed could obtain an allowance, even if they had made no contributions. As the unemployment insurance fund was heavily drawn on by those who were entitled to the "dole," the government was obliged to make large contributions to the fund.

The general strike. Serious labor troubles faced every ministry since the war. The trade unions had won many concessions in wages and hours which they determined to maintain. But the employers tried to reduce wages and lengthen the work day, which resulted in many strikes and threats of strikes. The most serious labor trouble took place in 1926, when the mine owners prepared to reduce the wages and to increase the hours of their employees. Rather than accept a lowering of their standard of living, the miners struck. Their fellow trade unionists feared that a defeat of the miners would be followed by a general movement of employers to reduce wages. They determined to support the miners by a strike of all organized labor in Great Britain. A general strike was declared, mainly in the mining, transport, printing, and engineering trades, which involved about two million workers. The industrial life of the nation was paralyzed. Premier Baldwin denounced the general strike as an attack on the power of Parliament and on the rights of the community. Although feeling was intense on both sides, there was almost no disorder. After nine days the strike was called off.

This general strike roused the Conservatives against organized labor. In 1927 a law was passed which was a great setback to the trade unions. It declared illegal all general strikes; picketing was restricted so narrowly that it was virtually forbidden; and the funds of a union could not be used for political purposes, except under special conditions.

Second Labor Ministry (1929-31). Discontent was growing with the Conservatives because they had done little to solve the persistent unemployment problem. Unemployment was the issue in the general elections of 1929. The Laborites proposed to solve the problem by socializing some industries and by consolidating others; by reducing the hours of labor; and by raising the school age. The Labor Party won most seats, but it did not have a majority in the Commons. And again Labor was per-

mitted to take office by the Liberals, but on condition that the Laborites did not try to put through socialistic measures. MacDonald again became Prime Minister.

The National Ministry. In the summer of 1931 the Labor Ministry experienced great difficulty in balancing the national budget. As a consequence, either additional taxes had to be levied, which would be resented by the already overtaxed citizens, or economy had to be practiced by cutting expenses. The Ministry decided on the latter policy by proposing to reduce the amounts given to the unemployed and the salaries of public officials. This proposal met with strenuous opposition by the Labor Party on the ground that the economy would be effected mainly at the expense of the working class. Premier MacDonald thereupon resigned, and the Labor cabinet went out of office. A "National Ministry" was formed, headed by MacDonald, consisting of Conservatives, Liberals, and a few Laborites who supported him. In opposition was the Labor Party.

England goes off the gold standard. But these economies did not save the situation. The depression in business deepened, and unemployment in 1931 reached 2,600,000, the highest since the war. Tax receipts fell, and the deficit grew. There was great uneasiness, and foreign creditors began withdrawing large amounts of gold from England. To stop the outflow of gold, England went off the gold standard by suspending temporarily the law requiring the Bank of England to sell gold at the fixed price of \$4.8665 to the pound sterling. This meant that England did not permit gold to be exported, to be circulated, or to be used to redeem other currency. The outflow of gold was stopped, but the value of the pound sterling, being subject to market conditions, immediately fell to \$3.49 and has continued to fluctuate.

Elections of 1931. The National Ministry determined to seek a "doctor's mandate," or full power to cure the country's financial ills by appealing to the people. Parliament was dissolved, and elections were held in which the parties supporting the Ministry united to combat the Labor Party. The result was an overwhelming victory for the National Ministry, which won a majority of nearly 500 seats in a House of 615. Although the Conservatives alone had a majority, MacDonald continued as the head of the cabinet.

Economic recovery. Until 1933 the economic situation in

England was going from bad to worse. The English people faced the depression calmly and bravely; they blamed no one for their troubles, but sought to find a place in the new industrial world that had appeared after the war by adopting new methods and establishing new industries. Could England's loss of her world market in part be compensated by larger domestic and Imperial markets? In 1932 the Conservative Ministry, which was committed to tariff reform, put through a comprehensive system of protection with Imperial preference, already described.

In the second place, agriculture was put on a different footing. Few duties were placed on imports of foodstuffs, which would have increased the cost of living. Instead, England adopted a system of government control of foodstuffs, that marked a further departure from *laissez faire*. Boards of control which regulated production and prices were established for each crop. Subsidies were granted to certain crops, such as beet sugar, and prices were guaranteed to wheat producers. As a result of these reforms, there began a revival of agriculture which, for so long, had been neglected.

New industries were started; equipped with the latest machinery. These industries, chemicals, rayon, electrical apparatus, and automobiles, were located chiefly in south England, which began to displace Lancashire as the industrial center. They were organized along modern lines of mass production, consolidation, and efficient management as in America.

An important aspect of England's recovery was the building boom. An ambitious plan of rehousing England's poor by "slum clearance" was carried through effectively. It is estimated that almost 3,000,000 new houses have been built since the war, some of which were built by the municipalities, and others, by private corporations, aided by government subsidies.

England's recovery, while not sensational, was substantial. Unemployment was reduced. Production increased. Foreign and Imperial trade also increased, but not so much as domestic trade which became markedly greater. England has not regained the economic leadership that she held for so long, but she is finding a leading place in a world in which almost every nation is industrialized. In 1936 prospects were bright for a revival of her export trade, due to the revival of commerce throughout the world.

FRANCE

Losses of France. France had been the chief battleground during the war, and her losses were tremendous. In the war area thousands of factories and farms had been destroyed, and the population in some sections had almost disappeared. The devastated regions presented a scene of indescribable woe, with cities destroyed, soil uprooted, forests burned, mines flooded, and people huddling amidst the ruins. The war had also taken a fearful toll of France's population; about half of her youth and many of her middle-aged were killed or wounded.

Gains of France. But France's gains were also great. Alsace-Lorraine was again French territory. In Africa, France rounded out her colonial empire by acquiring part of the Congo, and by getting a mandate for part of Togoland and for part of Cameroon. In Asia she received a mandate for Syria. For fifteen years she was to get the coal output of the Saar. She was allotted more than half of the Reparations from Germany. Important economic changes followed as a result of the war. The coal from Germany, the iron of Lorraine, and the textile manufactures of Alsace gave a great impetus to the industrial development of France. Hitherto largely agricultural, France now became largely an industrial nation.

The National Bloc. During the war, party politics had little influence, all the factions having formed a "sacred union" in support of the government. But when peace came, a division occurred, chiefly in regard to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The Socialists denounced the treaty, but all the other factions supported it and united to form a National Bloc which was overwhelmingly successful in the elections of 1919. A dramatic event took place when the new Chamber assembled. After an absence of forty-eight years, deputies from Alsace-Lorraine once more appeared to join their compatriots, who received them with a great outburst of patriotic fervor.

Financial problems. Unlike England, France did not experience a serious economic depression. But she experienced a financial depression that threatened her with imminent bankruptcy. The government had promised to indemnify the citizens of the devastated regions for their losses by rebuilding their homes. Immense sums were necessary to accomplish so vast a reconstruc-



tion. France was heavily in debt to the United States and to England for war loans. It was from German Reparations that she hoped to finance the reconstruction of the devastated regions and to pay her war debts. But as Germany was reluctant to pay, France staved off bankruptcy by contracting new debts to pay old ones. Whenever bonds were due, new loans were floated with which to liquidate them, a vicious circle which would, in time, lead to a financial crisis.

Policy of Poincaré. The statesman who appeared most prominently in this situation was Poincaré, leader of the National Bloc. An able financier, strong, decisive, and uncompromising, Poincaré appealed to those of his fellow countrymen who believed that only a "strong man" could save the situation. If Germany paid Reparations fully and promptly, France would be on the high road to recovery. Poincaré determined to make Germany pay in full, and he was ready to act vigorously in case she refused. As has already been described, he sent an army into the Ruhr when Germany, in 1922, was declared to be in default in her payments.

But the results of the occupation of the Ruhr were disappointing, and the financial situation became worse. A succession of ministries tried to solve the problem, but without success. All eyes again turned to the "strong man," Poincaré, who became Premier, in 1926, supported by both left and right parties. Poincaré set energetically to work, having virtually the powers of a financial dictator. In order to break the vicious circle of floating new loans to meet old ones, he introduced drastic reforms by reducing expenses and by increasing taxes. An important step was the stabilization of the currency, in 1928, when the franc was devalued; its value in gold was fixed at 3.93 cents. In effect the stabilization of the franc was a repudiation by France of about four fifths of her internal debt. It brought hardship to those of her citizens who had invested in government bonds at the pre-war value of the franc, about twenty cents. Poincaré's herculean efforts restored France's credit and saved her from possible bankruptcy.

Briand's peace policies. Closely associated with Poincaré was Briand who was foreign minister. Briand's efforts in the cause of international peace were as noteworthy as those of Poincaré in the cause of financial reform. He sought a good

understanding with Germany as the basis of a stable peace in Europe. He was a leading member of the Washington,



Ewing Galloway

ARISTIDE BRIAND

Locarno, and London conferences, and one of the initiators of the Pact of Paris. Shrewd, skillful, persuasive, Briand was regarded as indispensable to the conduct of his country's international affairs.

Social reform. Besides the financial problem, France was deeply concerned with a social problem, due to the rapid industrialization of the country. Large-scale industry had been introduced, and large masses of workingmen appeared concentrated in the industrial centers. Before the war, France had lagged behind Germany and England in social reform. But in 1930, a comprehensive, unified system of social

insurance was adopted, more advanced than any other in the world. All workingmen and working-women, including agricultural laborers, whose earnings were below a certain amount, were compelled to enter the insurance scheme. A fund was established consisting of contributions from the employers, the employees, and the state. In case of illness, the insured were given an allowance, medicines, and medical care for a maximum period of six months. An insured woman, who became a mother, was given an allowance and medical care. In case of incapacity due to illness, the insured was given an invalidity pension and an allowance for dependents. Old-age pensions were granted to the insured at the age of sixty or sixty-five. On the death of the insured, his heirs received a benefit from the insurance fund.

Demand for new devaluation. The problem of an unbalanced budget, due to rising expenses and falling revenues, again became serious in 1932, when the world depression was first felt acutely in France. In foreign trade France was at a disadvantage; the

franc had to compete with a devalued pound and with a devalued dollar when England and America went off the gold standard. The tourist trade suffered heavily because foreign visitors from countries with devalued currencies could not get as many francs for their money as formerly. Business demanded a cheaper franc through devaluation. But this demand was opposed by those with steady incomes from savings, investments, pensions, and salaries, who feared that a cheaper franc would reduce the buying power of their incomes by an increase in prices which would follow devaluation.

"February 6." Universal discontent affected the political situation. The government was confronted by a growing opposition of the extreme parties, the fascists, known as the *Croix de feu* (fiery cross), led by Colonel François de la Rocque, and by the communists. Public disturbances were frequent and many were alarmed for the safety of the Republic. On February 6, 1934, a great procession, inspired by the fascists, marched menacingly toward the Chamber of Deputies. Premier Daladier, realizing the seriousness of the situation, acted promptly and energetically. The procession was dispersed by the military after a conflict in which hundreds were shot.

The Popular Front. A number of ministries came to the office following "February 6," but they were unable to bring about a better situation. After many experiences with revolutions and dictatorships the French have learned the lesson that in unity there is strength. When a critical situation arises, the many political groups coalesce into two parties, "Left" and "Right." The elections of 1936 saw the triumph of the Popular Front, a coalition of the Radical Socialist Party, who are liberals in fact though not in name, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party. A new ministry, consisting of Radical Socialists and Socialists, came into power with the Socialist, Léon Blum as Premier.

The Blum Ministry. Within a short time the Blum Ministry put through a number of drastic reforms. The Bank of France, which has enormous influence over French finance, was reorganized; a financial oligarchy was ousted and democratic control was established. There was grave discontent among the laborers, and a wave of strikes swept over France. For a time there was fear of a communist uprising. But the Blum Ministry met

the situation, not with repression, but with comprehensive reforms. Parliament passed a number of laws that constituted France's New Deal. A forty-hour week was established for all workers. Vacations, with pay, of one or two weeks in a year were established for all workers. Wage increases, averaging thirty per cent, followed the strikes, and the agreements of the trade unions with the employers were recognized by law. The fascist and royalist organizations were dissolved on the ground that their armed and uniformed members threatened the Republic.

Devaluation of the franc. The most hazardous measure of the Blum Ministry was the devaluation of the franc. In 1936 it was reduced about one third of its value; it was now worth between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 cents instead of $6\frac{2}{3}$ cents at the time of devaluation. To prevent further competition in devaluation, a financial agreement was entered into by France, England, and the United States to stabilize their currencies by linking the franc, the pound, and the dollar on a stable basis of exchange. As a result of this agreement the devaluation of the franc was not followed by dire results. Measures were taken to prevent a too great increase in prices to protect those who had steady incomes.

ITALY

Gains of Italy. As a result of the war, Italy made important, though not extensive, gains in territory. The Peace Conference gave her the Trentino, southern Tyrol, containing the Brenner Pass, which safeguarded her from invasion from the north; and Gorizia, Trieste, and part of Dalmatia, which made her dominant in the Adriatic. Later, Italy got Fiume from Yugo-Slavia, and the Dodecanese Islands from Turkey. *Italia irredenta* was now rectified, but new irredentisms were created. Southern Tyrol was inhabited by German-speaking Austrians, and the newly acquired lands on the Adriatic, by Yugo-Slavs. Both elements protested against annexation to Italy.

Revolutionary agitation. During the war Italy had suffered greatly, and, being a poor country, she was less able than England or France to bear her losses. The cost of living rose, which caused widespread discontent among the lower classes, already overburdened with taxes. A revolutionary agitation spread so

rapidly that the country was in a turmoil. Strikes were frequent and violent, and industry was almost paralyzed. Under the leadership of socialists and communists, the workingmen began seizing factories and ousting their employers. In this situation the government showed itself weak and irresolute; it feared to take drastic measures against the workingmen, who were thereby emboldened still more. The property-owning classes were greatly alarmed lest what had happened in Russia should also happen in Italy.

Rise of the fascists. A counter-revolutionary movement arose to meet the critical situation. Patriotic societies, known as fascists,¹ were organized, in 1919, by Benito Mussolini, a former socialist, who had supported the government during the war. The fascists denounced the socialists as enemies of the Fatherland, and appealed to all patriotic citizens to save the country from revolution. Organized in semi-military bands, they would descend upon the socialists, break up their meetings, demolish their headquarters, burn their journals, and attack their leaders. In case of a strike the fascists would drive the strikers back to work. A bitter struggle raged in the peninsula between the fascists and the socialists, and no quarter was asked or given by either side.



Wide World

BENITO MUSSOLINI

March on Rome. Many rallied to the side of the fascists as the saviors of Italy. The outcome was the complete ruin of the socialist movement in Italy, which went down under the blows of the "Black Shirts."² Throughout the struggle Mussolini treated the

¹ The name is derived from the Latin *fascēs*, a Roman symbol of authority and discipline.

² The Fascists wore black shirts as a kind of uniform.

government with the utmost contempt, as being too weak and cowardly to govern the country. He demanded that it give way to the fascists who had the will to rule and the force to compel obedience. The King and the army were in sympathy with the fascists and gave them encouragement and assistance. During October, 1922, bands of fascists throughout Italy began seizing cities and towns. A "March on Rome" began, and, on October 28, the fascists entered the capital, where they met with no resistance. Mussolini sent an ultimatum to Premier Facta demanding his resignation, and threatening a *coup d'état* if he refused. The Premier resigned, and King Victor Emmanuel III appointed a fascist cabinet headed by Mussolini.

Aims of the fascists. Mussolini now appeared before parliament, which he mocked and derided as a body of politicians without any real influence among the people. He declared that the fascists aimed to reorganize the government in the interest of efficiency and economy by abolishing sinecures, by suppressing corruption, and by reforming the finances; to promote a spirit of order and discipline among the people by discouraging strikes and by suppressing revolutionary groups; and to uphold the ideal of patriotic devotion by supporting nationalist policies. There was to be a "revolution in the national soul" through the introduction of efficiency and discipline among the easy-going Italians. Mussolini ridiculed democratic ideals and methods, and asserted that real power should be exercised by an organized minority which is aggressive and patriotic. Fascism rejected absolutely the idea that the individual has natural rights that are superior to the state. The state was over and above every individual, to which he is subordinate and for which he should be ready to sacrifice himself.

Reasons for success of the fascists. (1) *Nationalism.* The success of the fascists may be explained as follows: Italy emerged from the war triumphant but discontented. She was not awarded Fiume by the Conference, which hurt her "sacred egoism." She did not share in the partition of Asiatic Turkey and in that of German Africa. She, therefore, felt that her sacrifices for the cause of the Allies during the war were not sufficiently rewarded at the Peace Conference. The government was bitterly criticized as being weak in maintaining Italy's national interest. Ardent nationalists welcomed the fascists as

militant patriots who would make Italy powerful enough to be respected by the powers.

(2) *Weakness of parliamentary government.* The parliamentary system for all Italy existed only since 1870. Therefore, the Italians did not have the experience and training necessary for the successful working of democratic government. Elections were controlled by the ministry in power to an extent unknown in England and France, hence, many Italians scoffed at parliament. Even in critical times the various political factions did not form solid *blocs*, such as those in republican France, to solve the serious problems confronting the nation.

(3) *Spread of revolution.* Finally, there was a situation in Italy of 1922 not unlike that of France in 1851, when Louis Napoleon executed his *coup d'état*. Property-owners were in ever-present fear of an uprising of the working class. The spread of communism gave a better organization and a greater militancy to the proletariat. Great strikes occurred which were regarded as "rehearsals" for a social revolution. Faced with this situation, the government always sought to conciliate and to temporize. In the fascists the conservative elements of the nation beheld the "saviors of society" who would suppress without mercy all foes of the social order.

Fascist rule. Being opposed to democracy the fascist government determined to put down all opposition to its rule. A severe censorship was established. Schools, books, and journals were compelled to champion fascist ideas. Liberal and socialist journals and organizations were suppressed. Open opposition to *Il Duce* (Leader), as Mussolini was called, was swiftly and ruthlessly punished. In 1924 the world was shocked at the murder of a prominent socialist deputy, named Matteotti. It was charged that the murder had been committed with the connivance of fascist officials who wanted Matteotti out of the way because he was an influential opponent. The opposition in parliament bitterly attacked the fascist dictatorship, but Mussolini defied his enemies to unseat him. Under fascist rule, Italy lay bound and helpless. Spies and Black Shirts spread terror everywhere. Once again, as in the days of the Risorgimento, freedom-loving Italians were to be found as exiles in the capitals of Europe.

The fascist system of government. In 1924 elections were held for parliament in which the fascists appeared as a political

party. By using coercion and terrorism they won a majority of the seats; in opposition were the liberals and socialists. Having control of parliament, the fascists now proceeded to pass drastic legislation reorganizing the government. During 1924-28 the political and social institutions of Italy were completely transformed by legislation. The fundamental fact in the fascist system is the position of Mussolini who is a dictator, not a prime minister. In theory he is appointed by the king, and is responsible to him, not to parliament. In fact he is prime minister because he is the *Duce*, or leader of the Fascist Party, and is responsible to no one. Mussolini appoints and dismisses his fellow ministers. All laws are initiated by the ministers and submitted to parliament, which has been elected in a novel manner since 1929, when Italy finally became completely fascist. There are 400 members, and a list of 400 candidates is drawn up by the Fascist Grand Council, the governing body of the Fascist Party, from about 1000 recommendations, made chiefly by national economic organizations of employers, of employees, and of professionals. These Fascist candidates, and no others, are then submitted to the voters to accept or reject the entire list. What takes place is not an election but a plebiscite. Twice have the Italian voters been called upon to "vote" for candidates, in 1929 and 1934, and each time the list was almost unanimously accepted, few dared vote against it.

The Fascist Party. Behind this shadow parliament is a body that does exercise political power, the Fascist Party, the only political party that is permitted to exist. It is organized on the principle of authority from the top, downwards. The Duce controls the Fascist Grand Council, over which he presides; these in turn appoint the leaders of provincial branches; and these, in turn, appoint the leaders of the local organizations. To be a member of the Party is a privilege that is extended only to those who are enthusiastic and active in the fascist cause. Children and youths of both sexes are enrolled in organizations where they are indoctrinated with fascist principles. Only graduates of these organizations are eligible for membership in the Fascist Party.

So closely interlocked is the government and the Party that they are really one and the same. The decisions of the Fascist Grand Council and of the Duce constitute law and determine

policy; and these decisions are carried out by officials, all of whom are under the iron discipline of the Fascist Party.

The "Totalitarian state." Fascist Italy is a "Totalitarian state" which, according to Mussolini, means: "Everything in the state, everything for the state, nothing against the state." Before the state the individual is nothing; he has no rights that the state is bound to respect. He may be deprived of his life, liberty, and property by the state without due process of law; civil rights do not exist under fascism. No opposition whatever is tolerated. All writing, teaching, and speaking must conform to fascist ideas and policies. All the newspapers print only what they are told to print by the censor. The teachers in all schools, from the elementary school to the universities, teach their various subjects from the fascist viewpoint. Armies of spies and secret police are constantly engaged in ferreting out opposition to fascism.

The "Corporate state." Every activity in Italy must be under fascist direction whether it be an athletic club or a steel factory. Fascism is opposed to *laissez faire*, and the state intervenes constantly in economic life to regulate prices, wages, production, foreign trade, in fact, every form of business enterprise. Private property is maintained and private enterprise is encouraged, but under the complete direction of the state. Economically Italy is organized as a "Corporate state" that regulates both capital and labor. A law, passed in 1926, required every workingman, every employer, every professional man, to join a syndicate, or union of his trade, union, or profession. Local and provincial unions were grouped in thirteen national confederations: six of employers, six of employees, and one of professionals. Wages, hours, and conditions are regulated by agreements between representatives of the Confederations of employers and of employees. These unions are under the watchful direction of members of the Fascist Party who are always placed in key positions. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. All industrial disputes must be settled by industrial courts. Another law, passed in 1934, organized all economic life in Italy in twenty-two "corporations" representing employers and employees. Each corporation has power over its particular trade to regulate output, prices, wages, methods of manufacture, sales, all the way from the raw material to the finished product.

Settlement of the Roman Question. Ever since 1870 the Roman Question, concerning the position of the pope, troubled Italy. In 1929 Mussolini and Pope Pius XI signed a number of agreements, known as the Lateran treaties, which abrogated the Law of Papal Guarantees¹ and established new relations between Italy and the papacy. Italy recognized the pope as an independent sovereign in the "State of the Vatican City," a district in Rome set aside as his domain. In turn the pope recognized the Kingdom of Italy with Rome as the capital. The Catholic was declared to be the only state religion in Italy. Laws, however, were later passed which gave toleration to non-Catholic faiths. A special convention provided for the payment by Italy to the Holy See of about \$95,000,000 in final settlement of the financial claims that had arisen from the events of 1870. Agreements were established between church and state, the most important of which dealt with education and marriage. Catholic instruction was made compulsory in the public elementary and secondary schools, and it was to be under the control and direction of the clergy. Non-Catholics, however, were not compelled to receive Catholic instruction in the schools. The state recognized the civil aspects of the Catholic sacrament of marriage as laid down by Canon Law; the judgments of the church courts in cases affecting marriage were to be affirmed by the civil courts.

Fascism and militarism. The very soul of fascism is a militant nationalism which it preaches with religious fervor. War and conquest are advocated as being good and noble in themselves because they advance the power of the nation and exalt the patriotism of the citizens. "Fascism," declared Mussolini, "believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace.... War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it."

Immediately upon coming into power fascism began the systematic militarization of the Italian people. To conscription was added military training of the youth and even of the children. Little boys and girls were put in uniform and trained in military sports. Constant propaganda in schools, in clubs, in theaters, in the press, aimed to keep at white heat the spirit of

¹ See page 515.

militant nationalism. Immense sums were spent in reorganizing the army, the navy, and the air service, for which the people were taxed to the uttermost.

Conquest of Ethiopia. Mussolini proved to be a daring and resourceful diplomat, and he succeeded in getting considerable territory for Italy. As has already been described, he succeeded in annexing Fiume and in making Albania a virtual protectorate of Italy. But Mussolini's greatest success was the conquest of Ethiopia in Africa (formerly Abyssinia). In 1896 the Italians had tried to conquer this region, but they were disastrously defeated by the Ethiopians, at the Battle of Adowa, and driven from the country. Mussolini determined to "avenge" this defeat which would rouse the enthusiasm of all Italians for his régime. For several years he carefully planned a war against Ethiopia by concentrating troops and arms in the Italian colonies, Eritrea and Somaliland. In October, 1935, Italian armies invaded Ethiopia from these colonies, and rapidly advanced into the country driving the Ethiopians before them. The Ethiopians, though brave warriors, were poorly armed and badly disciplined; they were no match for the highly mechanized Italian armies, well supplied with airplanes, tanks, and poison gas. The greatest obstacle to the Italian advance was the wild and mountainous nature of the country; and the Italians had to construct roads to move their troops and supplies.

Italy resists sanctions. The intervention of the League of Nations in the war between Italy and Ethiopia has already been described. When sanctions were applied by the League against Italy, Mussolini appealed to the Italian people to rally to the government; they responded with great enthusiasm, though they suffered great hardship as a result of the severe blows to Italian trade that were dealt by the sanctionist nations.

Ethiopian Campaign. The war with Ethiopia was pushed with greater energy in order to bring victory before Italy should become exhausted as a result of sanctions. General Pietro Badoglio was given chief command of the Italian armies in Africa. A soldier of great skill and energy, General Badoglio won a rapid succession of victories. Ethiopian resistance quickly collapsed, and Emperor Haile Selassie fled the country. On May 5, 1936, the Italians entered the capital, Addis Ababa, and proclaimed the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy. A region, several times the size

of Italy, and reputed to be rich in natural resources, was conquered in about seven months. Italy's military prestige rose high, and Mussolini was now more than ever the idol of his fellow countrymen.

GERMANY

Fall of the Empire. During the World War all parties, including the Socialists, rallied to the support of the government. As long as the German army was winning battles, the government received the support of the nation, but when the tide turned in favor of the Allies, it faced a disappointed and hostile people. A revolutionary movement began with the sailors in the navy, who hoisted the red flag over the fleet. It spread so rapidly that the Kaiser fled to Holland, where, protected as a refugee, he has since been living in lonely exile. Later, he abdicated, and his example was followed by the other princes in Germany.

The Republican constitution. A provisional government was organized, consisting of Socialists, headed by Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann. It proclaimed Germany a republic, and issued a call for a national assembly to be elected by universal suffrage. This body met in 1919, at Weimar, where it chose Ebert as provisional President of the Republic. After meeting for about half a year the Weimar Assembly adopted a constitution, which was then proclaimed. It established Germany as a federal republic on a thoroughly democratic basis. Suffrage for all representative bodies, both national and local, was made universal, equal as between men and women, direct, and secret. The chief executive was a president, elected by popular vote for a term of seven years; his power was limited much in the same way as that of the French president. Parliament was composed of two houses: the Reichstag representing the people, and the Reichsrat representing the states. The members of the Reichstag were elected by a system of proportional representation that assured to each group a number of seats in proportion to the size of its vote. The members of the Reichsrat were chosen by the state governments. The cabinet, as in England and France, was made responsible to the lower house, the Reichstag. In addition to a bill of rights, protecting the rights and liberties of the individual, the Weimar constitution contained a bill of social rights which provided for equality of men and women before the law; for free, compulsory

education until the age of eighteen; for special protection of children; and for social legislation. Economic councils were established, representing capital and labor, to advise parliament on social and economic measures. There were many other admirable features in the constitution which was a model of progressive democracy.

Uprisings against the Republic. From its beginning the Republic had to struggle to maintain its existence against revolutionary and reactionary elements. No sooner was it established than it faced an uprising of the Spartacists, a communist group, inspired by the ideals of Soviet Russia. Workingmen's and soldiers' councils were organized to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Riots broke out in 1919, and Berlin was the scene of an armed uprising in which many were killed, among them the two Spartacist leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The uprising was vigorously suppressed by President Ebert who, though a socialist, was strongly opposed to revolution. In 1920 the monarchists attempted to overthrow the Republic by a *coup d'état*, called in German a *Putsch*. A body of troops seized Berlin, which so frightened the government that it fled from the capital. But the situation was saved by the trade unions that, by threatening to plunge the country into a general strike, foiled the plot of the monarchists. Germany wished neither revolution nor reaction, and those parties that favored the Republic had a majority in the elections to the Reichstag.

Losses of Germany. The Germany that emerged from the war was a smaller, a poorer, and a weaker Germany than the one of 1914. West Prussia, Posen, Alsace-Lorraine, part of Upper Silesia, northern Schleswig, and the African colonies were lost. The Saar, rich in coal, was mortgaged for fifteen years. Germany's great navy was at the bottom of the sea, and her army was insignificant. Her large foreign investments were gone. Her foreign trade and merchant marine almost disappeared. Tremendous as were the losses, Germany did not collapse and sink to the position of a minor nation. Fortunately for her she still possessed her splendid industrial organization, which became the foundation of a new economic life.

Reconstruction. Like France after 1871, Germany rapidly recovered from the terrible disasters of the war. The first essen-

tial step was the stabilization of the currency. Because of inflation the mark had fallen so low as to be almost worthless. In 1924 Germany reestablished her currency on a gold basis, with the mark about twenty-five cents, the same value as before the war. When inflation was over and Reparations put on a definite basis by the Dawes Plan, German industry began to revive. Once more German manufacturers competed successfully in the markets of the world. A new merchant marine appeared, of the latest model, which rapidly approached that of pre-war days. The latest methods were introduced in the large industries, and German plants began to rival the great plants of America in size, in efficiency, and in productivity.

Social reform. As the pioneer of social reform Germany was not slow to revise her system of social insurance. In 1919 a national eight-hour law was passed, which later, however, was considerably modified. The accident, sickness, invalidity, and

old age pensions laws were re-modeled. Before the war Germany had no unemployment insurance laws, but the trade depression following the war created widespread unemployment. In 1927 an unemployment insurance law was passed which insured virtually all manual and non-manual workers. The fund was made up of contributions by employer and employee; the state bore the cost of administration. The benefit was a fixed percentage of the insured worker's wages for a maximum period of twenty-six weeks in a year.

Election of von Hindenburg.

The death of President Ebert in 1925 brought up the ques-



PAUL VON HINDENBURG

tion of his successor. He had been a provisional president, and now, for the first time, the German people were to select the

head of their government. The most prominent candidate was General von Hindenburg, the famous war hero, who was the nominee of monarchist and semi-monarchist groups. He was elected by a plurality over his Republican and Communist opponents. President von Hindenburg's great popularity, his moderation, his well-known patriotism inclined many liberals to see in the old general the strongest pillar of the young Republic. But, as it turned out, they were mistaken.

Stresemann. Another famous leader of post-war Germany was Dr Gustav Stresemann, who was foreign minister from 1924 until his death in 1929. The chief object of Stresemann's foreign policy was reconciliation with France; it was he who first suggested the policies that led to the Locarno treaties. He was whole-hearted in his desire to build a new Europe in which Germany would coöperate with her former enemies to bring lasting peace to the Continent. His untimely death was deeply felt throughout the world as a great loss to the cause of world peace.

Communists and Nazis. The world-wide depression, which began in 1929, hit Germany very hard. Unemployment rose to an alarming degree. Millions were in a desperate situation which boded ill for the government on whom was put all the blame for all the ills Germany suffered: the depression, Reparations, high taxes, and the Versailles Treaty. Discontent found expression in the rapid growth of two extreme parties, the Communists and the National Socialists, or popularly the "Nazis," who were fascists in principle and in methods. Although the Communists and the Nazis were deadly enemies, yet they both believed in a government by a party dictatorship, and both followed the tactics of revolutionary violence. So great was their common hatred of the democratic Republic that they would frequently unite to embarrass the government. Street battles between Communists and Nazis were of common occurrence. The government showed itself weak and irresolute in the face of its enemies, which discredited the Republic among the German people, so long accustomed to being ruled by a strong government.

Under the leadership of Adolf Hitler the Nazis succeeded in winning wide popularity. They appealed to a growing discontent with existing conditions, and, at the same time, to the patriotic

sentiment of the Germans who hated the Communists as enemies of the Fatherland. As a result of the elections of 1930 the Nazis rose to be the second largest party in the Reichstag, the largest being the Socialists, or Social Democrats.

The Nazi program. *Anti-Semitism.* The elections of 1930 were to have momentous results for Germany and for Europe generally. From now on all




Wide World

ADOLF HITLER

the discontented elements in Germany, except the Communists, rallied to the banner of the Nazis, who presented a program of action that was a strange mixture of extreme national ideals, of socialist policies, and of communist tactics. The nationalism preached by the Nazis was racial in character. They asserted that the German people were different from all other European peoples in that they were a pure race, descended from the ancient Teutonic tribes. Therefore, they were a superior people, with a racial culture and racial virtues superior to those of any other people. It behooved

them, therefore, to keep their race pure from non-German influences. Within their midst were about 600,000 Germans of the Jewish race who, the Nazis declared, were not and never could be real Germans because they were not of Teutonic stock. Racial nationalism became the inspiration of bitter and uncompromising anti-Semitism, which was the fundamental spiritual principle of the Nazis. They advocated the complete elimination of the Jews from German life by any and all means. The Nazis favored the suppression of the Bible, which, they declared, was a Jewish influence that was contaminating the spirit of Germanism. In place of the Old Testament German children were to be taught the legends of the ancient Teutonic sagas that celebrated the valorous deeds of

the Teutonic gods. The Nazis adopted as a symbol of their pure Germanism the swastika () a pagan symbol supposedly used by the ancient Teutons.

Pan-Germanism. Germany, according to the Nazis, was to become a great racial state by annexing the German-speaking lands on her borders, Austria, the German parts of Czecho-Slovakia, of Switzerland, of Poland, and of Denmark; and of Alsace-Lorraine. Wherever Germans were, even in far-off America and Africa, their first allegiance was to Germany, not to the country of which they were citizens. German propaganda all over the world was to keep alive German racial ideals.

Abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles. The Nazis demanded the abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was once more to appear as the great power of Europe by regaining her lost territories, by refusing to pay Reparations, and by arming herself to fight those who might oppose her. War to the death was to be waged against Germany's enemies, especially against France.

Suppression of democracy. Like the Fascists in Italy, the Nazis were bitterly opposed to parliamentary government and to democracy in general. They openly advocated the destruction of the Republic and the establishment of what they called the "Third Reich," which was to be governed by a strong central authority. The federal system, established by the first Reich, the Empire, and continued by the second Reich, the Republic, was to give place to a highly centralized state under the dictatorship of the Nazis. This state was to coördinate and direct all the activities of the people — economic, political, cultural, social, and religious — in order to create a nation that would be entirely united in thought and in act. No opposition of any kind was to be tolerated by the Third Reich. Nazi Germany, like Communist Russia and Fascist Italy, was to be under the complete rule of a party dictatorship.

Socialist policies. The Nazis preached unrelenting war against Marxism, the principles underlying the demands of the Social Democrats and Communists. Against the latter, especially, they conducted a campaign of violence and intimidation. The Nazis claimed that they were national socialists in that they favored the "social liberation of the worker," but through the coöperation of capital and labor, not through class struggle, and through German national policies, not through the interna-

tional action of the proletariat as preached by the Marxists. The Nazis advocated the nationalization of banks, of foreign trade, and of large industrial establishments. Agriculture and industry were to be organized and encouraged with the object of making Germany independent of foreign nations, by intensive cultivation of the soil, by protection of home industry, and by encouraging scientists to invent substitutes for raw materials that Germany lacked.

Organization of Nazis. The Nazis were organized into a strong, well-disciplined party under the control of their leader, Adolf Hitler. The most active members were trained as a political army, with uniforms and banners, that drilled in military fashion. The men of this army were known as the Storm Troops, who wore, as a uniform, brown shirts with arm bands having on them the swastika. The Brown Shirts protected the meetings of the Nazis, and attacked those of their opponents. Between the Nazis and the Communists there was constant and bitter warfare.

Downfall of the Republic. The first step that led to the downfall of the Republic was Hindenburg's dismissal, in May, 1932, of Chancellor Heinrich Brüning. As leader of the Center Party, Brüning had been a staunch supporter of the Republic and an advocate of liberal policies. The new cabinet consisted of personal appointees of the President, and was headed by Chancellor Franz von Papen. The second step was a presidential decree which ordered that the government of Prussia be taken over by the Chancellor. The Social Democrats, who controlled Prussia, were then summarily ousted from office by von Papen. During 1932 two elections took place for the Reichstag, the results of which showed marked gains for the extreme parties, the Nazis and the Communists. The third step leading to the downfall of the Republic came in January 1933, when the President appointed Hitler as Chancellor. The Reichstag was dissolved, and in the elections that followed, the government suppressed the papers and meetings of the Social Democrats and of the Communists. As a result of these methods the new Reichstag was captured by the Nazis and Nationalists, who together had a small majority. The Communist members were not permitted to take their seats. On March 22, 1933, came the final step in the downfall of the Republic, when the Reichstag passed a law giving Chancellor Hitler dictatorial power, and then adjourned indefi-

nately. The Republic was now at an end, though it was not officially abolished.

Causes of the Nazi victory. The Nazi triumph was so rapid and so complete as to astonish the world. Among the causes of this overturn, first and foremost, was the defeat of Germany in the World War. Deep and bitter was the chagrin felt by the German people because of the humiliating terms that were dictated to them by the victorious Allies. They simply would not believe that their mighty armies could be defeated in the field; therefore they sought to put the blame on the Socialists and the Jews, despite the fact that these two elements loyally supported the government throughout the war. The Nazis pledged themselves to wipe out the "shame of Versailles," which brought them the support of millions of patriotic Germans. In the second place, the members of the lower middle class — small merchants, clerks, craftsmen, civil servants, farmers, and professionals — were ruined as a result of the inflation and the depression which followed the war. They lost their savings, their pensions, and their incomes, and saw themselves sinking to the level of the lower classes whom they despised. Many of Hitler's followers were members of the younger generation who could look forward to no future compatible with their education and their traditions. In National Socialism they saw an opportunity to escape from ruin by seizing control of the state and using it in their interests. In the third place, the growth of the Communist Party brought widespread fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its power was constantly rising at the expense of the moderate Social Democrats. Both the middle and upper classes felt that the only way to save Germany from the Communists was to establish the dictatorship of their strongest opponents, the Nazis. Finally, parliamentary government, with its compromises, its deadlocks, and its frequent elections, disgusted the Germans, whose traditions were those of authority, efficiency, and discipline. They wanted a strong government that would mercilessly suppress the Communists and make Germany safe from revolution.

Attacks on the Jews. When the Nazis came into power their first act was to attack the Jews. The Storm Troops were permitted by the police to maltreat Jews many of whom suffered terrible outrages at their hands. A series of decrees were then issued against all Jews. They were ousted from public positions.

They were deprived of citizenship. They were virtually barred from entering the professions, business, and labor. All non-Jews were encouraged to boycott Jews in order to reduce them to starvation or drive them out of the country. Few were permitted to become students in the schools and universities. Marriage between Jews and non-Jews was forbidden by law. Many famous teachers, writers, and scientists, among them the world-renowned scientist, Albert Einstein, were driven into exile.

There was great indignation throughout the world at the ruthless persecution of the Jews by the Nazis. It was believed that the Jews were being used as a scapegoat for all of Germany's troubles. In retaliation, Jews in various countries organized a boycott of German goods which seriously affected Germany's foreign trade.

Suppression of opposition. All opposition parties were suppressed, and thousands were sent into concentration, or prison camps. Particularly ruthless was the treatment of the Socialists and the Communists, whose leaders were executed or imprisoned, whose organizations were disbanded, whose funds were confiscated, and whose members were harried in every way. Unlike Mussolini, Hitler established his complete dictatorship immediately on becoming Chancellor. The millions of German Socialists, Communists, Centrists, and Liberals went down before the Nazi onslaught without striking a blow in their defense.

"Totalitarian state." Like its model, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany was a "totalitarian state." No activity of any sort was permitted to exist outside of the state; and no ideas were permitted except those prescribed by the state. The government of the Reich was a dictatorship by the Nazi Party, under the leadership of Hitler who was known as the *Führer*. An important change was made in the political system. The federal union was abolished, and all power was centralized in the national government in Berlin. The states became merely provinces, administered by officials sent from Berlin. The Reichstag was maintained, but only Nazis were permitted to be elected. It met occasionally, and only to endorse policies proclaimed by Hitler. When President von Hindenburg died in 1934, he was succeeded by Hitler who was now both "President" and "Chancellor."

The "June purge." After Hitler came into power he did not

carry out the socialist part of the Nazi program. A left opposition arose inside of the Nazi Party, led by the chief of the Storm Troops, Captain Roehm. Hitler became suspicious that Roehm was plotting a second revolution. In June, 1934, there took place a purge of the Nazi malcontents. A list of proscribed persons was drawn up, and those on the list were suddenly seized and shot, among the victims being Captain Roehm.

Coördination. In order to create the Totalitarian state the Nazis proceeded to coördinate the life of the German people. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of teaching was abolished. Dr. Joseph Goebbels was made minister of propaganda, whose duties were to censor the press, which became merely mouth-pieces of the government. The schools and universities became centers of Nazi propaganda. No books opposed to the Nazi régime were allowed to be published. A powerful spy system, called the *Gestapo* under the command of General Herman Goering, kept a watchful eye on the nation. Suspicion of opposition to the Nazis was visited with swift and terrible punishment.

Coördination of the churches. Being hostile to Christianity because of its Jewish origin, the Nazis endeavored to destroy its influence over the German people. The Protestant churches were coördinated by being organized in one central body which was controlled by Nazi officials. The Catholic Church, being under the rule of the pope, could not be easily controlled by the Nazis. In consequence attacks on Catholics began, sometimes as bitter as those on the Jews. Catholic schools, societies, journals, and books were suppressed; and Catholic priests were beaten and imprisoned.

Coördination of economic life. Economic life was likewise coördinated. The trade unions were seized and reorganized as the German Labor Front under Nazi leadership. Strikes and lockouts were forbidden. Regulation and control of wages and factory conditions was entrusted to Nazis who acted as trustees for the workers. The peasants were not given any more land, but their farms were given a special position in that they could not be sold, divided, or mortgaged. The coördination of business was put in charge of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. A system of economic planning was adopted which regulated all business in Germany: what articles to manufacture, in what quantity, and at what price; what articles to import and to export; and under

what conditions commerce was to be carried on. Not the law of supply and demand but government decrees were to determine the relations between buyer and seller. Imports were drastically reduced by a system of quotas according to which Germany would permit only a specified amount of imports of a certain article. Exports were stimulated by subsidies given to exporters of German goods. Since Germany does not produce certain raw materials, such as cotton, oil, rubber, and copper, that are vitally necessary for the manufacture of munitions, she entered into barter agreements with different nations according to which she exchanged manufactures for raw materials.

Rearmament. Preparation for war was the dominant aim of Nazi Germany. Conscription was reestablished in 1935. Boys and girls were indoctrinated with Nazi ideas and trained in military sports. Military and racial ideals were constantly preached to the German youth. The planning of economic life was primarily designed to prepare Germany to resist a blockade, in case of war, by becoming self-sufficient. The manufacture of armaments took on colossal proportions, to pay for which the government resorted to vast loans, the size of which were not made known. In three years Germany became an armed camp.

The Saar rejoins Germany. Hitler was now the idol of the German people. He was given the credit for restoring Germany to her position as a great power by flouting the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles which limited German armaments. However, the purpose of the rearmament was the restoration of Germany's lost territories and the conquest of new lands. One part of former German territory, the Saar, was restored, and that was done by peaceful means. In 1935 the Saar returned to Germany as a result of a plebiscite, required by the Treaty of Versailles, the outcome of which was an overwhelming vote in favor of joining Germany.

RUSSIA

Russia, a Totalitarian state. It was Soviet Russia that was the pioneer of a new system of government, the Totalitarian state under a party dictatorship, faithfully copied by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In Soviet Russia every activity of the citizens, work, play, family life, politics, education, was regulated by the state. Every expression of ideas through books, newspapers,

theaters, moving pictures, schools, clubs, had to be in complete harmony with Marxism, which was the established faith of the nation. A body of censors passed on everything that was printed or spoken in Russia. Religious worship was permitted, but under very severe restrictions. All organized teaching of any religion was forbidden to children under eighteen. As Marxism preaches atheism, one who believed in God could not be a member of the Communist Party; thus he was debarred from all influence in the government. To keep 160,000,000 Russians faithful in thought and deed, armies of spies were called into existence that became notorious under the name *Ogpu*. Every Russian felt that he was being watched. Any expression of opposition to the government was likely to be visited by swift and terrible punishment, often in secret. No civil rights existed in Soviet Russia.

Equality of Russians and non-Russians. If new oppressions came to Russia with communism, old oppressions were abolished with tsarism. In Soviet Russia there were many non-Russian nationalities and races, all of whom had been persecuted to a more or less degree under tsarism. Under Soviet Russia all persecution of non-Russians ceased. The government recognized and protected all races and nationalities who were freely permitted to maintain their language and culture. Loyalty to the soviet system was required alike of Russians and non-Russians. The latter were freely admitted to the Communist Party whose chief, Stalin, was himself a non-Russian, being a Georgian from the Caucasus.

War communism. After the Revolution the Soviet government was confronted with the problem of rebuilding and expanding the industries of Russia, crippled by years of war, of revolution, and of counter-revolution. Transportation was completely demoralized. Foreign trade had almost entirely disappeared as a result of the blockade. The peasants refused to grow more food than they needed because they could not sell their surplus. To get food the government seized the supplies of the peasants. The working men refused to work, and were often forced to do so at the point of the bayonet. Famine appeared, bringing misery and death. Russia was in a state of chaos during the years following the World War, a period known as "war communism."

The New Economic Policy. In no other country were political

and economic matters so closely linked as in Russia. The dictatorship made possible quick changes of policy and strict supervision of all elements in the economic and political fields. Two commissions were established, the State Planning Commission and the Supreme Economic Council; the former was to plan the entire economic life of the nation, and the latter was to see that the plans were carried out.

In 1921, due to the influence of Lenin, the New Economic Policy was inaugurated. Private trading was permitted; peasants could now sell their crops, and merchants, their wares. Experts were hired to manage the factories. Foreign capitalists were invited to exploit Russia's natural resources. The currency was stabilized on a gold basis. The peasants were made proprietors of their farms in all but name. In theory all land belonged to the state, but the peasants were permitted to occupy and cultivate their farms and to hire laborers. The government had a monopoly of foreign trade, banking, transport, communication, and the heavy industries, such as coal, iron, and steel. As a result of the New Economic Policy, production improved, and conditions became easier.

Stalin versus Trotsky. The peasant had profited most from the Revolution. He got the land for which he had struggled so long and so desperately. In the division of the confiscated estates some peasants got more land than others, and the more prosperous, the *kulaks*, became the controlling element in the villages. These peasants were not interested in communist theories; they had the land and wanted to hold it. What was to be the attitude of the government toward this new propertied class that was arising? It was inclined to favor them because it feared that their hostility would throw the country back into economic chaos. Another issue arose that was even more important. Soviet Russia had proclaimed the doctrine of "world revolution," namely, that she would encourage and aid the communists in other countries to rise against their governments in order to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat" throughout the world. To achieve this aim, an international organization of communists was formed, called the Communist International, or *Comintern*, which was dominated by the Russian communists. But the great difficulties that the Soviet government experienced in reorganizing Russia caused some to favor the policy of "socialism in one

country," namely, that Russia should concentrate all her energy on establishing herself as a socialist country and cease to encourage "world revolution."

Which policy Soviet Russia was to pursue could be determined only by the Communist Party. A bitter struggle for the control of the Party arose between Joseph Stalin who favored the kulaks and the policy of "socialism in one country," and Leon Trotsky who favored action against the *kulaks* and the policy of "world revolution." The struggle resulted in a victory for Stalin who was now master of the Party, therefore of the government. Trotsky continued his opposition, and, as a consequence, he was driven into exile.

The Five Year Plan. Trotsky was ousted and exiled, but some of his criticisms were heeded. There was great uneasiness in the Communist Party regarding the growing power of the *kulaks*. There was even greater uneasiness regarding the bitter hostility of the capitalist nations to socialist Russia. To be economically self-sufficient, and therefore independent of the capitalist nations, Russia, in 1928, virtually abandoned the New Economic Policy in favor of the Five Year Plan, the most ambitious and comprehensive plan of economic reconstruction ever devised. The great problem of the Soviet government was to transform Russia from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial one without the private enterprise of capitalists. By means of "planned economy" the state was to direct all economic development, agriculture, industry, commerce, mining, and transportation. The chief points in the Five Year Plan were as follows: the establishment of a power base consisting of a great network of central electric stations reaching out to every part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the establishment of basic industries such as coal, oil, steel, chemicals, and machinery; automotive development and road-building; and the introduction of large-scale, scientific agriculture.

A vital necessity of the Plan was to produce a surplus supply of food for export and for home consumption. Agricultural production was low; in 1928 it had not reached the pre-war level. The peasant farms were small and poorly cultivated. Stálin was convinced that the only way to raise production was to consolidate the small farms into large collective farms which could utilize agricultural machinery and scientific methods. The government

urged the peasants to enter "collectives" by giving up their farms. Naturally the more prosperous peasants refused to enter the "collectives." Stalin, thereupon, determined to "liquidate the *kulaks*." They were disfranchised, and heavy taxes were placed on their farms. The struggle between the government and the peasants became very bitter. Fearing that their livestock would be taken away, the peasants slaughtered the animals wholesale. As a consequence a food shortage followed, and millions of peasants died of starvation during 1930-31.

In trying to carry out her ambitious Plan, Russia was seriously handicapped by lack of capital and of technical experts. As her



Wide World

JOSEPH STALIN

credit was bad, having repudiated her national debt, Russia could float no foreign loans. In order to get capital she exported wheat, oil, and lumber at low prices; with the money she bought machinery and raw materials abroad. But, as Russia produced no surplus, she could export only by depriving her own population of the necessities of life. The Russians were forced to live on a strict rationing system, which resulted in widespread suffering.

As a result of the Five Year Plan, which came to a close in 1933, the economic life of Russia was rapidly transformed. Where formerly there were only a few smokestacks

on the Russian horizon, there are now in some regions, immense plants rivaling those in America.

Preparations for war. At the end of the Five Year Plan, the chief object of which was to establish factories, the Russians began a second Five Year Plan, the chief object of which was to produce goods. Despite great progress, the condition of the people was deplorable: their food, their clothes, and their houses

were insufficient and costly. It was now necessary to raise the standard of living. But a new and unexpected obstacle appeared to the more rapid economic progress of Russia. This obstacle was the danger of an attack by Germany and Japan, the avowed foes of Soviet Russia. The government was obliged to devote its energies to the manufacture of munitions, and to the organization of an army large enough to face a combined attack from Germany and Japan.

Party "purges." All was not harmony within Russia itself, despite the fact that Stalin was now dictator in all but name. Many prominent communists were in sympathy with the exiled Trotsky, and, as in tsarist days, "underground" conspiracies began against Stalin. In 1934, after an important communist leader, Kiroff, had been assassinated, a "purge" of the Communist Party took place. Tens of thousands were expelled from the Party; many were executed, imprisoned, or "disappeared." In 1936, as a result of a farcical public "trial," some seventy well-known communists, among them Zinoviev and Kamenev who were old associates of Lenin, were executed as counter-revolutionists.

Nationalist Russia. With the elimination of the Trotskyists, and even before, the policy of Soviet Russia became "nationalist." Especially was this true in foreign relations, as Stalin was more intent on preserving Russia than on launching a crusade to establish world communism. In Europe Russia was eagerly sought as an ally by those nations that feared Nazi Germany. First France, then Czecho-Slovakia became allies of Soviet Russia in 1936. England, which hitherto had been hostile, now became friendly.

The new constitution. By 1936 fascism had succeeded communism as the greatest enemy of democracy. Russia, desiring the approval of democratic nations, adopted a new constitution. It provided for government by a parliament to be elected by universal, direct, equal, secret suffrage. But only the Communist Party was to be allowed to have candidates. It also provided for civil rights, such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, freedom of religion, and the protection of the individual against arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and execution.

SPAIN

Discontent in Spain. Spain profited by her neutrality during the war. She made money by selling supplies to both sides, and she was not entangled in the web of post-war diplomacy. Nevertheless, Spain was seething with discontent, largely the old discontent with political corruption which made a farce of parliamentary government. Prices rose in Spain, as they did everywhere, which brought great hardship to the very poor. Violent strikes took place, especially in Barcelona, where the workingmen were influenced by revolutionary ideas.

Uprising of the Riffs. In the midst of these troubles, Spain was confronted by an uprising in Morocco. The Riff tribesmen, under Abd-el-Krim, defeated several Spanish armies, and, in 1921, they annihilated a large Spanish force. It was charged that the government was responsible for these defeats because of its corruption and inefficiency. Discontent grew apace, and the country was hovering on the brink of revolution.

Dictatorship of General de Rivera. In 1923 General Primo de Rivera carried out a *coup d'état* with the consent of King Alfonso XIII. Supported by the army, he seized control of the government and established a dictatorship. Parliament was dissolved, and the country was governed by a "Directorate," headed by General de Rivera. As in Italy, opposition to the dictatorship was promptly and severely punished. Spaniards who denounced the régime had to flee the country to escape imprisonment or worse. A severe censorship of the press suppressed the opposition journals. Strikes were forbidden, and strikers were promptly jailed.

Fall of the Spanish monarchy. After the death of Primo de Rivera, in 1930, the dictatorship was continued by General Berenguer. There was great discontent in the country, and riots and demonstrations by workingmen and students were a constant occurrence. King Alfonso was the object of bitter denunciation as the man behind the dictatorship. A revolutionary movement was growing rapidly, and it found secret encouragement in the army. Suddenly, on April 14, 1931, sensational news came from Madrid. The Spanish monarchy had been overthrown without bloodshed. Alfonso fled, and a republic was proclaimed by a provisional government, headed by Alcalá Zamora.

The provisional government issued a proclamation promising religious and land reforms, and the calling of a constitutional convention to establish a new government for the Republic of Spain.

Constitution of 1931. A constitutional convention met in 1931, which contained a majority consisting of republicans and socialists. It adopted a constitution which organized Spain as "a democratic republic of workers of all classes." The government consisted of (1) a president with little power, to be elected indirectly by an electoral college; (2) of a single-chamber parliament, the Cortes, chosen by universal, equal suffrage; (3) a cabinet, responsible to the Cortes; and (4) a supreme court with power to nullify laws as in the United States.

As in other democratic constitutions the Spanish constitution adopted a bill of rights protecting the civil rights of citizens. It also provided for a bill of social rights, inspired by the constitution of the German Republic. Marriage was based upon the equality of husband and wife. Divorce could be granted as a result of mutual agreement by husband and wife or of legal action by either of them. The government was to establish systems of insurance against sickness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age. Business enterprises could be nationalized whenever the government considered it necessary. There was to be no distinction in law of race, of class, of sex, or of religion.

In matters of religion, so important in Spain, which is almost entirely Catholic, the constitution made important provisions. It declared that the government recognized no official religion, and guaranteed complete freedom of conscience. Within two years all financial aid to religious bodies was to be abolished. The Jesuit Order was declared dissolved, and its property nationalized. The other Catholic orders were to be strictly regulated, and their members forbidden to engage in commerce, in industry, or in teaching.

Primary education was to be free and compulsory. There was to be no religious instruction in the public schools. Teaching in the schools was to be "inspired by ideals of human solidarity."

On the subject of war, the Spanish constitution makes interesting innovations. There was to be no declaration of war except according to conditions prescribed by the League of Nations. All international agreements, ratified by Spain and registered by

the League of Nations, were to be considered part of Spanish law.

Another innovation was the recognition of autonomous regions. The constitution declared that one or several contiguous provinces, with common historical or cultural traditions, could form an "autonomous region."

Opposition suppressed. This radical constitution was put through with little difficulty. However, opposition appeared outside of parliament, both from the extreme right and from the extreme left. The clericals and monarchists roused opposition to the Republic among the conservative peasants, but the government was successful in suppressing them. The opposition from the left was more serious. Once the revolution started, it spread very rapidly among the revolutionary workingmen and even among the agricultural laborers. Strikes and riots were organized by syndicalists and by communists, which the government found great difficulty in suppressing.

Reforms. The government keenly realized the necessity for quick and comprehensive reforms, otherwise it might be overturned by the rising tide of discontent among the lower classes. Most necessary of all was land reform. There was a land hunger among the Spanish peasants who, in the main, led a miserable existence as laborers and tenants on large estates owned by an almost feudal aristocracy. During 1932 it put through a number of important reforms, largely under the leadership of Premier Azaña, an advanced republican. A comprehensive social insurance law was passed, which included both industrial and agricultural laborers. A radical land reform law was passed, which established a commission with power to expropriate any landed estate in Spain, but with compensation to the owners. An expropriated estate became public property. It could be cultivated collectively or individually by the peasants. If collectively, the peasants were to share in the product equally; and if individually, each peasant was to be given a farm to cultivate for his own benefit. Drastic education laws were passed to wipe out illiteracy, which was as high as fifty per cent of the population. Public elementary schools were established with great rapidity throughout the country. As required by the constitution, the government dissolved the Jesuit Order and nationalized its property. The army, which for years had been a center of conspiracy and danger to every existing government, was reorganized. It

was reduced in size, and put under strict civil control. One of the most serious questions confronting the young Spanish Republic was the separatist movement in the province of Catalonia, long a center of discontent. It had demanded separation from Spain because the Catalans are as different from the Spaniards in language and culture as are the Portuguese. The Cortes established Catalonia as the first "autonomous region within the Spanish state." It was to have local self-government, and the Catalan language was recognized as official, along with Spanish.

Triumph of the Right. These radical measures created great bitterness among the conservative elements in society, who feared that Spain was drifting toward socialism. Especially bitter were the great landowners, the *grandees*, when some of the large estates were taken from them by the government, some with little, and others with no compensation to the owners. Devout Catholics resented the radical anti-clericalism of the government. In the elections for the Cortes, held in 1933, the parties of the Right, or the conservatives and reactionaries, triumphed over the parties of the Left, or the liberals and radicals.

A ministry of the Right took office with the determination to undo the work of the Left ministries. The anti-clerical laws were repealed or weakened. Even more serious was the policy of the government toward the land reforms. It seriously modified these reforms, and began the restoration of the expropriated and confiscated estates to their former owners. There was so much hostility to the government that an uprising of laborers took place, which was suppressed with difficulty.

Triumph of the Left. Feeling between Right and Left became ever more bitter. In February, 1936, the Cortes was dissolved and new elections took place. The many political factions combined into two great coalitions: (1) the Popular Front, consisting of all Left groups, moderate and radical republicans, moderate and radical socialists, and communists; and (2) the Right, consisting of conservative republicans, clericals, and royalists. The result was a triumph of the Popular Front. President Zamora, a conservative republican, was forced to resign, and he was succeeded by Azaña.

Ministry of the Popular Front. The new Ministry consisted almost entirely of moderate and radical republicans. It was

determined to restore the anti-clerical and agrarian laws. The more revolutionary elements outside of parliament, syndicalists and anarchists, organized riots against the clergy. Churches were burned, and priests were attacked. The government found great difficulty in preventing clashes between Right and Left.

Civil War. In July, 1936, there took place an uprising of the army, led by General Francisco Franco. He invaded Spain from Spanish Morocco, and there began a civil war so savage and so bitter that the whole world was shocked. Neither side gave nor asked quarter. Many of the Rebel soldiers were Moors from Spanish Morocco and foreign mercenaries. After winning many stubbornly fought battles General Franco succeeded in reaching the gates of Madrid. Desperate attacks on the capital by the Rebels were as desperately repelled by the Loyalists.

THE NEW ORIENT

Nationalism in the Orient. The World War had popularized the idea of self-determination. Could this idea be limited to Europe? Had not Asiatics and Africans fought "to make the world safe for democracy"? Even before the war they had been restive under European domination; now they openly challenged it. A widespread nationalist movement took place reaching from China to Morocco, which led to important results in the relations between the Orient and the Occident.

Independence of Persia. The first Oriental nation to free herself from European domination was Persia. It will be recalled that, in 1907, Russia and England had virtually partitioned that country. When the Soviet government came into power it openly renounced all the Russian privileges that the tsars had acquired in Persia. England then decided to establish her control over the whole country; and, in 1919, she forced a treaty on Persia which made the latter virtually a protectorate. This action infuriated the Persian nationalists, who received encouragement from Russia in their struggle against British imperialism. In 1921 Persia defiantly nullified the treaty of 1919, and asserted her complete independence. England accepted the situation, and evacuated the country. Persia was then organized on a national basis by a military hero, named Riza Khan who, in 1925, was proclaimed king.

Independence of Egypt. In Egypt, too, nationalism gained a

great victory. The movement for freedom in that country, under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha, became so threatening that England was alarmed. In 1922 England agreed to end her protectorate and to recognize Egypt as an independent nation, but with reservations that gave England control of Egypt's foreign policy and military defense. The Egyptian government was reorganized as a constitutional monarchy, and a new monarch, Fuad I, was proclaimed king of Egypt.

However, the Egyptians desired complete independence, and resented the reservations made by England. When, during the Italo-Ethiopian War, Italy threatened to attack England's power in the Mediterranean, England determined to make friends with Egypt. In 1936 Egyptian nationalism won a great victory when England entered into an alliance with Egypt, and agreed to withdraw her troops from the country.

India granted limited home rule. The nationalist movement in India was as intense as that in Egypt. During the war India had remained loyal to the Empire, and, in 1917, she was rewarded by a promise of self-government in the Montagu Declaration. It promised that England would provide "for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." In 1919 the British Parliament passed a law for British India establishing popularly elected local assemblies in the provinces, which were given a share in the government along with the British officials; it also established a popularly elected Legislative Assembly representing all of British India. The Assembly was not a parliament, its powers being largely advisory; nevertheless, it was a representative national body, and made India's voice heard in the councils of the British rulers.

Gandhi. But these concessions failed to satisfy the Indian



Ewing Galloway

MAHATMA GANDHI

nationalists. In the struggle for political rights Indians of all faiths were roused against the British. The movement found a remarkable leader in Mahatma (Saint) Gandhi, whose eloquence and saintly character stirred his fellow countrymen. Gandhi proposed a policy of "non-coöperation," or passive resistance, by which he meant that Indians should refuse to serve the government as officials and soldiers, refuse to attend government schools, and refuse to pay taxes; they should also boycott British goods and officials. He was strictly opposed to any form of violence, believing that the passive resistance of the Indians would make government by the British impossible. Gandhi's plan was not carried out, but it served to rouse the Indian masses against British rule.

Round Table Conferences. As the agitation of the Indian nationalists grew more menacing England again realized that it was necessary to make another concession. A series of meetings, called Round Table Conferences, was organized by the British government to present plans of a constitution for India. The delegates consisted of representatives of the British political parties, and of the various political, racial and religious groups in India, all of whom were appointed by the British government. As a result of the Round Table Conferences a new constitution for India was drawn up, and enacted into law by Parliament in 1935.

Indian constitution. This constitution established a federal system for India. In each of the provinces of British India there was established a legislature, elected by a propertied suffrage; a ministry responsible to the legislature; and a governor appointed by the British government. The central government consisted of a Federal Legislature of two houses, and a Governor-General, or Viceroy. The Federal Legislature represented both British India and the Native States; some of the members were appointed, and some were elected. Special representation was given to religious and racial groups. To what extent did India now have self-government? To a fairly large extent, inasmuch as the Federal Legislature had the power to pass laws for India. To the Viceroy, however, was given "reserved powers" that were important. He alone had control of all matters relating to foreign policy and to military defense; and he could intervene in case of a domestic crisis and over-ride the wishes of the Federal Legislature.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Japan, a great power. The Far Eastern Question is primarily concerned with the relations between China and Japan. Japan is the one truly independent country in Asia; all the others, including China, are more or less under European control. Moreover, Japan is a great power with military, naval, and air forces that rival the great powers of Europe. She is the only Asiatic nation that defeated a great European power, Russia, which caused her prestige to rise very high.

Japan, poor in natural resources. But the Japanese realize that their power rests on insecure foundations. Their country is poor: only a small part of the land is fit for cultivation, and it has but little of the natural resources essential to industry, such as coal, iron, copper, and oil. Nearby is China, whose natural resources are said to be very great, whose immense population is an inexhaustible market, and whose backwardness gives unlimited opportunities for the investment of capital. Could not China, if conquered, become a source of wealth to Japan as India has been to Great Britain?

Obstacles to Japan's ambitions. Ever since the emergence of Japan as a modern nation she has realized the necessity of getting control of China to maintain her position as a great power. But there were obstacles in the way. China herself wished to maintain her independence, but, despite her great size, she was weak; her people had no real national unity, and the government was inefficient, corrupt, and disorganized. China could offer little resistance in a war with efficient, unified, militarist Japan. But there were more serious obstacles, the European powers and America. The former, especially England, Germany, and Russia, had possessions and interests in China that would be lost if Japan got control of China. America believed that all opportunities for doing business in China would be monopolized by Japan once she got control; therefore, America proclaimed the policy of the Open Door.

Twenty-one Demands. The World War gave Japan the great opportunity to begin the process of ousting the European powers from China, an opportunity that she was quick to seize. As an ally of England, she declared war against Germany, and seized the German regions in China, the port of Kiau-chau and the province of Shantung. In 1915 she presented China with the

famous Twenty-one Demands which, in effect, would have reduced China to the position of a protectorate of Japan. Being too weak to fight herself, and the powers being too busy to help her, China accepted the Demands after some of them had been considerably modified.

Civil war. After the war, China realized that her fate would be that of India unless she bestirred herself. But the Republic, established by the Revolution of 1912, was unable to bring order and unity. Civil war raged between the north and the south. Military adventurers seized provinces which they ruled in defiance of all authority. Soldier-bandit armies ravaged the country. China was relapsing into anarchy and chaos, which suited the designs of Japan, ever watchful and ever ready for all opportunities to advance her power in China.

Young China. It was the younger generation, especially the educated, that came to the fore to save their country. Like Young Italy during the period of unification, Young China preached to the masses the ideals of nationalism and democracy. The Boxer uprising had aimed to preserve old China from foreigners and their ways; the Young China movement aimed to build a new China on modern lines, but in the interest of the Chinese people, not in the interest of foreigners. The nationalist movement took many forms: patriotic agitation, riots, boycott of foreign goods, strikes against foreign employers, and denunciation of the powers.

The Kuomintang Party. Chinese nationalism found expression in the Kuomintang, or People's Party, founded by Sun Yat-sen. It was a well-organized political party with a large membership throughout the country, and led by Westernized young men and women. Before his death, in 1925, Sun Yat-sen promulgated his ideas for the solution of his country's problems. These ideas were the "people's nationalism," or the freeing of China from all foreign control; the "people's sovereignty," or the establishment of a democratic republic; and the "people's livelihood," or the betterment of the condition of the masses through social and economic reform. Canton became the center of the Nationalists, who organized patriotic armies to fight the military chieftains that controlled northern China. The Nationalists also organized demonstrations against the foreign powers, and boycotts against foreign goods.

Advance of the Nationalists. Nationalist armies advanced northward and established themselves in Nanking which became the capital. They succeeded in defeating the armies of the military chieftains, and, in 1928, they entered Peking in triumph. The name of the former capital was changed to "Peiping." At the head of the Nationalist government was the leader of the Kuomintang, General Chiang Kai-shek.

Washington Conference. The rising national sentiment in China and the recovery of the powers from the World War were not favorable to Japan's ambitions. Once more the European powers and America turned their attention to the Far East. The Washington Conference (1921-1922) was called to protect China, as well as to reduce armaments. As has already been described, the Nine Power Pact, signed by all the powers at the Conference, guaranteed the administrative and territorial integrity of China, and proclaimed the policy of the Open Door.

Triumphs of nationalism. After the Washington Conference nationalism in China scored a number of triumphs. Russia surrendered her privileges, and entered into treaty relations with China on an equal basis, an example that was followed by other nations. China, in 1929, won the right to make her own tariffs; hitherto, the Chinese tariff had been fixed by the powers. She also abolished the extraterritorial privileges of foreigners who were now under Chinese jurisdiction.

Conquest of Manchuria. Japan was awaiting her next opportunity, when the attention of Europe would be distracted from China. It came during 1930-1935, the period of the depression, of German rearmament, and of the Italo-Ethiopian War. Ever since the Russo-Japanese War Japan had designs on Manchuria, a large region with good natural resources and a fertile soil. Manchuria was to be Japan's "life line" by furnishing an outlet for her surplus people, goods, and capital. In 1931 Japanese armies invaded southern Manchuria, and soon overran that region. Although no war was declared, battles were fought between Chinese and Japanese troops. The Chinese were no match for the disciplined Japanese, who quickly conquered Manchuria. A boycott of Japanese goods, ships, and banks was organized and directed by the Nationalist government in Nanking as a defense against the military aggression of Japan. To punish the Chinese, the Japanese army bombarded and occupied

Shanghai. After inflicting great damage, the Japanese withdrew from the city. Their attention was again turned to Manchuria. They speedily conquered the entire province which, in 1932, was set up as a separate state under the name of "Manchoukuo." The Japanese placed at its head Pu Yi, the exiled former Emperor of China. Japanese military and civil "advisors" organized and directed the new state, which, in effect, was a protectorate of Japan. Russia's sphere of influence in Manchuria was eliminated when her interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway was bought by Japan. During 1933-1936 Japanese armies advanced south of the Great Wall and seized provinces in North China, which were organized under Japan's control.

League condemns Japan. Japan's aggression in Manchuria was brought to the attention of the League of Nations by China. As has already been described, the League, in 1933, asserted that China was the rightful sovereign of Manchuria and recommended the evacuation of Japanese troops from that region. Japan refused to comply and resigned from the League.

Japan's defiance of the League caused much uneasiness among the Pacific powers. China hastened to arm in preparation for the next move of Japan. Russia, fearing an attack on Vladivostok, concentrated large armies in her Far Eastern provinces. From Singapore to Alaska, fortifications were built in the Pacific by England and America, who feared a possible attack on their Pacific possessions by Japan.

RECENT EVENTS

Abdication of Edward VIII. Toward the end of 1936 a critical situation arose in England in a conflict between King Edward VIII and Prime Minister Baldwin, which resulted in the abdication of the King. Edward, who had but recently succeeded his father, George V, indicated his desire to marry an American woman, Mrs. Wallis Simpson. The marriage of a King of England is regulated by law; great opposition arose in Parliament to the King's choice of Mrs. Simpson on the ground that she, having been twice divorced, would not be acceptable to the British people as their Queen. A problem that might have developed into a constitutional conflict between the King and Parliament was solved when Edward decided to give up the

throne. He abdicated in favor of his next younger brother, the Duke of York, who became King George VI.

Intervention in Spain. The civil war, which was raging in Spain between the Rebels and the Loyalists, deeply affected the international situation. Spain occupies a strategic position at the entrance of the Mediterranean, hence the powers were intensely interested in the outcome of the struggle. To prevent armed intervention, which might lead to a general war, France and England proposed a policy of non-intervention. Due to their efforts a committee was formed, representing the European powers, to preserve neutrality. Non-intervention, however, in Spain was honored more in the breach than in the observance. The fascist powers, Italy, Germany, and Portugal, recognized the rebel government, under General Franco, and sent men and munitions to aid him. Russia came to the aid of the Loyalists. Thousands of anti-fascists from all over the world came to Spain to fight for the Loyalists. In 1937 the civil war in Spain became a "little world war."

LEADING QUESTIONS

1. Show the progress of democracy in England as a result of the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, 1884, and 1918.
2. Is the British Labor Party a socialist party?
3. Give arguments for and against unemployment insurance.
4. Compare fascism and communism as to aims, methods, and political organization.
5. In times of crisis, the political groups in France consolidate into two parties. Explain. Give examples in the pre-war and the post-war history of France.
6. Describe the Locarno Pact. Why did it fail to give security?
7. Debate the following question. Should India be given independence?
8. Compare the ideals of Young China with those of Young Italy.
9. Why did the League of Nations apply sanctions to Italy? Why did it fail to apply them to Japan?
10. What is meant by economic planning? Give illustrations.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

British Labor Party. Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History* (ed. 1934), pp. 268-88, 590-91, 798-803; Bennis (ed. 1936), 527-30, 538-41.

Fascism. Bennis (ed. 1936), chs. XIV-XV; Scott and Baltzly, pp. 601-10, 680-82; Schapiro (ed. 1934), pp. 826-55.

Russia's Economic Policies. Bennis (ed. 1936), ch. XIII; W. H. Chamberlin, *The Soviet Planned Economic Order* (1931) and *Russia's Iron Age* (1934).

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

{*Note:* The questions selected from the papers on Ancient Times are confined to those of a general character.}

1. In what ways did the medieval Church tend to unify Europe? What were some of the grievances against the Church which brought about the Reformation?
2. Show why the men who ruled the Roman Empire from 96 to 180 A.D. are called the "Five Good Emperors."
3. Show how the Egyptians expressed their ideas of life and death in their art and architecture.
4. Write on the aims and accomplishments of *either* The Gracchi *or* Augustus.
5. Discuss the contribution to European culture of *two* of the following: the Romance languages, the medieval universities, geographical discoveries before 1500, monasticism.
6. Explain why the period of Pericles has been called the Golden Age of Athenian art and literature.
7. What effects did the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have upon Europe?
8. Why were the Crusades undertaken? What period did they cover? What effects did they have on the civilization of Europe?
9. What was the influence of physical geography upon the people of Hellas?
10. How were the members of the Roman Senate selected during the Republic? What were the powers of the Senate? When was its influence strongest? When and why did its power decline?
11. "The Romans practiced religious toleration." Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement, mentioning and explaining any notable instances in which it was not true.
12. What were the institutions or other influences that tended to keep alive a national spirit among the Greeks? Why did the Greeks fail to secure political unity?
13. Name one Greek epic poet, one dramatist, and one historian, and describe briefly the nature and subject-matter of one work by each.
14. What contributions to culture and civilization have been made by five of the following persons: Copernicus, Leonardo da Vinci, Petrarch, Rousseau, Pasteur, Madame Curie, Beethoven, Erasmus?
15. How did Mohammed influence the political and religious conditions

which he found in Arabia? What are the principal Mohammedan areas in the world to-day and how do they compare in civilization with the Christian areas?

16. What were the conditions in Europe which gave rise to feudalism? What is meant by "royal domain," "feudal aids," "immunity," and "homage"?
17. Name three great religions of the ancient world, and compare any two of them in regard to their teachings, their forms of worship, and their sacred writings.
18. By what steps did Athens try to establish a supremacy over Hellas, and by what steps did Rome become mistress of Italy? Show why Athens failed and Rome succeeded.
19. Name and briefly describe three important measures in the struggle for the "equalization of the orders" in the early Roman Republic.
20. Copy the following sentences, inserting the missing words:
 - (a) The Assyrians used the — form of writing.
 - (b) Rome was sacked by — in 410 A.D.
 - (c) The birth of Christ occurred in the reign of the Emperor —.
 - (d) The temple of all the gods at Rome was named the —.
 - (e) An important Greek colony in Sicily was —.
 - (f) — ended every speech he made in the Senate with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed."
 - (g) — was the tutor of Alexander the Great.
 - (h) — wrote *The Frogs*.
 - (i) Monotheism was a valuable contribution of the — to civilization.
 - (j) The Roman Empire reached its greatest extent under —.
 - (k) — wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War.
 - (l) The last of the three great tragedians of Greece was —.

II. MODERN TIMES IN EUROPE

1. What contributions to the growth of a revolutionary spirit in France before 1789 were made respectively by Voltaire, Rousseau, and Turgot?
2. Give an account of the reign of Louis XIV.
3. What was the domestic system of industry? What inventions changed this to the factory system? What were the effects on production and the lives of the workers?
4. Give an account of the unification of Italy. What are the present relations between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy?
5. Compare the circumstances in which the unifications of Germany and Italy were effected, with special reference to foreign complications and internal difficulties encountered.
6. Why was the "Holy Alliance" formed? Who were its members? What did it attempt to do in Italy? in Spain? in America?
7. What permanent advantages has France derived from the Revolution of 1789? from that of 1848? from the Third Republic?
8. What were Bismarck's policies toward the Church and toward the working classes? How far were these policies successful?

9. What conditions between 1805 and 1870 aided, and what obstructed, the achievement of national unity in Germany?
10. Sketch the history of the political relations of the European powers with China from 1800 to the present day.
11. Sketch the rise of Japan as a world power. What have been the effects of the World War upon Japan's position?
12. What is meant by the "balance of power"? What part did it play in European history in the eighteenth century? State the main features of the plan which has been proposed recently to supersede the idea of the balance of power.
13. When, by whom, and in what manner were the Russian serfs emancipated? Write briefly on the Russian Revolution of 1905.
14. What were the problems to be solved in establishing Russia as a European power? What did Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Nicholas II contribute to the solution of these problems?
15. Give an outline of the chief events in the decline of the Turkish Empire from 1815 to the World War.
16. Explain the conflict of interests between Russia and Austria in the Balkans from 1878 to 1914.
17. By what methods has the British government in recent years undertaken to "make war on poverty"?
18. Trace the steps toward democracy in England since 1830.
19. What conditions in Austria-Hungary contributed to the outbreak of the World War? Discuss the effects of the World War on Austria-Hungary.
20. What motives led to colonial expansion in the nineteenth century? What territories were gained (a) by England, (b) by France?
21. What facts in European diplomacy between 1892 and 1914 might appear to the Germans to indicate the existence of an "iron ring" around them?
22. During the nineteenth century England's maritime commerce was the largest in the world. How do you explain this fact?
23. Explain why Italy joined in an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1882, and why she abandoned that alliance after 1914.
24. In what regions and in what ways were British commercial and imperial interests menaced by Germany after 1898? What steps did England take to lessen the menace and to strengthen her position?
25. What is meant by a policy of imperialism? To what extent have France, Great Britain, and Germany been under the influence of this policy since 1850? Illustrate your answer from the history of one of these countries.
26. Write upon the relations between Great Britain and Russia, 1815 to 1914.
27. "Great as were the achievements of the eighteenth century" (in the advance of natural science), "those of the nineteenth century were still more startling." Give an account of this scientific progress. By what agencies has it been carried on?
28. What were the causes of friction or war (a) between England and

- France in 1793; (b) between England and Germany in 1914; and (c) between England and Russia in 1854 and in 1907?
29. What governmental forms have the Continental nations borrowed from England during the nineteenth century?
 30. What underlying causes have led to the general adoption in Europe of universal military service? What do you think of the advantages and disadvantages of this system?
 31. Write notes upon five of the following topics: Jameson Raid, the discoveries of Lavoisier, Rousseau's Social Contract, the Congress of Verona, the Carlists, the Feminist Movement, the Boxer Rebellion, Duma.
 32. Tell the story of Napoleon's career up to the time when he became Emperor of the French.
 33. What was Napoleon I's influence on Germany, on Russia, and on Italy?
 34. Show by specific examples how the congress of Vienna handed peoples over to the rule of foreigners without their consent. Why is such conduct more open to criticism at the time of the Congress of Vienna than at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht a century before?
 35. What were the peculiar grievances of the peasants, the merchants, and the parish priests under the Old Régime in France, and how far were these grievances remedied by the reforms of the French Revolution?

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF REGENTS' QUESTIONS (STATE OF NEW YORK)

I. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

1. Mention one important contribution to modern civilization made by the Hebrews, two contributions made by the Greeks, two contributions made by the Romans. Show how one of these contributions has influenced our times, giving definite illustrations.
2. Explain the meaning of each of five of the following: feudalism, viking, moat, gargoyle, investiture, homage, ordeal, wager of battle, heresy.
3. Mention and locate (a) one place in Europe famous as a religious center, (b) one noted for a great cathedral, (c) one fought for in the Hundred Years' War, (d) one noted for trade with the East, (e) one noted for a great university.
4. Show how the Roman empire influenced western Europe in (a) language, (b) law, (c) travel and transportation.
5. Write on two of the following: (a) the Greek theater and plays, (b) Roman amusements, (c) medieval commerce.
6. Write on two of the following: (a) the early Christians, (b) the Crusaders, (c) the quarrel between Henry VIII and the Pope.
7. Describe land tenure, military obligation, government and social life under feudalism.
8. Describe industrial life in a medieval town, touching on four of the following: (a) kinds of occupations, (b) organizations among the workers, (c) hours of labor, (d) limitation on trade, (e) fairs.
9. Write on medieval trade, telling of chief trade routes, goods carried and present-day changes in the means of transportation.
10. Define history. Mention two sources of information about ancient history. State two important reasons for studying history.
11. Give two ways in which the government of Athens in the Age of Pericles differed from the government in the United States to-day.
12. Select from the following statements two that are false and rewrite them so that they will be true:
 - (a) When a Greek was ostracized, he had to drink a cup of poison hemlock.
 - (b) Wager of battle was a bet made on the outcome of the tournament.
 - (c) Venice was one of the most important commercial centers of medieval times.
 - (d) Homage was a term used for an act of chivalry performed by a knight toward a lady.

(e) Monotheism was the common religious belief held by the Babylonians.

13. State two reasons why the thirteenth century has been called the greatest of centuries.
14. What was the religion of the Moors in Spain? What did they contribute to science and learning?
15. Tell of the advance during the Renaissance in each of two of the following: painting, architecture, literature, science.
16. Explain the meaning of each of five of the following: astrology, cuneiform, "gift of the Nile," hanging gardens, Tyrian purple, satrapy, monotheism, monasticism.
17. Imagine that you were visiting Athens in the time of Pericles. Tell what you would see. Mention one thing you would see that is familiar in present-day life.
18. Give two reasons for the spread of Christianity during the first four centuries of its history.
19. Write on the importance of each of four of the following: printing press, Gothic cathedrals, Elizabethan drama, monasticism, Renaissance painters, Crusades, rise of universities.

II. MODERN TIMES IN EUROPE

1. Explain one way in which each of two of the following failed to accomplish its purpose — Napoleon's invasion of Russia, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War, World War.
2. Describe one important contribution made during the nineteenth century in each of two of the following fields — sociology, economics, electricity, chemistry, biology, medicine.
3. Show one way in which each of four of the following has advanced or retarded the cause of international peace — balance of power, universal military service, League of Nations, "white man's burden," secret treaties, arbitration, nationalism.
4. Show one way in which the foreign policy of each of the following contributed to the causes of the World War — Russia, Germany, France, Austria.
5. What social, economic, and political problems presented themselves to the Irish during the nineteenth century? How were they alleviated?
6. To what extent can Great Britain control her dominions? her crown colonies? What are the essential differences between the two types of government?
7. Explain what is meant by the cabinet system of government in Great Britain. Trace briefly its development and tell how the British cabinet differs from the American cabinet.
8. What was the interest of Russia, England, Austria, and Germany in the Balkans? On what occasions have the great powers interfered with the Balkans, and with what results?
9. Describe the growth of Prussia in political power when Bismarck was Chancellor and show how Bismarck contributed to this growth.
10. Give an account of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century with reference to: (a) the inventions that brought it about; (b)

four of its effects. Mention two recent inventions or new processes to show that it is still under way.

11. What is the significance of each of five of the following terms — submerged nationality, sphere of influence, open-door policy, mother of parliaments, economic imperialism, self-determination, sabotage, Fascism.
12. What significance had each of five of the following in the life of his time — Arthur Young, Turgot, Commodore Perry, Gladstone, Victor Hugo, Bismarck, Pasteur, Mazzini, Paul Kruger, Dreyfus?
13. Discuss the history of socialism, showing: (a) two evils it sought to remedy; (b) the part of Karl Marx in its rise; (c) its relation to Bolshevism in Russia.
14. Mention four important reforms in Great Britain after 1830, and discuss fully two of them.
15. Show how each of the following hindered or assisted the growth of democracy; restoration of the Bourbons, Revolution of 1848, the Chartists, Lord Durham's report, Bolshevik revolution.
16. What is the open-door policy in China? Explain the past relations of each of two of the following nations with China: England, Japan, Russia, United States.
17. Discuss briefly the part played by each of the following countries in the division of Africa before the year 1914: Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy.
18. Locate four of the following places and state the historic significance of each: Gibraltar, Waterloo, Crimea, Liverpool, Manila, Versailles, Constantinople, Port Arthur, Suez Canal, Helgoland.
19. Name two monarchies that were overthrown by the World War; state two important territorial changes in each country selected.
20. The three most important general causes of the World War were nationalism, economic imperialism, and militarism. Explain how each of these was a cause of the World War. Show how one of these was a cause of another European war of the past century.
21. What is the meaning of the doctrine of *laissez faire*? Explain one good and one evil result of the application of this doctrine. State the attitude in England or Germany toward this doctrine during the last half-century and give two laws to illustrate your answer.
22. The League of Nations may have lost some of its prestige as a world force, but its members still feel that the existence of the League is a vital necessity. Show by means of two illustrations that the League has lost some of its prestige. In what two respects may the League be regarded as a necessity?
23. Show how the Russian Revolution affected each of three of the following: religion, land ownership, government, industry, education.

APPENDIX D

MAP STUDIES FROM COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS

I. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

(Use outline maps)

1. Shade *three* centers of Greek colonization and locate and name one colony in each.
2. Mark by printing the name of the article at the proper place on the map regions from which the ancients got five of the following articles: wheat, tin, amber, gold, silver, purple dye, marble.
3. Locate and name *fifteen* of the following: Crete, the Ebro River, the Tigris River, Numidia, Tours, Saxony, Calais, Pisa, Carthage, Eubœa, Jerusalem, The Euphrates River, a Roman settlement in Britain, The Bosphorus, Saguntum, Illyricum, Sinope, Cilicia, Tarentum, Damascus, Rhodes, Ravenna, Pompeii, Appian Way, Zama, Geneva.
4. Locate and name on the map five places associated with the career of Alexander the Great.
5. Indicate the regions in which permanent settlements were made by the principal Germanic peoples, so far as these are included in the map, and write the names of the peoples in the regions settled.
6. Locate and name *five* rivers and *five* mountain chains in the Roman Empire.
7. Draw the line separating the Eastern and Western Roman Empires.
8. Locate and name the sites of three important trade centers in the Middle Ages.
9. Locate and name the sites of the following:
 - (a) A great church council held in the sixteenth century.
 - (b) The church council held in 325 A.D.
 - (c) The defeat of Antony by Octavius in 31 B.C.
 - (d) The kingdom willed to Rome in 133 B.C.
 - (e) The city destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D.
 - (f) The capital of the Roman Empire under Justinian.
 - (g) A Greek colony in the western basin of the Mediterranean.

II. MODERN TIMES IN EUROPE

(Use outline maps)

1. Draw the boundary of Napoleon's Empire in 1810 and label four of the dependent states.
2. Locate and name five of the following: the meeting place of the Council of the League of Nations; a town regained by Italy from Austria in the World War; site of the first Peace Conference called by

the Tsar; the capital of Poland; the site of an important naval victory by Nelson; the capital of Czecho-Slovakia; the place of Napoleon's banishment in 1814.

3. On an outline map of Asia locate and name the ports of Asia under the control of European powers, designating the controlling powers in each case.
4. On an outline map of Europe locate and name: four battles of the Napoleonic Wars; the following places: Rheims, Trieste, Manchester, Dover, Baden, Gallipoli, Ypres, Tangier, Verdun, Blenheim, Antwerp, Saloniki, Austerlitz, Archangel, Algieras, Cherbourg.
5. On an outline map of Europe locate and name the regions inhabited by peoples of the Latin, the Germanic, and the Slavic races respectively.
6. On an outline map of Europe mark: the capitals of eight European countries; the rivers of Europe flowing into the Baltic and the North Sea, and at least one important city on each river.
7. On an outline map of Europe name and locate the chief coal-producing districts in Great Britain, France, and Germany.
8. On an outline map of Asia locate Mesopotamia, Armenia, Bagdad, Vladivostok, Plassey.
9. On an outline map of Germany mark the territorial additions made to Prussia, with approximate dates of each addition, during the nineteenth century.
10. On an outline map of Europe mark the following places; Riga, Sedan, Toulon, Leipzig, Hull, Lyons, Elba, Rossbach, Sadowa, the Marne.
11. On an outline map of Europe locate and name the following places: A region acquired by Frederick the Great; the country that became independent of Turkey in 1829; the capital of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; the place where Napoleon I was defeated in 1813; the place where Napoleon III was captured in 1870; the city seized by D'Annunzio.
12. On an outline map of Europe, indicate five of the following areas by printing the names on them, without drawing the boundary lines: Crimea, Corsica, the Ukraine, Finland, Portugal, Holland, Rumania, Bosnia.
13. On an outline map of Europe mark the Western Front after the First Battle of the Marne, marking the names of four places near this Front which were important in the World War.
14. On an outline map of Africa, name and locate: a free negro republic; site of General Gordon's death; place where Marchand was checked by Kitchener; five French colonial possessions.

APPENDIX E

I. TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

B.C.

3000-2500	The Egyptian pyramid builders
2100	Hammurabi, King of Babylonia
1800-1600	Rule of the Hyksos in Egypt
1600-1100	The Ægean Age
1292-1225	Rameses II, King of Egypt
1100-750	The Homeric Age
750-500	Period of Greek colonial expansion
722-705	Sargon II, King of Assyria
705-681	Sennacherib, King of Assyria
604-561	Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylonia
553-529	Cyrus the Great, King of Persia
509 (?)	Establishment of the Roman Republic
490	Battle of Marathon
461-431	Age of Pericles
451-449	Twelve Tables of Roman Law
431-404	The Peloponnesian War
336-323	Reign of Alexander the Great
264-241	First Punic War
218-201	Second Punic War
149-146	Third Punic War
146	Destruction of Carthage and Corinth
133-121	Attempted reforms of the Gracchi
60-53	First Triumvirate: Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar
58-50	Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar
44	Assassination of Cæsar
43	Second Triumvirate: Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius
31	Battle of Actium
31-68 A.D.	Julian and Claudian Cæsars

A.D.

69-96	The Flavian Cæsars
96-180	The "Good Emperors"
180-284	The "Soldier Emperors"
212	Edict of Caracalla
284-305	Reign of Diocletian
306-337	Reign of Constantine I (sole emperor, 324-337)
311	Edict of Galerius
325	Council of Nicæa
378	Battle of Adrianople
379-395	Reign of Theodosius I (East)

- 451 Battle of Châlons
- 476 Deposition of Romulus Augustulus
- 481-511 Reign of Clovis, King of the Franks
- 493-526 Reign of Theodoric, the East Goth, in Italy
- 527-565 Justinian, Roman Emperor in the East
- 568-774 Lombards in Italy
- 590-604 Pontificate of Gregory the Great
- 622 The Hegira of Mohammed
- 661-750 The Ommiad Caliphs
- 750-1058 The Abbasid Caliphs
- 768-814 Reign of Charlemagne
- 871-901 (?) Reign of Alfred the Great
- 962 Otto the Great crowned Holy Roman Emperor
- 987-996 Reign of Hugh Capet
- 1066 Battle of Hastings; Norman conquest of England
- 1066-1087 William I, the Conqueror, King of England
- 1073-1085 Pontificate of Gregory VII (Hildebrand)
- 1095-1291 The Crusades
- 1122 Concordat of Worms
- 1152-1190 Reign of Frederick I, Barbarossa
- 1154-1189 Henry II, King of England
- 1180-1223 Philip II, Augustus, King of France
- 1198-1215 Pontificate of Innocent III
- 1206-1227 Mongol conquests under Genghis Khan
- 1215 Magna Carta
- 1226-1270 Louis IX, the Saint, King of France
- 1237-1240 Mongol conquest of Russia
- 1272-1307 Edward I, King of England
- 1273 Rudolf of Hapsburg becomes Holy Roman Emperor
- 1285-1314 Philip IV, the Fair, King of France
- 1295 "Model Parliament" of Edward I
- 1309-1377 "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy
- 1337-1453 Hundred Years' War
- 1453 Capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks
- 1455-1485 War of the Roses in England
- 1461-1483 Louis XI, King of France
- 1462-1483 Ivan III, the Great, Tsar of Russia
- 1479 Castile and Aragon united under Ferdinand and Isabella
- 1485-1509 Henry VII, King of England
- 1492 Discovery of America by Columbus
- 1509-1547 Reign of Henry VIII, King of England
- 1517-1547 Francis I, King of France
- 1517-1555 Reformation in Germany
- 1519-1556 Reign of Charles V
- 1533-1558 Reformation in England
- 1545-1563 Council of Trent
- 1558-1603 Elizabeth, Queen of England
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada
- 1598 Edict of Nantes

1618-1648 Thirty Years' War
1648 Peace of Westphalia

II. RULERS OF EUROPE SINCE 1648

Albania

Part of Turkey, 1478-1913
William of Wied, *Prince*, 1913-1914
Provisional governments to 1928
King Zog I; 1928-

Austria

Part of Holy Roman Empire, until 1806
Francis I, 1804-1835 (*Holy Roman Emperor, as Francis II, 1792-1806*)
Ferdinand I, 1835-1848 Charles I, 1916-1918
Francis Joseph, 1848-1916 *Republic, 1918-*
dictatorship established in 1934.

Belgium

Part of Spanish Monarchy, 1516-1713 Leopold I, 1831-1865
Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1713-1797 Leopold II, 1865-1909
Part of France, 1797-1815 Albert, 1909-1934
Part of Holland, 1815-1830 Leopold III, 1934-

Bulgaria

Part of Turkey, 1393-1878
Alexander, *Prince*, 1879-1886
Ferdinand I, *Prince*, 1887-1908; *King*, 1908-1918
Boris III, 1918-

Czecho-Slovakia

Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1526-1918
Independent Republic in 1918

Denmark

Frederick III, 1648-1670 Frederick VI, 1808-1839
Christian V, 1670-1699 Christian VIII, 1839-1848
Frederick IV, 1699-1730 Frederick VII, 1848-1863
Christian VI, 1730-1746 Christian IX, 1863-1906
Frederick V, 1746-1766 Frederick VIII, 1906-1912
Christian VII, 1766-1808 Christian X, 1912-

Esthonia

Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1561-1721
Part of Russian Empire, 1721-1918
Independent Republic in 1918

Finland

Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1290-1809
Part of Russian Empire, 1809-1918
Independent Republic in 1918

France

- Louis XIV, 1643-1715
 Louis XV, 1715-1774
 Louis XVI, 1774-1792
First Republic, 1792-1804
 Napoleon I, *Emperor*, 1804-1814
 Louis XVIII, 1814-1824
 Charles X, 1824-1830
 Louis Philippe, 1830-1848
Second Republic, 1848-1852
 Napoleon III, *Emperor*, 1852-1870
Presidents of the Third Republic
 Adolphe Thiers, 1871-1873
 Marshal MacMahon, 1873-1879
 Jules Grévy, 1879-1887
 F. Sadi Carnot, 1887-1894
 Casimir-Périer, 1894-1895
 Félix Faure, 1895-1899
 Émile Loubet, 1899-1906
 Armand Fallières, 1906-1913
 Raymond Poincaré, 1913-1920
 Paul Deschanel, 1920
 Alexandre Millerand, 1920-1924
 Gaston Doumergue, 1924-1931
 Paul Doumer, 1931-1932
 Albert Lebrun, 1932-

Germany

- Part of Holy Roman Empire, until 1806*
Part of Germanic Confederation, 1815-1866
German Empire, 1871-1918
 William I, 1871-1888 (*King of Prussia*, 1861-1888)
 Frederick III, 1888
 William II, 1888-1918
Chancellors of the German Empire, 1871-1918
 Prince Bismarck, 1871-1890
 Count von Caprivi, 1890-1894
 Prince Hohenlohe, 1894-1900
 Count von Bülow, 1900-1909
Chancellors of the German Republic, 1919-
 Philipp Scheidemann, 1919
 Gustav Bauer, 1919-1920
 Hermann Mueller, 1920
 Constantin Fehrenbach, 1920-1921
 Julius Wirth, 1921-1922
 Wilhelm Cuno, 1922-1923
 Gustav Stresemann, 1923
 Wilhelm Marx, 1923-1924
Presidents of the Republic, 1918-
 Friedrich Ebert, 1919-1925
 Paul von Hindenburg, 1925-1934
 Nazi dictatorship, 1933-
 T. von Bethmann-Hollweg, 1909-1917
 George Michaelis, 1917
 Count von Hertling, 1917-1918
 Prince Maximilian, 1918-1919
 Hans Luther, 1925
 Wilhelm Marx, 1925-1928
 Hermann Mueller, 1928-1930
 Heinrich Brüning, 1930-1932
 Franz von Papen, 1932
 Kurt von Schleicher, 1932
 Adolf Hitler, 1933-

Great Britain

- James I (*VI of Scotland*), 1603-1625
 Charles I, 1625-1649
Republic, 1649-1660
 Charles II, 1660-1685
 (Until 1707 rulers designated as sovereigns of England; after that as sovereigns of Great Britain)
 George I, 1714-1727
 George II, 1727-1760
 George III, 1760-1820
 George IV, 1820-1830
 William IV, 1830-1837
 James II, 1685-1688
 William III and Mary II, 1689-1694
 William III, 1694-1702
 Anne, 1702-1714
 Victoria, 1837-1901
 Edward VII, 1901-1910
 George V, 1910-1936
 Edward VIII, 1936, abdicated, 1936
 George VI, 1936-

Prime Ministers of Great Britain since 1770

Lord North, 1770-1782	William Pitt (the younger), 1783-1801, 1804-1806
Earl of Shelburne, 1782-1783	William E. Gladstone, 1868-1874
Lord Grenville, 1806-1807	Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), 1874-1880
Duke of Portland, 1807-1809	William E. Gladstone, 1880-1885
Spencer Percival, 1809-1812	Marquess of Salisbury, 1885-1886
Earl of Liverpool, 1812-1827	William E. Gladstone, 1886
George Canning, 1827	Marquess of Salisbury, 1886-1892
Duke of Wellington, 1828-1830	William E. Gladstone, 1892-1894
Earl Grey, 1830-1834	Earl of Rosebery, 1894-1895
Viscount Melbourne, 1834	Marquess of Salisbury, 1895-1902
Sir Robert Peel, 1834-1835	Arthur James Balfour, 1902-1905
Viscount Melbourne, 1835-1841	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905-1908
Sir Robert Peel, 1841-1846	Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908-1916
Lord John Russell, 1846-1852	David Lloyd George, 1916-1922
Earl of Derby, 1852	Andrew Bonar Law, 1922-1923
Earl of Aberdeen, 1852-1855	Stanley Baldwin, 1923
Viscount Palmerston, 1855-1858	J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1923-1924
Earl of Derby, 1858-1859	Stanley Baldwin, 1924-1929
Viscount Palmerston, 1859-1865	J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1929-1935
Lord John Russell (Earl Russell), 1865-1866	Stanley Baldwin, 1935-1937
Earl of Derby, 1866-1868	Neville Chamberlain, 1937-
Benjamin Disraeli, 1868	

Greece

<i>Part of Turkey, 1453-1829</i>	Constantine I (restored), 1920-1922
<i>Provisional Government, 1829-1832</i>	George II, 1922-1924
Otto I, 1832-1862	<i>Republic, 1924-1935</i>
George I, 1863-1913	George II (restored) 1935-
Constantine I, 1913-1917	
Alexander I, 1917-1920	

Holy Roman Empire

Ferdinand III, 1637-1657	Francis I, 1745-1765
Leopold I, 1658-1705	Joseph II, 1765-1790
Joseph I, 1705-1711	Leopold II, 1790-1792
Charles VI, 1711-1740	Francis II, 1792-1806
Charles VII, 1742-1745	

The Popes

Innocent X, 1644-1655	Clement XIII, 1758-1769
Alexander VII, 1655-1667	Clement XIV, 1769-1774
Clement IX, 1667-1669	Pius VI, 1775-1799
Clement X, 1670-1676	Pius VII, 1800-1823
Innocent XI, 1676-1689	Leo XII, 1823-1829
Alexander VIII, 1689-1691	Pius VIII, 1829-1830
Innocent XII, 1691-1700	Gregory XVI, 1831-1846
Clement XI, 1700-1721	Pius IX, 1846-1878
Innocent XIII, 1721-1724	Leo XIII, 1878-1903
Benedict XIII, 1724-1730	Pius X, 1903-1914
Clement XII, 1730-1740	Benedict XV, 1914-1922
Benedict XIV, 1740-1758	Pius XI, 1922-

Hungary

Part of Austrian Monarchy, 1526-1918
Provisional Government, 1918-

Italy

Victor Emmanuel II, 1861-1878 (*King of Sardinia, 1849-1861*)
 Humbert, 1878-1900 Victor Emmanuel III, 1900-

Latvia

Part of Swedish Monarchy, 1629-1721
Part of Russian Empire, 1721-1918
Independent Republic in 1918

Lithuania

Part of Polish Monarchy, 1501-1793
Part of Russian Empire, 1793-1918
Independent Republic in 1918

Montenegro

Peter I, 1782-1830
 Peter II, 1830-1851
 Danilo I, *Prince*, 1851-1860
 Nicholas I, *Prince*, 1860-1910; *King*, 1910-1918
Part of Yugo-Slavia in 1918

Netherlands (Holland)

William II, *Stadholder*, 1647-1650
 John DeWitt, *Grand Pensionary*, 1650-1672
 William III, *Stadholder*, 1672-1702 (*King of England and Scotland, 1689-1702*)
 William IV, *Nominal Stadholder*, 1711-1747; *Hereditary Stadholder, 1747-1751*
 William V, *Hereditary Stadholder*, 1751-1795
Republic, 1795-1806 William II, 1840-1849
 Louis Bonaparte, *King*, 1806-1810 William III, 1849-1890
Part of France, 1810-1813 Wilhelmina, 1890-
 William I, *King*, 1813-1840

Norway

Part of Denmark, 1397-1814 *Independent Monarchy in 1905*
Part of Sweden, 1814-1905 Haakon VII, 1905-

Poland

John II Casimir, 1648-1668 Augustus III, 1734-1763
 Michael Wisniowiecki, 1669-1673 Stanislaus II Poniatowski, 1764-1795
 John III Sobieski, 1674-1696 *Partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, 1795-1918*
 Augustus II, 1697-1704 *Independent Republic in 1918*
 Stanislaus Leszczynski, 1704-1709
 Augustus II, 1709-1733
 Stanislaus Leszczynski, 1733-1734

Portugal

John IV, 1640-1656	Maria II, 1826-1828
Alfonso VI, 1656-1667	Miguel, 1828-1834
Pedro II, 1667-1706	Maria II, 1834-1853
John V, 1706-1750	Pedro V, 1853-1861
Joseph, 1750-1777	Louis I, 1861-1889
Maria I and Pedro III, 1777-1786	Charles I, 1889-1908
Maria I, 1786-1816	Manoel II, 1908-1910
John VI, 1816-1826	<i>Republic in 1910</i>
Pedro IV, 1826	

Prussia

Frederick William, <i>Elector of Brandenburg</i> , 1640-1688	Frederick II, 1740-1786
Frederick I, <i>Elector of Brandenburg</i> , 1688-1701; <i>King of Prussia</i> , 1701-1713	Frederick William II, 1786-1797
Frederick William I, 1713-1740	Frederick William III, 1797-1840
	Frederick William IV, 1840-1861
	William I, 1861-1888 (<i>German Emperor, 1871-1888</i>)
	<i>After 1871 part of German Empire</i>

Rumania

<i>Part of Turkey, 1500-1856</i>	Ferdinand I, 1914-1927
Alexander John Cuza, <i>Prince</i> , 1861-1866	Mihai, 1927-1930
Charles I, <i>Prince</i> , 1866-1881; <i>King</i> , 1881-1914	Carol II, 1930-

Russia

Michael Romanov, 1613-1645	Peter III, 1762
Alexius, 1645-1676	Catherine II, 1762-1796
Theodore II, 1676-1682	Paul, 1796-1801
Ivan V and Peter I, 1682-1689	Alexander I, 1801-1825
Peter I, 1689-1725	Nicholas I, 1825-1855
Catherine I, 1725-1727	Alexander II, 1855-1881
Peter II, 1727-1730	Alexander III, 1881-1894
Anna, 1730-1740	Nicholas II, 1894-1917
Ivan VI, 1740-1741	<i>Republic in 1917</i>
Elizabeth, 1741-1762	

Serbia

<i>Part of Turkey, 1450-1830</i>	Milosh, 1858-1860
Karageorge, <i>Prince</i> , 1804-1813	Michael, 1860-1868
Milosh, 1817-1839	Milan, <i>Prince</i> , 1868-1882; <i>King</i> , 1882-1889
Milan, 1839	Alexander, 1889-1903
Michael, 1839-1842	Peter, 1903-1921
Alexander, 1842-1858	<i>Part of Yugo-Slavia in 1918</i>

Spain

Philip IV, 1621-1665	Ferdinand VII, 1813-1833
Charles II, 1665-1700	Isabella II, 1833-1868
Philip V, 1700-1746	Amadeo of Savoy, 1870-1873
Ferdinand VI, 1746-1759	<i>Republic</i> , 1873-1875
Charles III, 1759-1788	Alphonso XII, 1875-1885
Charles IV, 1788-1808	Alphonso XIII, 1886-1931
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-1813	<i>Republic in 1931</i>

Sweden

Charles X, 1654-1660	Gustavus IV, 1792-1809
Charles XI, 1660-1697	Charles XIII, 1809-1818
Charles XII, 1697-1718	Charles XIV, 1818-1844
Ulrica Eleonora, 1718-1720	Oscar I, 1844-1859
Frederick I, 1720-1751	Charles XV, 1859-1872
Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771	Oscar II, 1872-1907
Gustavus III, 1771-1792	Gustavus V, 1907-

Turkey

Mohammed IV, 1648-1687	Selim III, 1789-1807
Suleiman III, 1687-1691	Mustapha IV, 1807-1808
Ahmed II, 1691-1695	Mahmud II, 1808-1839
Mustapha II, 1695-1703	Abdul Medjid, 1839-1861
Ahmed III, 1703-1730	Abdul Aziz, 1861-1876
Mahmud I, 1730-1754	Murad V, 1876
Othman III, 1754-1757	Abdul Hamid II, 1876-1909
Mustapha III, 1757-1773	Mohammed V, 1909-1918
Abdul Hamid I, 1773-1789	Mohammed VI, 1918-1922
	<i>Republic in 1922</i>

Yugo-Slavia (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes)

Peter I, 1918-1921 (<i>King of Serbia, 1903-1918</i>)
Alexander I, 1921-1934
Peter II, 1934-

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(Key to Pronunciation. Based on Webster's New International Dictionary)

älc, senäte, cäre, äm, äccount, ärm, äsk, sofä.
 ēve, ēvent, ēnd, recētnt, makēr.
 ice, 111.
 öld, óbey, ödd, cönnect.
 ūse, ūnite, ūrn, ūp, circŭs, menŭ.
 fōöd, fōöt.

{ out, oil, chair, go, sing, thin, }
 { ou oi ch g ng th }

x = ch in German ich, ach.

n = n in bon.

zh = z in azure.

' indicates the elision of a vowel, or its reduction to a mere vocal murmur.

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